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THE
NEW ENGLANDER.

No. I.

JANUARY, 1843.

PROSPECTUS.

A STRONG desire exists in various quarters, for some periodical, other than a newspaper, which speaking considerably, yet freely and boldly on the topics of the day, may give utterance to the New England way of thinking, and may thus help to concentrate and direct the public sentiment of New England. The earnestness with which this desire has been frequently expressed, has led to some consultations respecting the practicability of commencing and sustaining such a periodical. Under the advice of judicious friends, and in the confidence that the religious and thinking public, whether east or west of the Hudson, who love that evangelical truth and that simple primitive order which give beauty and glory to this heritage of our fathers, will favor the enterprise, the subscriber has resolved on making the attempt. The pledges which he has received from gentlemen variously distinguished in the churches, in the republic of letters, and in the walks of civil life, who are expected to aid him with their experienced judgments, and with their practiced pens, are such as authorize him to entertain the strongest hopes that the intellectual and literary character of the work will be not unworthy of its name or of its aim.

Vol. I.

The periodical now proposed, will not be theological in the technical sense: we have our scientific journals, in theology as in other departments, learned and ponderous. Nor will it be exclusively religious: we have already religious magazines, devotional and practical, of various kinds and names—for the family, for the mother, for the child, for the Sabbath School. Nor again, will it be occupied with any one class of subjects: there are already periodicals enough, and good enough, of that description—some for temperance, and some against slavery—some for foreign missions, and some for home missions—some for the improvement of seamen, and some for the great cause of an educated Christian ministry. The periodical now proposed will enter into no competition with any of these works. It will be simply a magazine expressing the views of free Christian men, on whatever happens to come up for discussion. Nothing that concerns our interests and affections as citizens, our duties as men, or our faith and hope as Christians, will be without the range of topics contemplated by the conductors of the New Englander. Not every thing, but any thing—and especially any thing in ethics, politics, literature or religion,

which may happen to engage the attention of the public—will be freely discussed in these pages. Yet on the other hand, these pages will not be open for every man to maintain his own private opinion. The proposed magazine, is not to be a mere receptacle of essays and disquisitions from various writers of various ways of thinking on the subjects discussed, and with no special bond of union. It will claim the privileges of a corporation in the republic of letters, a person in law, with an individuality and character of its own, and with its own opinions to propound and defend. It will depend for its success, not upon the names and standing of its writers, and the reputation which they have achieved in other efforts, but upon its own name and standing, upon the soundness of its own opinions, and the ability with which those opinions are commended to the understanding and affections of the public.

It is proper, however, to say that there is no intention of reviving in this periodical the theological discussions in which some of the ablest New England divines have been so deeply engaged within the last fifteen years. The subscriber and the gentlemen with whom he is associated are of one mind on this point. They give no pledges respecting their course in case they find these discussions revived in other quarters. They only express their opinion of what is expedient as things now are. The discussions referred to have had their day; and according to present appearances, they have so far accomplished their mission, that they need not be revived. They have enabled the friends of evangelical truth to understand their own position better, and to defend it more clearly and convincingly. For this magazine to revive those discussions, would not only draw us farther into the field of scientific and metaphysical theology than we intend to go, but

would divert the attention both of writers and of readers from other subjects, to which the progress of the age is giving more prominence and more of present importance. Spiritual Christianity is assailed by two opposite forms of misbelief. On the one hand a mystical, pantheistic infidelity, pretending to be more spiritual and more believing than Christianity itself—and on the other hand a picturesque, enthusiastic superstition, endeavoring to evoke and reinthroned the spirit of the cloudy past—are invading the public mind through all the channels of popular literature. The young, the unwary, the imaginative, the speculative, especially at the seats of liberal or professional education, are approached by mysticism and by formalism, alternate or commingled, now in the form of philosophy, now in the form of poetry, now in the guise of history, and now in the costume of romantic fiction—at one time instilling a disgust for this prosaic, unpicturesque, unbelieving, level and leveling state of society, and at another time setting forth in bland accents the dogmas of the most rabid and disorganizing democracy. The intellectual character of the age is changed entirely within the last twenty years, and it becomes all thinking men to recognize the fact. Questions, simpler, plainer, more within the reach and grasp of the popular mind, than those which divide the metaphysical expounders of the evangelical system, are coming to be the questions of the day in every quarter. It is to these questions that our attention will be particularly directed.

Some readers however may be aided in conceiving the design of the proposed periodical, by a more distinct announcement of particular classes of subjects which will find place in its pages. To such readers then it may be said, that among other matters which have been named for discussion and which may be

considered as standing on the docket, they will find in the successive issues of this periodical, the following.

1. Ecclesiastical and civil history, particularly of New England.

2. Lives and characters of distinguished individuals, and especially of those whose influence on religion and theology has been greatest.

3. Various topics in jurisprudence and legislation. These will be discussed independently of party politics, and with reference to established principles of economical and political science.

4. Architecture, particularly of churches; and the fine arts generally, in their relation to the happiness and progress of society.

5. The peculiar constitution and character of New England society; festivals, manners and customs.

6. Poets and poetry; writers of fiction and their works.

7. Church order and discipline.

8. Education in schools and colleges.

9. Transcendentalism, mysticism, and pantheistic opinions, whether within or without the pale of the evangelical communions.

10. Romanism, Puseyism, and traditions generally.

11. Various topics in mental and ethical philosophy.

12. Millenarianism and prophetic exposition.

13. Plain explanations of difficult passages of Scripture.

14. Enthusiastical, fanatical and sceptical errors in religion.

The ends which the conductors have in view, will make it necessary

to adapt the work, not only in matter and style, but in size and price, to a larger class of readers than can be found among professional men, and persons of wealth and leisure. The New Englander will therefore be issued in quarterly numbers of 150 pages octavo, corresponding with the pages of this prospectus. The purchaser will thus have a yearly volume of 600 pages, convenient for use as well as for preservation. It is intended that each Number shall contain a critical survey of public affairs, and summary notices of the most important religious and miscellaneous intelligence; so that every successive volume shall record in a compendious form the political and ecclesiastical history of its own year, increasing in this way not only its interest and utility as a periodical, but its permanent value.

The editorial department will be under the control of a Committee of six gentlemen, including the Proprietor, who will hold themselves responsible for the general character and influence of the work, to those who have projected it, and through them to the public.

The price will be three dollars *per annum*, payable on the delivery of the first Number.

The Numbers will be published simultaneously in Boston, Hartford, New Haven, and New York, on the first of January, April, July, and October; commencing A. D. 1843.

E. R. TYLER, *Proprietor*.

New Haven, Sept. 23, 1842.

PROLEGOMENA.

As the *New Englander*, in accordance with the Prospectus reprinted on the foregoing pages, makes its appearance in the field of American periodical literature, it is natural for both writers and readers to look around with the inquiry whether there is any vacancy in the field, which this new work may reasonably hope to occupy.

Omitting in this place all consideration of the daily and weekly journals, the religious and miscellaneous as well as the political; omitting also the notice which might be bestowed on two numerous classes of monthly magazines, those devoted to the literature of amusement and those devoted to specific religious objects or enterprises; we find among *REVIEWS*, the most respectable *NORTH AMERICAN*, grave, scholarlike, instructive, elegant, but on almost every question, religious or political, that can divide or agitate the public mind, studiously uncommitted; and on the other hand the *DEMOCRATIC*, less erudite and dignified, but more attractive to a larger body of readers, for the reason that it takes up in almost every form, with enthusiastic zeal for its own side, the political questions of the day. The influence of the former is generally of the right sort, so far as it goes. It is doing well for literature. Its editor being a ripe scholar, and none but scholars being allowed to speak through its pages, it is constantly counteracting the tendencies to extravagance of taste and to shallowness of learning, which belong to the youthful genius of our country, and which are stimulated by sympathy with the revolutionary effervescence of the old world. The influence of the other is more equivocal; and, both for good and for evil, is to be far wider and more efficient than that of its more stately and honored competitor. Brilliant

with the light of genius; ardent in its advocacy of the principles which it espouses; powerful in its sympathy with popular feeling, and in the hold which it thus has on large masses of the people; reckless in its adoption of hasty speculations as established verities of moral and political science, and in pushing out such speculations to extreme and revolutionary results; every one of its monthly utterances tells upon the character and destiny of our country, with a power which our posterity will feel but will not be able to estimate. Beside these, there is an attempt to revive the *SOUTHERN REVIEW*, after some ten years of suspended animation, primarily—we may suppose—for the sake of vindicating and glorifying the “peculiar institutions” of the Plantation States against the public opinion of the world, expressing itself in “the literature of the world,” and secondarily, for the sake of expounding and commending that policy by which the property of the South may domineer forever over the freedom of the North. The *NEW YORK REVIEW*, with its “conservative tone” and its hierarchical and English sympathies, is believed to have come to an end just one year before the date assigned by the prophetic Miller for the end of the world. In this state of one great department of our periodical literature, it has seemed to us that, in respect to sound independent criticism on works of mere literature, and in respect to some questions of public policy and civil duty, the *NEW ENGLANDER* may find something to say from time to time which shall not be unworthy of attention.

Another class of periodicals is devoted to religious literature and theological discussion. The *AMERICAN BIBLICAL REPOSITORY*, in its own

province, is an honor to the American name. Modeled, from the beginning, after the type of German rather than English journalism, it is a rich repository of essays and disquisitions on various points in theology and the kindred sciences, with here and there a valuable contribution on some topic of general literature. No well furnished library of a clergyman can be without it. But its plan makes it a work chiefly for professional men. To act directly on public opinion—to discuss to-day the question of the day before the people at large, or before that portion of the people which takes an intelligent interest in the question—appears to be no part of its design. Seeking to unite in its support as large a body of the clerical profession as possible, its pages are open for discussion on controverted topics from opposite parties; and being a repository of contributions from various authors in various connections and relations, each writing under the responsibility of his own name, the opinions which it publishes are not its own, but those of individual contributors. Its functions therefore in its proper department are analogous to those of the American Journal of Science, rather than to those of a popular Review, which aspires to be a censor of opinions and of parties, and to speak its own mind on whatever topic it undertakes to handle. Into the department which the Biblical Repository is occupying with so much success, it is not our intention to intrude. We heartily commend that work not only to ministers and students of theology, but to scholars in every profession. A work of that kind ought to be well supported by the clerical profession in this country, for it is continually adding not only to their reputation at home and abroad as an intellectual and learned body of men, but also to their actual attainments in biblical learning and theological science.

THE BIBLICAL REPOSITORY AND PRINCETON REVIEW, though chiefly occupied with ecclesiastical and theological subjects, is widely different in aim and conduct from the work which we have just been commending. It is the organ of the Princeton party in the Old School section of the Presbyterian Church. By no means deficient in learning, though sometimes blundering in logic; especially at home, as it ought to be, in the various erudition of theology; fluent in style, and rarely tasking the reader by any argument requiring profound thought or close attention; frequently brilliant in its wit, and frequently abusive; contemptuous in its manners, as might be expected of those who have learned to tremble at the oburgations of ecclesiastical dictators; it is a work likely to be read by those into whose hands it falls. When it heaps ridicule on the unfortunate Bishop Doane and his brother champions of Puseyism, its readers, greatly multiplied for the occasion, laugh till laughter produces tears, and till amusement at the folly of prelate, priest and deacon, ends in something like compassion for their sufferings. Accustomed to receive its theology by tradition from the elders, and not daring to presume that there can be any improvement on the triangles of Gomar and Turretin, it is incapable of sympathy with the devout and earnest endeavors of American theology, from the days of the elder Edwards through the bright line of his successors, to "justify the ways of God to men," and to place the doctrines and claims of the evangelical system, as the Scriptures place them, in that clear light in which the soul, conscious of its own nature and of its guilt, is compelled to recognize their reality and their reasonableness. It gives no place, no, not for an hour, to such an idea as that the New England divines have done something, in their way, for theology. Its feelings are rather with those who hold New

England to be a Scythian, Cimmerian region, far to the north, whence barbarians sometimes come to disturb the quiet of the Presbyterian realm. It honors Edwards indeed, but not as a New Englander, for his sun went down at Princeton, and his sepulcher is with them to this day. Bellamy, Hopkins, and Smalley, are names for which it has no reverence. In all its fluctuations of opinion respecting elective affinity synods, and act-and-testimony movements, and the policy of the Presbyterian Church, it has remained unchanged in its prejudices against New England. In its theory of geography, New England, with all its seats of education and all its illustrious names, is provincial, and Princeton is somewhere near the center. Emmons's Sermons and Webster's Dictionary are alike the objects of its profound displeasure. It has learned indeed, from New England, to spell *honor* without the *u*, and *logic* without the *k*; but it still repels with horror such neological ideas as that sin consists in sinning, that the precepts and sanctions of God's law have respect only to the acts or exercises of the responsible soul, and that guilt is the demerit of a personal agent, incurred by his personal sinfulness. Surely the fact that there is such a work as the Biblical Repertory already in the field, is no sufficient reason why New England men may not utter their opinions through an organ of their own.

THE CHRISTIAN EXAMINER is the representative of Massachusetts Unitarianism, in the Old School or conservative modification of that system. The reputation which it acquired in the intellectual world, when Dr. Channing made it the vehicle of some of his beautifully wrought productions, gives it, probably, a greater influence than it could now acquire. Yet, independent of that former reputation, its elegant scholarship, its gracefulness of manner, and its habitual dignity,

must win for it no inconsiderable credit and authority, especially where it finds individuals or circles predisposed to look with favor on the opinions of which it is the oracle. Its position in regard to moral questions, disconnected from religious views, is not more exceptionable than that of some journals with higher pretensions to orthodoxy. Since the developments which have divided the Unitarian party, it has often argued for the supernatural character of Christ and his authority as a teacher, for the reality and the necessity of the miracles of the New Testament, and in some instances for the inspiration of the Scriptures. Most of its writers seem to feel that it is time to stop in the career of "not believing." The transcendentalism, the rationalism—or to call things by their right names, the downright German pantheism of some men about Boston who pretend to be Christian preachers, has alarmed the more serious and conservative sort of Unitarians; and the Examiner accordingly stands for the evidences of Christianity against what we in our liberality and simplicity, might have called the latest form of Unitarianism, had not Professor Norton taught us to call it "the latest form of infidelity." Yet in regard to Christianity itself, the position of the Examiner remains unchanged. Its theology, as of old, is made up of negations. So far as its influence reaches—and who can speak lightly of such an influence?—it is continually tending to unsettle the minds of the unstable and to make men skeptical in regard to all those doctrines without which Christianity is nothing else than natural religion, and the miracles which constitute its external evidences are felt by independent minds to be a grand impertinence. Take away from Christianity the doctrines which relate to the apostasy and condemnation of all men; those which relate to the

incarnation, death and mediation of the Son of God, and to the expiation which he has made for sin; and those which relate to the process of the soul's renovation and actual reconciliation to God by the work of the Holy Spirit—take away that revealed way of salvation for sinners, that "new and living way," that manifestation of God as 'just and yet justifying the sinner that believeth,' which makes Christianity a *Gospel*; and the intellectual instinct that demands congruity, will feel, sooner or later, that to contend for the miracles by which Christianity is supposed to be authenticated, is like contending for the shell when the kernel is gone, or like keeping up a smoke and roar of artillery over the outworks, after the citadel has been surrendered. The fact then that such a work as the *Christian Examiner*, with so many claims to attention, is published at the metropolis of New England, is in every point of view a reason, why the evangelical faith of New England should find for itself fit organs of communication with the reading and inquiring public.

Shall we say any thing here of the *DIAL*?—the *Dial*, with the mystic symbols on its face, looking up not to the sun, but to the everlasting fog in which it has its being? Who reads the *Dial* for any other purpose than to laugh at its baby poetry or at the solemn fooleries of its misty prose? Yet the *Dial* is worth adverting to in this connection, not because of any influence which it is actually exerting, or which it is likely to exert, but because it is itself one of the symptoms or manifestations of a morbid influence widely diffused, which may by and by manifest itself with greater power and with disastrous results. Who does not see in the literature of the day many traces of such an influence? Not all the worshippers of Goethe—not all those who bow down before Carlyle, are so moon-

struck as to assist in editing the *Dial*. Many there are who having common sense enough to attend to ordinary business, are the conductors through which this influence is diffusing itself among the uninitiated. The infidelity of the last age was, for the most part, the infidelity of materialism, which knew nothing and believed nothing but what is reported by the outward senses. The infidelity with which the coming age is threatened, is the infidelity of a self-styled spiritualism, which believes nothing that is true and substantial, for the reason that, under the pretense of seeing through this outward show of things, it believes every thing that is unsubstantial, untrue, and absurd. That this mystical infidelity is likely to be in any way less fanatical or mischievous than that which in France adored the goddess of Reason, no man, acquainted with history or with human nature, will easily admit.

A few years ago, the *Christian Spectator*, published at New Haven, the *Literary and Theological Review*, published at New York, but designed chiefly for New England, and the *American Quarterly Observer*, published at Boston, were in the field at once, each with its peculiar aim and merits, and each offering itself as an organ through which New England men of the evangelical faith were uttering their opinions. The *Quarterly Observer*, after the issue of a short series of volumes, was merged in the *Biblical Repository*, the editorship of that elder and more widely circulated work having been transferred to the editor of the *Observer*. The conductors of the *Christian Spectator*, judging that the discussions with which that work was identified had been pursued far enough to answer their purpose, advised the proprietor to accept the proposals which the proprietor of the *Repository* had made for the purchase of the establishment. The *Literary and Theo-*

logical Review, which during the administration of its first editor attained a high reputation, underwent a change after it passed into other hands; and in the end its subscribers were served with the *Biblical Repertory*. Thus, where there were three quarterly magazines for religious and general literature, we now find none. Admitting that there was not room enough for three—admitting even that they crowded each other from the field—it does not follow that in the absence of them all, there is not room for our undertaking. The *New Englander* does not offer itself as the successor of all the periodicals which have been named, or of any one of them. It cannot expect to please all of all parties. It does not pledge itself to please any party. Its conductors will utter their own opinions at their own discretion. And if the circulation of the work, conducted on such principles, does not show that there is a demand for it on the part of the public, the undertaking will of course be abandoned. Neither our pride of authorship, nor our estimation of the value of our lucubrations to the community, will induce us to make pecuniary sacrifices for the support of a work which cannot support itself. And to speak plain truth, we have no money to expend in that kind of charity. What we are able to give for public uses, we will give in some other way, rather than in supporting a periodical which the public will not buy. Nor have we any party resources on which to fall back when our own resources fail. The work must be supported by finding a sufficient number of purchasers, or it will not be supported at all. If any individual after purchasing a copy for himself, thinks

he can do good by purchasing another copy for some home missionary in the West, or for some poor minister or schoolmaster or student, let him do it, and we will do likewise so far as we are able; but let him not therefore suppose that he is our *Mecenas*, or a “life director” of our enterprise.

The conductors of the *New Englander*, we have said, will express their own opinions at their own discretion. They do not propose to be at the expense of publishing for other people who may have a disposition, however laudable, to contradict them and dispute with them. Of course it is not to be expected that among so many individuals, there will be in every thing a perfect identity of opinion. On questions of taste, of political science, of historical inquiry, of philosophy, not every writer of our company is to be held responsible for the opinions of every other writer. One of us may say to another, ‘I am not so sanguine a democrat as you are,’—or, ‘you are more zealous for Congregationalism than I can be,’—or, ‘I have less faith in the doctrines of political economy than you have.’ One may hold in philosophy with Locke, another with Brown, and another may have a philosophy of his own. If therefore some diversity of opinion as well as of style shall appear on our pages, let it be understood that to the extent of that diversity we have among ourselves agreed to differ. Still the influence of the *New Englander* will be found steadily setting in one direction. It will be found on the side of order, of freedom, of progress, of simple and spiritual Christianity, and of the Bible as the infallible, sufficient and only authority in religion.

THE POST-OFFICE SYSTEM, AS AN ELEMENT OF MODERN CIVILIZATION.*

THE power of holding communication with those at a distance with whom we are connected in relations of business or friendship, and of making such communications as exact, infallible, and direct, as the nature of human language will admit, is, to a savage, one of the most wonderful of all the mysterious powers of civilized man. When Captain John Smith, the founder of Virginia, a prisoner for the time among the Indians, sent by the hands of one of his captors, a written message to Jamestown, and the message, without a word from the messenger that bore it, was accurately complied with, the exactness of that silent communication seemed to the wild men of the woods the operation of some supernatural power. "The paper," they said, "could talk." In our own time, a Sandwich Island chief who had learned from American missionaries the art of writing, expressed himself to this effect—"Formerly, when I wanted to send words to a chief on another island, I told my words to a messenger. One half, perhaps, he would forget. The other half perhaps he would misunderstand. Now, I put my words on a paper—just what I mean. I shut up the

paper and seal it, and nobody can see what is in it. My messenger carries the paper, and if he knows not what message he carries, no matter. My friend opens the paper, and there my words are, just as I wrote them."

But the mere power of writing letters is of course worth little, unless there be given the power of sending what is written to the person for whom it is designed. In an uncivilized or partially civilized country—in all countries save those which partake in the civilization of modern Christendom—the only means of epistolary communication are special messengers and accidental opportunities. No ancient government, even of the most cultivated or powerful nations, had any such thing as what we call a post-office department. Neither Egypt when her Pharaohs built the pyramids, or when her Ptolemies made Alexandria the emporium of the world—nor Greece when her artists adorned her hills with structures and statues which to this day all kindred genius only seeks to imitate, or faintly hopes to rival—nor Rome when her arch of empire overshadowed every nation—had any such thing as a mail for the accommodation of the public. The era of the first propagation of Christianity—the era of the New Testament Scriptures—was that of "the most high and palmy state" of Roman civilization; yet the Apostles and primitive missionaries, in their communications with each other and with their converts, never enjoyed the convenience of a post-office—a convenience which is only next to the printing-office among the essential things of modern civilization. Thus, in almost every one of the Apostolic epistles, we find some

* Third Report from the Select Committee on Postage. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, August 18, 1838. [Reprinted in Supplement to the London Spectator, March 9, 1839.]

Message of the President of the United States to the two houses of Congress, at the commencement of the Second Session of the twenty-sixth Congress. [With the accompanying documents.] Washington, 1840.

Message of the President of the United States to the two houses of Congress, at the commencement of the Second Session of the twenty-seventh Congress. [With the documents.] Washington, 1841.

very natural reference, more or less explicit, to the messenger by whom the epistle was to be conveyed to its destination. In the epistle to the Romans, for example, Paul formally introduces to his Roman friends (xvi : 1) Phebe, a servant of the church at Cenchrea, whom we may therefore presume to have been the bearer of the document. The first epistle to the Corinthians appears to have been forwarded by Stephanus, Fortunatus, and Achaicus, (xvi : 17, 18,) who had come from Corinth to Paul as the bearers of a communication to him from the Corinthian church. The second to the Corinthians appears to have been sent by the hands of Titus and another person not named, but described as "the brother whose praise is in all the churches," (viii : 6, 18.) In the epistle to the Ephesians, Tychicus is named as the messenger, (vi : 21, 22.) The epistle to the Philippians was forwarded from Rome by Epaphroditus, (ii : 25,) a messenger whom Paul's friends at Philippi had sent to him for the purpose of bringing their kind contributions for his relief in his imprisonment, (iv : 18.) And Paul says (ii : 25-28) that he sends him the earlier, because they had heard of his having been sick. The illustration here is a copious one. Epaphroditus had been sick at Rome ; and to relieve the anxiety of his friends at Philippi, who by some accident had heard of his illness, Paul finds it necessary to send him back sooner than he would otherwise have chosen to do. Why did not Paul during the illness of Epaphroditus, drop a letter daily into the post-office at Rome, informing the disciples at Philippi of the state of their friend's health? Why did not Epaphroditus do this for himself when he had recovered? Nay, why did the Philippian church send Epaphroditus at all? When they had made up their contribution for the imprisoned Apostle, why did they not procure a bill of exchange,

a draft on Rome, or a certificate of deposit in a bank, to the amount of the contribution, and enclosing it in a letter, send it by mail more safely and expeditiously than it could possibly be sent by any single messenger? The answer is that all these conveniences—post-offices, mails, bank-deposits, and bills of exchange, were as unknown to Roman civilization, as newspapers, steamboats, and railroads.

The earliest germ of a post-office system, which finds a place in written history, is the arrangement which was made by Darius I, king of Persia. That wise and energetic monarch established a system of royal couriers, stationed at regular distances with horses always ready for a start, to convey reports by express from the provinces to the seat of government, and of course to convey despatches in return from the seat of government to the provinces. So under Augustus, a similar arrangement was established in the Roman empire. So when the Spaniards discovered Peru, they found messengers stationed at short intervals upon the road from Cusco to Quito, for the purpose of conveying with speed the orders of the sovereign. Indeed something of this kind, more or less definitely arranged, is essential to the action of a strong government over an extended territory. Every centralized government must have some means of conveying its will to distant functionaries, and of receiving reports from them in return. This, however, is a mere government arrangement, maintained only for government purposes.

Another rudiment of what we understand by a post-office system, began to exist a little more than six hundred years ago. When commerce had begun to revive in Europe, after the universal wreck in which the ancient civilization perished, the larger commercial cities, particularly in Germany, began to

establish lines of communication from one emporium to another, both by mounted messengers for the transmission of letters, and by carriages for the conveyance of travelers. This is the very idea of the mail as we have it—a regular public conveyance of letters for the public accommodation. But it was only a rudiment, not a system; it was confined to the routes that connected the principal centers of commerce. On other routes less frequented, and where the demand for such a convenience was less urgent, other arrangements of a more primitive character were still in use. Commerce had then its multitude of itinerant agents, as American commerce now has in some of our thinly settled States, where Yankee vendors of clocks, dry goods, and tin ware, get more renown for acuteness than for integrity. And where one of those itinerants of the middle ages was honest enough, and had character enough, to travel from year to year over the same circuit, visiting at known periods the same castles, the same villages and the same convents, and returning to the same city, he became a sort of "post-rider" to the people of his circuit, a vender of news and of notions as well as of more material commodities; and letters from one place to another on his route were naturally entrusted to him. Inter-course of this kind being once begun would be likely to increase, and to secure its own means of conveyance, as the living stream when it once begins to run, wears for itself a channel.

At the period now referred to, the first and greatest university of Europe was that of Paris. In that city, students were collected from all parts of Europe, to the number, it is said, of several thousands. Early in the thirteenth century, it appears that the university maintained pedestrian messengers who at certain times took charge of let-

ters from the students, and brought back to the students from their homes, letters and remittances of money. The exigences of so large a body of men, residing for a longer or shorter period at such distances from their various homes, could not be answered by the lines of communication which connected the great commercial cities. A mail was needed which should carry letters to and from each student's native town or village. The fact that such a system of university letter-carriers was needed, that a collection of a thousand men or more in one of the first cities of Europe, could be accommodated with even so slow a transmission of their letters, only by uniting and employing men to do this particular work for them, shows how imperfect at that time were those arrangements for the division of labor, by which every man is now made to feel at every point his dependence not only upon his immediate neighbors, but upon society as a whole. The academical couriers of the university of Paris were continued till the year 1709, when the system was abolished by the French government, and a yearly revenue of 300,000 francs was allowed to the university as an indemnity for the loss of the privilege.

Something analogous to the system adopted by the university of Paris, would of course be adopted by other universities. A body of scholars, wherever collected, would create for themselves, if not otherwise supplied, some means of regular communication with their distant friends. An arrangement of this kind existed in the English universities as late as two centuries ago; and peradventure some traces of it may be still found there, for those venerable bodies are very slow to change. In the writings of Milton, whose residence at Cambridge was from 1624 to 1632, there are a couple of trifling pieces, much in the

style of Thomas Hood, the chief punster of this nineteenth century, "on the University carrier, who sickened in the time of his vacancy, being forbid to go to London, by reason of the plague." The first begins,

"Here lies old Hobson; death has broke his girt,"

and speaks of "his *weekly* course of carriage."

The other is a little better in its way:

"Here lieth one, who did most truly prove

That he could never die while he could move;

So hung his destiny, never to rot

While he might still jog on, and keep his trot."

"Time numbers motion, yet (without a crime

'Gainst old truth) motion numbered out his time;

And like an engine moved with wheel and weight

His principles being ceased, he ended straight.

Rest that gives all men life, gave him his death;

And too much breathing put him out of breath.

Nor were it contradiction to affirm

Too long vacation hasted on his term.

Merely to drive away the time he sickened,

Fainted and died, nor could with ale be quickened."

"Ease was his chief disease, and, to judge right,

He died for heaviness that his cart went light.

His leisure told him that his time was come,

And lack of load made his life burthensome."

"His letters are delivered all, and gone, Only remains this superscription."

In the fifteenth century, only a few years before the discovery of America, Louis XI of France, established for his own use in his kingdom a system of posts. That is to say, he made an arrangement for the transmission of despatches between the court and the provinces, of the same nature with that which has already been spoken of as existing in ancient Persia, and under the Roman emperors. Not far from the

same time, a similar establishment was commenced in some parts of the German empire. And gradually every government in Europe established its system of posts, more or less perfect—that is, a system of royal couriers, not for the accommodation of the public, but only for the purposes of the government and the convenience of the court.

In England, such government posts seem to have been established simultaneously, or nearly so, with those in France and Germany, a little less than four hundred years ago. But at what period the public at large began to enjoy the benefits of the establishment, is quite uncertain. Less than two hundred and fifty years ago, merchants, manufacturers and professional men throughout England, were compelled either to employ special messengers for the transmission of their correspondence, or to depend on irregular and insecure means of conveyance. The universities and principal cities had their own couriers or letter carriers. There was a private post by which letters were conveyed between England and the continent. But in 1630, Charles I, then looking around him for every means of raising a revenue independent of the Parliament, established, in connection with the king of France, a public post from London to Paris; and the private establishment for the conveyance of letters between the two kingdoms was abolished. In 1632, he published a proclamation forbidding letters to be sent out of the kingdom, except through the royal post-office. In 1635, he established a new system of posts for England and Scotland, and abolished all private and local posts, claiming the post-office business as a government monopoly. During the civil wars which followed, these arrangements were of course overturned; but such an improvement once adopted, could not be forgotten, and as soon as order was restored under

Cromwell, the reëstablishment and maintenance of the post-office system, was immediately recognized as one of the functions of the government. At that time it was, that England was first blessed with a weekly conveyance of letters from the metropolis into all parts of the nation. This was when England was a commonwealth; and the system established by the wise and energetic government of Cromwell, was so far in advance of previous arrangements, and so great and obvious a public benefit, that on the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, it was continued by act of Parliament, without any material modification.

These few historical notices, which most readers might perhaps collect for themselves, from the encyclopedias and such like repositories of knowledge, may be summed up in this general view. The post-office system—that great element of modern civilization, so essential to commerce, to public intelligence, to the intercourse of friends, to all the interests of society—began in the necessity of a regular communication between the central government, and its subordinate agents. It was gradually expanded into a government monopoly, for the double purpose of raising a revenue, and of commanding the channels of communication. It is perfected by becoming a great public convenience, maintained by the government, for the equal accommodation of all the members of society.

We hear much said, and justly, of the superiority of the modern over the ancient civilization. We hear much of the wonderful impulse given to society as a whole, and of the vast advantages afforded to each individual member of society, by the steam-engine in its various uses, by the innumerable applications of science to the productive and useful arts, by the printing press, by the mariner's compass and the entire art

of modern navigation—all which, the ancients had not. But to us it seems, that if an intelligent Greek like Herodotus or Xenophon, or a philosophic Roman like Cicero or Tacitus, could be supposed, after a sleep of some two thousand years in an enchanted cavern, to 'revisit the glimpses of the moon' here, hardly any thing would be more wonderful to him, than the power which every individual in society has, of communicating by letter most expeditiously and unfailingly with every other individual to whom he is related in the way either of friendship or of business. The letters of the humblest member of society go to their destination as swiftly and unfailingly as the despatches of Persian kings and Roman emperors. There is a man whom you have never seen, far off in the woods of Michigan, or on the prairies of Wisconsin. Though you have never seen him, you have heard his name and his place of residence; and you wish to ask him a question, or to employ him to render you some service there. You make a few marks—not on a cumbrous tablet covered with wax—not on a parchment almost equally cumbrous—but on a piece of paper, thin, light and flexible,—a material as unknown to the ancients as was the art of printing. You drop that piece of paper into a box in a public office a few rods from your own dwelling, and give yourself no farther care about it. In a few days, without any more ado on your part, you get your answer. The whole operation has cost less than it would have cost you to send a special messenger five miles. We often talk of wonderful machinery, but what machinery is more wonderful than this. It is wonderful no doubt to see "the iron horse," puffing along with dizzy speed upon the railroad. It is wonderful to see the machine which takes a coil of wire and in a few moments gives it out again wrought into pins with

firm smooth heads and polished points. But is it any less wonderful to see this vast machinery of the post-office, taking up the letter which you drop into one of its ten thousand hoppers, carrying it hundreds of miles, with a speed and safety otherwise impracticable, and delivering it into the hands of the individual to whom your will directed it. Why this is a machinery which, in a sense, extends your presence over the whole country, even to the edge of the wilderness, where the last traces of government and of civilized life disappear. And the enjoyment of this machinery has come to be, every where, so completely one of the necessities of civilized life, that any government in Christendom which should refuse to afford the people this accommodation, would be overturned as intolerable. Such is the progress of society.

An institution so essential to our idea of civilization, and so important in its bearings on all the interests of society, cannot but be expected to make farther progress hereafter. It would be quite contrary to our genius as Americans certainly, if we should take it for granted that the system as it now exists with us, is incapable of improvement. We may regard it, then, as a fair question for consideration, what improvements in our present system of arrangements for the conveyance of letters, are desirable and practicable?

At the outset of this inquiry, let us recall distinctly, what is, with us at least in this country, the true conception of a post-office system as it should be. Such a system is not like the posts established in ancient Persia and in the Roman empire, or like the posts as they were established, four centuries ago, in France, Germany and England—a mere arrangement for the conveyance of government despatches, supported at the expense of the government, and for the exclusive use of the gov-

ernment and its privileged favorites and hangers on. Nor is it with us, as it is in other countries even to this day, a government monopoly, to be maintained and managed exclusively, or chiefly, with a view to increase the revenue of the government. It does not enter into the plans of the American people, to tax the correspondence of the nation for the purpose of supporting the army or the navy, or for any other department of the public expenditure. It is not for the sake of making money, or saving money, for the government, that we maintain this post-office establishment. It may be assumed then as a first principle, that whatever may be the policy in other countries, our post-office system ought to be simply a great public convenience, for the equal accommodation of all the members of society. This idea is the standard by which the merits of the existing system in all its parts, and the merits of every proposed improvement, are to be measured. In proportion as the establishment answers more completely this one end of being a great public convenience for the equal accommodation of all the members of society, in that proportion does it approach perfection.

Let this idea, then, be expanded; and let us see what are the qualities necessarily belonging to that system which is to afford its benefits equally, and as completely as possible, to all the members of society.

1. Most obviously such a system must have, what, for the want of a better word, we may call *ubiquity*. It must not be confined to a few principal routes—the thoroughfares between the great cities—where the facilities of transportation, and the abundance of letters, may make the establishment profitable. On the contrary it must be extended as far as possible to all parts of the country, and the profits on those routes where conveyance is easy and correspondence abundant, should be ap-

plied to sustain those routes which, owing to the increased expense of transportation and the diminished amount of correspondence, are unable to sustain themselves. The only imperious reason why, in such a country as ours, the government should have any thing to do with the conveyance of letters, more than with the conveyance of passengers or of merchandise, lies in the necessity of giving to the system of mails this quality of ubiquity. Leave the whole business to private competition, and on all the principal routes letters would soon be conveyed cheaper and better than they will ever be by the government; but how would it be with other routes? There would be no difficulty about sending a letter at the cheapest rate and with the greatest expedition from Hartford to New York, or from Boston to New Orleans; but what would it cost to send a letter from Hartford to Babylon or Patchogue on Long Island? And what communication would there be between Hartford and a village on lake Memphremagog, or between Hartford and some new outpost of civilization in the west? The end for which a public establishment of this kind exists, is the equal accommodation of every member of the community, and therefore the system must spread its branches over the whole country, those parts of it which are unprofitable being sustained by the revenues of those parts which are profitable.

2. Public accommodation being the end, *regularity and precision* in all the action of the system are indispensable; and, other things being equal, the system is the more complete in proportion as it is characterized by this quality. Every man who has occasion to send a letter to any part of the country, must be able to rely on its going safely and unfailingly to the place to which he directs it. And not only so, but he should be able to know, as exactly

as possible, the hour at which it must be mailed in order to commence its journey, and the time when it will arrive at its destination. The public would not be accommodated if letters from one place to another, were sent only at unknown and irregular intervals, according to the convenience of the postmaster, or when a sufficient number had accumulated in the office. All the arrangements and all the motions of the system should have, as far as possible, the regularity and precision of clock-work.

3. Another quality, of great importance to the end we have in view, is *cheapness*. The price of conveying letters by the public mails, in other words the rate of postage, should be set as low as possible. This grand accommodation should be afforded to the public at the cheapest rate consistent with other essential qualities. In determining the rate of postage, the question is not what a merchant, or a lawyer, or the proprietor of a great newspaper, can afford to give for a business letter of great importance; it is not, what those who have the means of paying are willing to give for letters rather than not to receive them; nor is it what tariff of taxes on letters will afford to the government the greatest revenue; it is simply, what is the lowest rate of postage at which the establishment, taken as a whole with all its ramifications, will be able to pay its own expenses. Most certain it is that, other things being equal, the lower the price of postage, the greater and more equal will be the public accommodation.

4. The *speed* with which letters are transmitted, is an important consideration in estimating the completeness of the system. On this point it is not enough to offer the remark that the most rapid conveyance of the mails, consistent with security and cheapness, is the best. There is a certain degree of speed on each route, without which the

mail almost ceases to be a public accommodation. It is not necessary that the mails should outstrip every possible conveyance; it is not necessary that the mail should in every instance travel so fast that no express can on any emergency go before it; but it is necessary that the mail go so fast from one point to another that no ordinary rate of traveling, upon that route, shall exceed it. When travelers from New York arrive at New Haven daily by the steamboats, and the mail from New York comes daily, creeping along by land some six or eight hours afterwards, the public—whether by the fault of the government or of some body else—is not accommodated. When it took five or six days for a traveler to pass between New York and Boston, that was as fast as a letter could reasonably be expected to travel. The speed of the most rapid ordinary traveling on a given route, is the least with which the public will be satisfied. If a more rapid transmission is attempted, it will be found that cheapness is sacrificed to speed, and the mail instead of affording equal accommodation to all the members of society, is a convenience only to those who can afford to pay high postage.

5. Another quality, of great importance to a perfect system, is *security against abuses*. Letters entrusted to the public mails should be inviolable; and he who writes to a friend, should feel that though his letter be filled even to the outer edges, no post-office clerk is likely to peep into it. The system should be so arranged as to hold every agent and official, effectually, to a strict responsibility, and to prevent as far as possible all collusion of one with another for fraudulent purposes. No temptations to petty frauds and deceitful tricks, should be allowed to exist where they can possibly be avoided. Those who for the time being are entrusted with the admin-

istration, should not be permitted, nor even tempted, to use the post-office department for their own selfish purposes. And no party of politicians—whether administration or opposition—should be enabled to use the post-office as an electioneering engine, save at their own expense. Of any two systems, equal in other respects, that which most effectually guards against all such abuses, is the best. That is a base government any where, which voluntarily, and unnecessarily, and perseveringly, puts any sort of temptation in the way of its officials or in the way of those who have dealings with it.

We may add, here, without entering into any discussion, that, on the principle just referred to, the entire post-office establishment of a Christian people, ought to respect the Christian sabbath. The government cannot trifle with the religious ideas and sympathies of a Christian people, without producing an effect upon the moral sense and moral habits of the people, that will cost too much in the end.

The post-office system now existing in this country, has existed without any essential change, ever since the organization of the Federal government. At the beginning, it was naturally and wisely copied, in its most important features, from the system which then existed in Great Britain. It has been extended and modified from time to time; and it has been so well administered, and its working has been on the whole so beneficial, that there has been little disposition to attempt any material improvement. Of late however, a new system—new in the adoption of several important principles—has been introduced in Great Britain, and in connection with this, the attention of the American people has been directed partially and ineffectually to the subject of post-office reform.

The new system which went into operation in Great Britain, on the

tenth day of January, 1840, is one which must sooner or later be introduced, not only into our country, but under every civilized government. For reasons which will appear in the sequel, we ask the attention of the reader to some account of the origin of this system, of the principles on which it is constructed, and to the inquiry how far such a system is desirable and practicable in our own country.

Of the "penny postage" system, as it is called, most persons in this country know little more than the name. It was first proposed in 1837, by a Mr. Rowland Hill, a man previously unknown to the public, in a pamphlet on "post-office reform." The object of that pamphlet was, to show that under a system which it described, letters not exceeding half an ounce each in weight, might be received in any part of the kingdom of Great Britain, and delivered in any other part of the kingdom, for a penny sterling; and that under such a system, this great diminution of postage would in the end involve no diminution of revenue.

This bold proposal immediately excited public attention. Fortunately for its success, a parliamentary commission was at that time engaged in an extended investigation of the management of the post-office department. The commissioners having already reported upon various parts of the general inquiry with which they were charged, could do little more in regard to Mr. Hill's plan than to call him before them and examine his opinions and arguments, respecting that branch of the subject upon which they had not yet reported. This however was a favorable introduction of Mr. Hill's proposal, to the notice both of the Parliament and of the public.

In May, 1837, some three months after the appearance of Mr. Hill's pamphlet, a petition in favor of his

scheme was presented to both houses of Parliament, signed by a large number of the business men of London in every department—"merchants, bankers, insurance companies, men of science, solicitors, publishers, printers," &c. About the same time, a memorial in behalf of the proposed reform was presented to the Lords of the treasury, by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. Ere long, the Common Council of the city of London, and the councils of other large towns, began to appear as the advocates of this reform, so obviously important to every commercial or manufacturing community.

In November of that year, a committee was appointed by the House of Commons, to examine into the practicability of the proposed new system, and particularly whether it could be adopted without diminishing the net revenue of the post-office department. A parliamentary committee of inquiry is a very different affair in Great Britain, from such a committee in Congress, or in one of our State legislatures. There, such a committee, instead of finishing its business in one or two evenings or mornings, sits again and again, for weeks or for months—calls before it all sorts of men that can be supposed to have any interest in the subject of inquiry, or any knowledge of its details—not only hears but records and reports their facts and reasonings on the subject—makes one report, and if the subject is not exhausted, another, and another—till in the end a mass of information, including both facts and principles, has been collected, and digested, and presented both to the legislature and to the people, which may become the basis of wise, satisfactory and stable legislation. This committee on the reduction of postage sat sixty-three days; and they examined eighty-three witnesses, besides those who were called to give facts and opinions from the post-of-

office department and from the stamp-office.

In the mean time, that this work might be done the more thoroughly, a voluntary committee was formed by several of the most eminent merchants and bankers of the city of London, for the purpose of collecting evidence to lay before the parliamentary committee. The establishment of such a voluntary committee, was a striking indication of the interest taken in the enquiry by commercial men; and the existence and operations of such a committee naturally tended to awaken a deeper interest on the part of the whole people. In the session of 1838, this reform was urged upon Parliament by more than 320 petitions, with 38,708 signatures. In 1839, after the reports of the committee of inquiry had been published, including all the testimony which the committee had taken, the public zeal for post-office reform was shown by the presentation of 2,007 petitions, with 262,809 signatures, from all classes of society, merchants, manufacturers, municipal corporations, scientific men, the clergy of the establishment, ministers of the various dissenting denominations, literary and scientific societies, and associations of professional men. Such demonstrations of the public will, the British government has long been accustomed to obey. The result was, that Mr. Rowland Hill's proposal, in two years and a half after the publication of his pamphlet, was passed into an act of Parliament.*

* To the reprint of the Report of the Committee on postage (referred to at the commencement of this article) is appended the following appeal, which we copy as an illustration of the way in which the reform was carried in Great Britain.

UNIFORM PENNY POSTAGE.

(Form of a petition.)

To the Honorable, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal [or, the Commons, *as the case may be*] in Parliament assembled: The humble petition of the undersigned, [to be filled up with the name of place, corporation, &c.]

So much for the origin of the new system. The principles on which it is constructed, are by no means summed up in the name which is commonly given to it—"penny postage." In England it is found practicable, under this sys-

Sheweth, That your petitioners earnestly desire an uniform penny post, payable in advance, as proposed by Rowland Hill, and recommended by the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons. That your petitioners intreat your Honorable House to give instant effect to this report, &c.

Mothers and Fathers that wish to hear from their absent children! *Friends* who are parted, that wish to write to each other! *Emigrants* that do not forget their native homes! *Farmers* that wish to know the best markets! *Merchants and Tradesmen* that wish to receive orders and money quickly and cheaply! *Mechanics and Laborers* that wish to learn where good work and high wages are to be had! support the report of the House of Commons with your petitions for an *uniform penny post*. Let every city, town and village, every corporation, every religious society and congregation, petition, and let every one in the kingdom sign a petition with his name or his mark. *This is no question of party politics.*

Lord Ashburton, a conservative, and one of the richest noblemen of the country, spoke these impressive words before the House of Commons committee:—"Postage is one of the worst of our taxes; it is, in fact, taxing the conversation of people who live at a distance from each other. The communication of letters by persons living at a distance, is the same as a communication by word of mouth between persons living in the same town."

"Sixpence," says Mr. Brewin, "is the third of a poor man's income; if a gentleman, who had 1000*l.* a year, or 3*l.* a day, had to pay one third of his daily income, a sovereign for a letter, how often would he write letters of friendship? Let a gentleman put that to himself, and then he will be able to see how the poor man cannot be able to pay sixpence for his letter."

READER! If you can get any signatures to a petition, make two copies of the above on two half sheets of paper; get them signed as numerous as possible; fold each up separately; put a slip of paper around, leaving the ends open; direct one to a member of the House of Lords, the other to a member of the House of Commons, London, and put them into the post-office.

tem, to reduce all postage to a penny sterling. The essential principles of the system are these.

1. *Uniformity of postage.* Our system, as every one has occasion to know, proceeds on the principle of a tariff of different postages for different distances; and at first sight it seems unreasonable to charge the same postage for conveying a letter five miles, as for conveying it five hundred miles. But a little reflection is enough to show, that the distance to which a letter is transported, is no index of the actual cost of that letter to the government. The cost of conveying a letter from Boston to Philadelphia, is in all probability less to the government than the cost of conveying a letter from one country post-office to another, some fifteen miles distant. Why then should the first letter be charged with four times as much postage as the other? The great advantage of a national post-office system is, that the routes on which there is little communication, and which are therefore unable to maintain themselves, shall be maintained by the more profitable routes on which there is continually a large surplus revenue. In such a system, a uniform postage, without any regard to distance, will be more reasonable, and in the end more profitable to the establishment, than any tariff of postages varying with the distance.

2. Another feature of the new system is the *pre-payment of postage*. No letter enjoys the full benefit of the reform, on which the postage is not paid at or before its lodgment in the post-office. This is the principle, so well known to business men, of payment in advance—a principle which we earnestly commend to the publishers and to all the purchasers of the New Englander. If it is found economical elsewhere, why should it not be far more economical in such a concern as the post-office?

3. But what facilitates the pre-

payment of postage, and greatly diminishes the entire cost of a letter to the department, is that the pre-payment is made by means of *stamps*, which the department ordinarily sells as a commodity to stationers and other retail dealers, as well as to individuals and institutions maintaining an extensive correspondence. Thus postage is sold by the wholesale; and the immense expense to the government of collecting postage in millions upon millions of minute payments, is saved.

The stamps prepared by government are of four sorts. (1.) An adhesive stamp or label, on a small piece of paper manufactured for the purpose, which being slightly moistened adheres to the letter like a wafer. (2.) A stamped cover, or half sheet of paper, in which the letter is enclosed, and which is sold for the price of the postage added to the cost of the paper. (3.) Stamped letter paper, by means of which the letter writer buys his paper and his postage at one purchase. (4.) Stamped wrappers of various prices, for packages and parcels of various weights.

4. Another principle of the new system is that postage is *charged by weight alone*. The reasonableness of this principle needs no illustration. What business has the government to inquire whether my letter is composed of one piece of paper or of two or more? Is it the object of the government to charge extra postage on the transmission of money by mail? But the government runs no risk, and sustains no responsibility, in respect to the money which is enclosed in letters. If it did, it might reasonably indemnify itself, not by charging so much extra for each bank note, without reference to its value, but by a per centage on the amount. Besides, look at the inequality of this charge. Rich men, merchants and bankers, make remittances by drafts written on the same sheet of

paper with the letter, and they pay nothing but the letter postage. But the apprentice boy who, out of his hard earnings, or harder savings, wants to send a dollar to his widowed mother, to help her in her struggles to feed and school his younger brothers and sisters, must be taxed not for his letter only, but to the amount of from six to twenty-five *per cent.* on his poor paper dollar. On the new system of Great Britain, every thing not exceeding half an ounce in weight, goes for a single letter; and no postmaster's clerk is set to poke a wire into its foldings, to see what it encloses.

5. Another principle of the new system is the entire *abolition of the franking privilege*. The privilege of sending letters and documents by the public mails, free of postage, is allowed in this country to a great number of persons, with various restrictions, which are more or less respected according as the consciences of the privileged individuals are more or less efficient. It was so in England. The Postmaster General of the United States in 1839, (Mr. Niles,) declared that, during the last three quarters of the year reviewed in his report, the free matter constituted a very considerable portion of the entire mails. During three weeks only of the summer of that year, the pamphlets and printed documents franked at the Washington city post-office, exclusive of franked letters, amounted to sixteen tons and a half. Who pays for the transportation of all this tonnage, and for its distribution to tens of thousands of individuals? It costs the department just as much to convey a free letter, as to convey in the same mail a letter of the same weight on which postage is to be paid. It may be necessary for the public good, that members of Congress and other dignitaries should have their postage given to them, in addition to their pay and their other perquisites; but how

ought this to be paid for? It is now paid for by those who pay postage. Why should it not be a charge upon the general funds of the government? Why should we, in the walks of private life, pay our own postage and that of members of Congress besides? In Great Britain, Mr. Hill's system has abolished franking. The department is no respecter of persons. The Queen herself—as we understand the case—pays her postage like an honest woman.

6. Another principle on which the new system is constructed, is the principle, well understood among mercantile men, that it is *better to do a large business with small profits*, than to do a small business with larger profits. On this principle it is that the postage is reduced, in that country, to a penny for a half ounce letter. On the same principle, in such a country as this, the postage should be reduced to the lowest uniform rate at which the establishment, taken as a whole, would be able to support itself.

In Great Britain, the reduction of postage has been followed, as was expected, by a temporary falling off of the revenue of the department. The department, however, notwithstanding this falling off, not only supported itself, but yielded for the general purposes of the government a net revenue of about three millions of dollars for the first year; and since that time the revenue has been such as to confirm the expectation of its continued increase, till it shall exceed what was received under the old system of high postages.

This is the outline of the system. Some of the principal advantages which would attend the adoption of a similar system in our own country, are obvious.

1. The most obvious is, that there must needs be under such a system, an immense increase of the corres-

pondence passing through the post-offices, and paying postage. The present system of high postages has the effect, first, of causing a large portion of the correspondence of the country to be carried on independent of the mails. Who goes from Hartford to New York, or even to New Haven, without carrying letters, unless he takes his start so suddenly that no body knows of his going? The probability is that on the route between New York and Boston, or on that between New York and Philadelphia, or on that between Philadelphia and Baltimore, the number of letters conveyed by travelers is, at least, as great as the number conveyed by the public mails. Take away the high price of postage, and all these letters rush into the post-offices as naturally as water runs down hill.

The present system, again, has the effect of causing a very great suppression of correspondence. There are few men, women, or children, capable of writing letters, who are not conscious that under a different system, their letters would be twice or thrice as many as they now are. Especially is this true of those in the humbler circumstances—of the widow separated from her sons—of those sons separated from each other. To such persons, a letter of friendship is often a far greater luxury than it can be to any others. And to how great an extent is correspondence between such persons actually suppressed by the present system. These too, are the very persons who have the fewest opportunities of forwarding letters by private conveyance. How great an increase of correspondence by the mails must there be from these two sources—the throwing of letters into the mails, that now pass through other channels—and the writing of letters that are now suppressed for the want of a cheap and regular conveyance.

But there are other sources from which there would be a still greater increase. Many business men, under a system founded on the principles which we have enumerated, would find that the best mode of advertising is by a printed circular to the very individuals with whom they wish to communicate. A wholesale merchant in New York knows his regular customers, and he knows or can know the address of thousands of other retail dealers in his line. Let the mails be made cheap, and what mode of advertising would be so effectual as to communicate directly with his customers, by sending them just that information which he wishes to lay before their eyes?

Reduce the price of postage, and how many other things beside letters would be carried by the mails. Not only letters and bank notes, and printed paper, but light packages of any description, from half an ounce to a pound or more, would seek such a mode of conveyance. This has been found to be the case in England, to so great an extent, that it is becoming necessary to restrict the right of traveling by mail to packages of a convenient bulk and shape.

2. Another benefit of the reform is, that under the new system, all postmasters and other persons employed in the post-offices, are more easily held to a strict accountability in regard to the monies passing through their hands. The method of keeping accounts with deputy postmasters in England, was, we believe, much the same with that which exists here, which is necessarily complicated and extended. But in that country, they had reason to apprehend that under the old system, collusion between different postmasters, or between clerks in different offices, to assist each other in defrauding the department, was not very unfrequent. It may be more unfrequent in this

country; but if a new system will be more effectual in preventing temptations to this kind of fraud, that, certainly, will be a great advantage.

3. Another advantage of the new system, far more important in our opinion, is that the temptations to petty frauds upon the post-office would cease. Little vices, generally practiced in the community—even when they are practiced without reflection, and therefore without conscious self-reproach—have an effect, unnoticed perhaps, yet disastrous, on public morals. No little meanness is more common with the American people, than the meanness of trying to evade the payment of legal postage. How often is intelligence communicated through the mail by some cabalistic mark on the margin or the wrapper of a newspaper. How often is a double letter folded so as to pass for a single one. How often is the postmaster regarded as a sort of natural enemy, whom it is meritorious to circumvent, and the defrauding of whom is a mere spoiling of the Egyptians. A new system, that would cut up these temptations by the roots, would be an invaluable blessing in respect to the morals of the community.

4. The demoralizing influences of the franking privilege, would be entirely removed by the introduction of the new system. On this point we will not enlarge. Suffice it to say that all political parties charge each other with the most unscrupulous and corrupt abuse of this privilege—abuse that violates the letter as well as the spirit of the law by which the privilege is created. What champion has come forth in any quarter to vindicate the members of Congress and public functionaries, of his own party, against so dishonorable an imputation? We know there are individuals invested with the franking privilege, with whom it is a matter

of conscience to exercise the privilege only within the letter of the law. But how would the profession of such scrupulousness be received by the public press? With what ill-suppressed smiles would it be received on the floor of the House of Representatives, or along the more dignified concentric semicircles of the Senate? And ought such things as this to be endured as a part of the public morals of a free and high-minded people?

5. By the adoption of a system like that which has been described, all parts of the country would be brought into a closer communication with each other. Ties of affinity and blood, as well as of business, connect thousands and thousands of individuals in the remotest districts of the country. In this respect, our country differs from almost every other. Elsewhere, the people of each distinct province have a distinct lineage of their own, and a provincial dialect; and all their ancestors for uncounted generations have lived and died on the same soil on which they live, and on which their children will live after them. How different is it here! Elsewhere the members of the same family, for the most part, live and die at their native homestead, or within a few miles of the spot where they were born. The American, on the other hand, is born for migration, and those who were nurtured under one roof are found, after a few years, scattered east, west, south and north, hundreds of miles apart. Travel from New England westward, through New York, through Pennsylvania, through Ohio, through Indiana and Illinois, far into the woods of Iowa or Wisconsin, and every where you find New England names, and hearts that warm towards their kindred here. There are men and women of every employment and condition, whose most intimate associations and dearest alliances are,

many of them, hundreds and hundreds of miles away. There is the teacher whose trials would be lightened, and his heart cheered, if he could freely communicate by letter with those who were once his instructors or his companions in study. There is the minister of the Gospel, the home missionary, to whose self-denying work free communication with friends, brethren and helpers far away, is of the greatest moment. There is the young man, exposed to strong temptations, whom a free and frequent correspondence with his mother, or his sisters, or with another friend still dearer to his hopes, might keep from falling. There is the anxious wife or mother, who sees the health of some dear one in the family beginning to fail, and who would like to get one word from the old family physician. There are the planters of new towns and villages, laying the foundations civil, ecclesiastical and literary, who would love sometimes to get a short answer to one short question from the judge, the squire, the minister, the schoolmaster, or the deacon, whom they knew in old Connecticut or in the old Bay State. But how, in that new country, can they raise the half dollar to pay the post-office tax upon a single question? It is of no small importance politically and morally, as well as in respect to commercial interests, to make the means of communication between these scattered friends and kindred, as perfect and as cheap as possible. How much would the ties of kindred and friendship between the remotest portions of the country be strengthened; how would the chain of love be kept bright; how would sentiment, thought, knowledge, feeling, flash along that chain like the electric stream—if the means of communication, or rather of communion, should be thus cheapened and perfected. Our post-office system as it now is, is one of the most powerful of the influences

which hold our Union together, and keep these States from falling apart in the agitations of faction. The system, spread through the whole land, and connecting every human habitation with every other, is every where the channel of a vital energy. The more we perfect the system—the more numerous letters of business, of friendship, of scientific enquiry, or of benevolent and patriotic enterprise, pass between the east and the west, between the north and the south—just so much the more do we strengthen the ties that make us one people.

Another inquiry remains, on which we will offer some considerations. Is the establishment of such a system practicable in our country? There are two great difficulties at the outset, which must greatly embarrass the attempt to move the public mind in behalf of this reform.

First, the newspaper press, especially in our large cities, and most of all at the seat of government, has an immediate interest against any effectual change. Many of the evils of the present system, arise out of the monstrous inequality between the postage of letters and the postage of newspapers—an inequality which is, in effect, a tax upon correspondence, for the benefit of newspaper publishers. The postage on a letter of half an ounce weight or less, from New York to Buffalo, is twenty-five cents, while over the same route the postage of a newspaper, weighing from two to four ounces, is one cent. Besides this, the newspaper editors receive all their exchange papers, to any amount, free of postage. Thus it comes to pass, that while the bulk and weight of the mails consist chiefly of newspapers, so that the post-office system seems to exist for the benefit of the publishers, the expense of transportation is paid by a tax on letters. Or, to state particulars, the letters carried by mail are in weight, compared with the

newspapers, as one to twenty-two ; compared with other printed matter, they are as one to four. Of the whole weight of the mails, the letters are about 5 *per cent.* But of the revenue accruing from postage, 86½ *per cent.* is assessed upon the letters, and only 13½ *per cent.* upon all the printed matter. In other words, of a mail weighing 100 lbs., 5 lbs. are letters, 95 lbs. are newspapers and pamphlets. If the postage on this mail is \$10, of that amount \$8.66 will be paid for the 5 lbs. of letters, and \$1.33 for the 95 lbs. of printed matter. On the same principle, then, on which a great English landholder naturally contends for a heavy duty on imported grain, or the proprietor of a Pennsylvania coal-mine for a heavy duty on imported coal—on the same principle on which an English bishop, with his princely revenues and his seat in the House of Lords, contends against ecclesiastical reform, it will not be strange if the proprietors of newspapers in the large cities, and especially at the seat of government, are found in opposition to any thorough reformation of our present system of postage.

The newspapers published in the smaller towns, have not the same vested interest in the existing system. On the contrary, the unreasonable cheapness of newspaper postage, as compared with every other kind of postage, gives to their competitors in the great centers of commercial, political and religious intelligence, an unnatural advantage over them. If the government did not undertake to carry the great newspapers from Boston, New York, and Washington, to all parts of the Union, for much less than cost, (indemnifying itself, be it remembered, by a tax on letters,) the circulation and the influence, and consequently the character, of the country newspapers, would be greatly in advance of what can be

expected, as things now are. The great newspapers at the seat of government, are probably more interested than any others, in the present system. Their circulation by carriers, in the city where they are published, is of course much less than that of the leading newspapers in the great commercial cities. Far the greatest portion of every daily issue must be despatched by the mails into all parts of the Union. During the session of Congress, reams of papers from the offices of the *Globe*, the *Madisonian* and the *National Intelligencer*, are sent in the mails free of all postage, under the franks of the honorable members, whose speeches they contain. It is not improbable that with the franking privilege abolished, and with the postage on newspapers so adjusted that they shall no longer be conveyed for less than cost, those presses at Washington, which now control the politics of the country, would not soon be shorn of more than half their political power. Such a result we should by no means deplore. Yet it cannot be expected that the power now wielded by those presses, will be employed to advance such a consummation. If the reform of our post-office system is ever to be effected, it must be demanded by another sort of public opinion than that which is manufactured by the agency of the great central newspapers with their "affiliated presses."

The other great difficulty which must embarrass at the outset, any attempt to promote a reform, is found in the factitious consequence which the franking privilege gives to every man who happens to be a member of Congress, and in the facilities for electioneering, which the present system affords to each of the great parties that divide the nation, and especially to whatever party happens to have the ascendancy. Without the abolition of the franking privilege, there can be

no effectual reform. Members of Congress, however patiently and patriotically they may listen to any proposal for the reduction of postage, which promises to leave their franking privilege untouched, will for a long time to come, look most unfavorably on any scheme which threatens to curtail this precious perquisite. We may be sure that no Congress, of whatever party, will vote to divest themselves of the right of defraying the expenses of their correspondence, by a tax on the letters of the commonalty, till they are compelled to do so by some manifestation of the public will, too plain to be misunderstood, and too earnest to be trifled with. Nor will any party in the possession of power, willingly forego the use of those electioneering agencies, and those multiplied facilities for influencing the public mind, which the present system affords them. The party—by which we mean not the millions who vote with the party, but the few who shape its policy and direct its movements—will always feel that just now, while the great crisis of another election is not more than four years distant, the greatest good requires them to retain in their hands every agency that can help them in the struggle. The reform must be demanded by a movement independent of party influences, and by a movement too strong to be resisted, or nothing can be done.

But supposing these difficulties to be overcome, is any system of cheap postage, analogous to the penny postage system of Great Britain, practicable in the peculiar circumstances of our country—with our extent of territory; with our many bad roads; and with great districts only sparsely populated, where the majority of the people have little occasion for any vehicle of correspondence? It is not for us to answer this question in detail. If Congress would commission a suit-

ble number of judicious men to investigate the whole subject, the facts which might thus be ascertained, would show what is practicable. Some things, however, the present state of knowledge on this subject authorizes us to regard as certain, which indicate what would probably be the result of such an investigation.

We have already stated, on the authority of the report of the Postmaster General, for the year ending December, 1840, that 95 *per cent.* of the weight of the mails consists of printed matter. It may fairly be assumed, then, that 50 *per cent.* of the expenses of the department are chargeable to the account of newspapers, periodicals and pamphlets. Suppose, now, that this amount of matter should be either entirely excluded from the mails, or so taxed with postage as to pay its own expenses. The expenditures of the post-office department are at once reduced from \$4,750,000, (the amount in round numbers for the year 1840,) to \$2,375,000. But the revenue from letters, under the present system, is, in round numbers, \$4,000,000,* raised by an average postage of 15 cents on each letter. Without calculating, then, on any increase in the number of letters, from the reduction of postage, without calculating on any saving by the principle of advance payment, without calculating on any gain by the charge of postage on all the letters which now go free, the average postage might be reduced at once to something less than 9 cents on each letter, without any decrease of the revenue, by the single expedient of making newspapers and pamphlets pay for themselves.

* These numbers are all taken from the report (of Mr. Niles) for 1840. The report (of the present Postmaster General) for 1841, contains no such statement. The report for 1842 had not been made at the time when the present article was printed.

Does not this one calculation indicate a probability that under a system of uniform postage paid in advance, by the purchase of stamps, with no franking, a half ounce letter might be put into any post-office in the Union, and taken out at any other, for 5 cents, or even less?

And how much would be the postage of newspapers, under such a system? Our answer is, we do not know, and we care as little. In Great Britain, every newspaper, having paid a tax of two pence sterling, before the sheet was printed, and every advertisement in the newspaper having paid an additional tax of we know not how much, and the government having thus a sort of pecuniary interest in the circulation from every newspaper office, newspapers are carried in the mail for nothing. Every other printed paper, however, goes as if it were manuscript, at the rate of two pence for every ounce. But why should our government carry newspapers from one post-office to another for nothing, or for less than cost? Is a newspaper any better than a bible, or a spelling-book, or a Methodist circuit-rider? Has not the circuit-rider as good a right to have help from government, in respect to the transportation of his person, as the newspaper printer to have help in respect to the transportation of his merchandise? We say, then, outright, if it costs the government ten cents an ounce, or more, to take in newspapers at one office, and deliver them at another, let the charge be ten cents an ounce, or more; and then if the purchasers of newspapers cannot afford to pay so much, let them find for themselves some cheaper way.

In whatever we have said on this part of the subject, thus far, we have argued on the supposition that the reform must necessarily involve a great increase of the postage on newspapers. We have chosen to look at the most unpromising view.

Yet we are far from regarding it as certain that, under a reformed system of postage, the reader of a newspaper in the country, will find the price of his newspaper materially enhanced. There is an obvious reason for permitting the publishers of periodical works to use the mails as a means of conveying their publications to distant subscribers, at a less rate of postage than is charged upon letters. Letters come to the post-office, one by one; each letter must be separately handled by the clerks; its direction must be ascertained; the name of the office at which it is received, and the date of its reception, must be written or stamped upon it; it must be wrapped in an envelope with others going to the same office; the name of the proper office must be superscribed on the envelope; and then each separate package of letters must be put into the proper mail-bag. The expense of all this is, in most cases, greater than the simple expense of transportation from the one office to the other. But the publisher of a periodical can do all that is necessary, of this kind of work, at his own office; he may bring all his papers or pamphlets to the post-office, as he now does, in packages and bundles ready for transportation; the whole may be thrown upon the scales and weighed in a moment; and nothing will remain for the postmaster but to receive the postage at his counter, and let the freight commence its journey with the mails. The periodicals, without any distinction between newspapers and others, may reasonably have the benefit of whatever can be saved to the post-office establishment in this way. Let the *publisher* of a periodical, as a regular wholesale customer, be allowed to bring his bundles and packages at the appointed time, and pay for them by weight, at the lowest rate which will cover the expense of transportation and deliv-

ery. Under such an arrangement, the following advantages would be realized. First, instead of newspapers being put into the mails wet from the press, they would be dried at the printing-office, and the mails would no longer groan with a superfluous weight of water. Next, newspapers, designed for circulation by mail, would be printed on a smaller and lighter sheet than at present; and thus the weight to be transported would be farther diminished. Then, again, the privilege of diminished postage being confined to those copies of the work which come regularly in bundles from the publishing office, the mails would be rid of all those papers and pamphlets sent by individuals, which are generally substituted for letters, cheaper indeed to the receiver than letters, under the present system, but more expensive to the department, in the cost of transportation. And, finally, the post-offices would be no longer filled with newspapers and pamphlets, which the persons to whom they are directed, refuse to receive, and which are therefore a dead loss to the department. These considerations make it probable that men practically familiar with the business, would easily arrange a system, by which periodicals might be conveyed in the mails at no greater cost on the whole, to the purchaser, than now. If this is so, the interest of even the great newspaper publishers, against reform, is for the most part immediate and apparent, rather than ultimate and real.

We commend this great public

interest to the attention of our countrymen, of every party, of every employment, in every part of the Union. We commend it especially to the consideration of those whom it immediately concerns—such as all sorts of business men in the commercial cities—manufacturers every where—banking and insurance companies—literary and scientific men, whose postage taxes are the more onerous to them, inasmuch as their correspondence, bringing them no pecuniary returns, is less for their own benefit than for that of learning and science, and thus of their country and of mankind at large—teachers and students in colleges and professional schools—directors and executive agents of benevolent societies—ministers of the Gospel, who are burthened, more perhaps than any other class of men, with the payment of postage out of a small income, for that which concerns other people as much as them. We ask that this necessary reform may be discussed. Let others who think with us, do as we have done, commending the matter, as they have opportunity, to the attention of the public. And, on the other hand, if the scheme is essentially chimerical—if there is some necessity in the nature of things for taxing the correspondence of the whole country, in order to aid a few metropolitan newspapers, and to enlarge the compensation of members of Congress and of other government functionaries, let some man who understands the principles and the details of the subject, make that necessity appear.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.*

WE have here a pamphlet containing three discourses on Capital Punishment, delivered by the author during the session of the Legislature of Connecticut at New Haven in May, 1842. A bill for the abolition of capital punishment had passed the lower branch of the Legislature in 1841; and it was feared by many of the friends of good government, that the measure would now be carried through both houses, it having received for the first time, the recommendation of the Governor. At this critical juncture, Mr. Thompson, who had previously delivered a single discourse on the subject to his own people, was prevailed upon by the solicitations of several of his fellow citizens to bring the subject in three successive evenings before the whole community. Many gentlemen of the Legislature were present, and it would be an aspersion on their understandings to suppose, that the views of such as had previously leaned to the abolition of capital punishment, were not materially modified. The result was, that the vote in the House of Representatives, stood about two to one in favor of the existing laws, in opposition to the views of his Excellency.

We do not however consider the question as put to rest. There is a class of men intent on this change from motives of misguided philanthropy, who of course are not easily to be diverted from their purpose; and there is another class still more numerous and determined, men of dissolute habits and violent passions, and far more hostile to punishments than crimes. What prospect have

we that such men will ever desist from their attempts to break down the power of the State to restrain their licentiousness?

In the first of these classes are comprehended those insane men, who have method enough in their madness, to carry out their principles consistently to their legitimate results. They accordingly denounce all punishments as unauthorized and barbarous. They do not punish their children for filial disobedience; nor allow their schoolmasters to use the rod. They believe in no other divine punishments than such as conscience and the laws of nature inflict on the disobedient. Hence, it is in perfect keeping with their whole system, to regard the laws of the State as unwarrantable restrictions on human liberty. The abolition of capital punishment is a dear object to them, for they have the sagacity to perceive, what some of their coadjutors overlook, that if they can succeed in convincing the people that this mode of punishment is unlawful, in other words, that human life is inviolable, the total subversion of civil government must follow as a consequence.

Were we to go into a philosophic inquiry into the causes of this hostility to capital punishment, we should have to refer to all these classes of men. But as persons of their views and character have never been wanting, we must look deeper for the exciting causes, into the spirit of the age, which has brought persons of such opposite principles into this strange alliance. This peculiar spirit of the age is change; let us say, reform. In obedience to this spirit, the most surprising improvements have been made in the penal codes of many countries, particularly in Europe. Numerous barbarous punishments have been wholly abolish-

* The Right and Necessity of inflicting the Punishment of Death for Murder. By JOSEPH P. THOMPSON, pastor of the Chapel Street Congregational Church, New Haven, Conn.

ed; and others which were once inflicted for many trivial offenses are now confined to the higher class of crimes.* This mitigation of the penalties for crime, it is acknowledged on all hands, has been attended by a corresponding diminution of offenses, and by a far more intelligent respect in the public mind for the laws of the land. It is not wonderful that such facts should bring under discussion the policy of every institution and regulation of human society. Time-honored abuses and wrongs are fated in this age to be summoned into the light of day; and with them must come forth for examination the fundamental principles of all good order and social happiness. With eager inquisitiveness every thing is questioned—every thing is made to answer why it was made and what it is. So prominent a feature of the penal code as capital punishment, it was not to be expected, would escape this general inquisition. There are too many who would gladly slip their necks from danger, and too many who are earnest for every possible alleviation of human suffering, to leave this penalty any chance of slumbering among usages of unquestionable propriety.

This country has reason to thank Mr. Thompson for the promptness and ability with which he met and answered this question at a time of peril. Wherever his discourses may be read, we have little apprehension

that men of virtuous principles will continue to advocate the abolition of capital punishment. The subject, however, needs a more extended and thorough discussion than it can properly receive from the pulpit. And we are therefore happy in being able to promise in a future number *such* a discussion, from the pen of a distinguished member of the legal profession. In that article the question of a gradation of punishments, and all that bears on the policy of capital punishment, are to be considered. In the mean time, we take this opportunity to make a few observations on the moral and religious aspects of the subject.

The position is boldly taken by many persons, that no man or body of men has a moral right to deprive a human being of life. This denial is made on various grounds.

Some maintain that the right to life is a *reserved* right, a right which we did not surrender to society when the civil compact was formed. Thus, Mr. Rantoul, in a report to the Legislature of Massachusetts, January, 1837, says: "When we surrendered to society the smallest possible portion of our liberty, to enable us the better to retain the aggregate of rights which we did not surrender, did we concede our title to that life with which our Creator has endowed us? In no instance can this preposterous sacrifice be implied. The right of life remains among those reserved rights which we have not yielded up to society." This argument rests on the figment of a social compact, as the basis of society—a notion which it surprises us to see gravely advanced in a report to the legislature of the most cultivated State in the Union. But it is more surprising that it should not be seen at a glance, that a social compact necessarily implies a surrender to society of all the rights and powers which are indispensable to its own preservation, among which the right of

* The extent of the recent changes in mitigation of the criminal laws of England and Wales, is strikingly exhibited by the fact that had the offenses tried in 1841, been tried under the laws of 1831, instead of eighty capital sentences, the number would have amounted to two thousand one hundred and seventy two. By an act passed in the first session of Parliament in 1841, but which did not take effect until after the conclusion of the assizes, at which the above eighty sentences were passed, capital punishment was abolished for rape and felonious riots, which, it is calculated, will have the effect of reducing the number of capital sentences annually to between forty and fifty.

taking life is undeniable. What power can there be in a State to restrain and coerce turbulent citizens, or to punish in any manner those who are guilty of an infraction of the laws, if the lives of such are sacred and inviolable? A State without an army, without an armed police, what can it do? It is powerless. Every band of ruffians, every individual ruffian, is too strong for such a government. We presume Mr. Rantoul did not enter either expressly or tacitly into a compact with such a society, 'to enable him the better to retain his rights.' If it is necessary to the very existence of society with power to protect individuals, that society should have the right to destroy life in certain contingencies, then in forming society, the individual must be supposed to yield up to society so far forth a right to his life. He cannot otherwise 'the better retain the aggregate of rights for which he surrendered to society the smallest possible portion of his liberty.' No society can exist, much less protect its members, on the basis of a compact which reserves to every individual the right of life in all contingencies. The right of life, therefore, is not reserved.

Others deny the lawfulness of capital punishment, because an unjust infliction admits of no remedy. This argument is founded on an essential imperfection of civil government. Human tribunals are not infallible. The corruption of witnesses and jurors, and even their mistakes, may lead to the conviction of the innocent. But this is equally true, whatever penalty may be affixed to the crime. It would be impossible adequately to repair the injury, if a person falsely convicted of a crime, should be immured in a prison for the greater part of his life, before the error should be discovered, especially if it should never be discovered. And as there is liability to error in every

case of conviction, and nearly an equal probability that an error once committed will never be detected, this argument goes to the abolition of all penalties, or to the annihilation of civil government—an absurdity which broadly exposes the falsity of the premise on which it rests. It is also worthy of notice, that the very severity of the punishment of death affords the best safeguard against the conviction of the innocent, since it leads to a most rigid scrutiny of the evidence, secures to the accused the full advantage of every doubt, and lays the strongest hold on the conscience and sympathy of the court and witnesses.

Others rest their denial of the moral right of capital punishment on the fact, that it cuts the criminal off from any farther opportunity of repentance. They deny the right of man to abridge the life of a fellow creature, and force him, perhaps unprepared, into the presence of his Judge. They seem to overlook the reflection which their argument casts on the providence of God, who daily summons multitudes into eternity, with as little warning and preparation as fall to the lot of the subjects of capital punishment. Whoever supposes the cases are different, because sudden death, in the ordinary course of nature, is to be regarded as an act of God, who has a right to take the life which He gives, forgets that capital punishment is, in our view, a divine institution. He begs the question, by assuming that it is destitute of divine authority. Whatever society is obliged to do in order to accomplish the ends of society, it may rightfully do; and in all such acts of society, God himself, in an important sense, acts; that which is done, is done by His authority and appointment. It should also be recollected, that capital punishment is supposed to preserve more lives than it destroys. The execution of

a few murderers preserves the lives of thousands, who would otherwise be murdered. The question for the legislator to decide is, whether, in view of the retributions of the future world, he ought to leave the community in such a defenseless state, that multitudes of people will be suddenly hurried into eternity, by the hand of violence; or, on the other hand, prevent most of these sudden deaths, by the capital punishment of the murderer. And he should reflect, too, that death by the hand of the executioner, is, in this country, less sudden than most other deaths. It has no claim to be called a sudden death. When the murderer is arrested and bound over for trial, he has his first warning to prepare for eternity; when he is convicted and sentenced to be executed, he receives another, which points him forward to a definite period when he must die, affording him ample opportunity, in the interval, for every religious duty. It is hence far from evident that imprisonment, which is proposed as a substitute for death, is more favorable than capital punishment, to the spiritual interests of the criminal. The contrary seems to be the fact, judging both from observation and from the nature of man. Who that knows his own heart, can doubt that, if he were condemned to death for the crime of murder, he would address himself to a preparation for another world, with more serious earnestness, than under a sentence of mere imprisonment?

Another objection of a moral and religious nature, against capital punishment, is founded on the duty of forgiving injuries. The precepts which inculcate this duty, are said to be binding on society as well as on individuals. Society must not, it is contended, return evil for evil. But it is obvious that if this class of precepts forbid capital punishment, they forbid also every other kind of

punishment. The nature of revenge does not lie in the amount of evil inflicted. We may revenge ourselves, contrary to the precepts of Christianity, by a light blow with the hand, by a significant shake of the finger, by a sneer. To suppose, therefore, that these precepts are addressed to the State as well as to the individual citizen, is laying the axe at the root of civil government. It is even a plain denial of the right of God to govern His creatures, by the infliction of evil for evil; for if society cannot punish a wrong doer without malice, neither can God. But there is manifestly no incompatibility between the infliction of civil penalties and a spirit of kindness, of good will, of lively compassion toward the criminal, on the part of the makers and administrators of the law. Benevolence is not a blind impulse, but an intelligent regard for happiness. It impels us to inflict evil for a greater good, not otherwise attainable; it steadies the hand of the surgeon; it gives firmness, in a just war, to the voice of command which may extinguish the lives of thousands; it presides in the discipline of the family; it is "a terror to evil doers" in the State; it shines most luminously in the retributions of eternity. Benevolence looks to the good of all, to the greatest good, and perceiving that the peace and security of the community at large will be sacrificed to the violence of a murderer, unless he is cut off, it calls for his blood. And if it should be inquired, what then is the meaning and application of the precepts against rendering evil for evil, the answer is, they are not meant to apply to the cognizance which society takes of crimes, nor to seeking redress for injuries before tribunals of justice; but are directed solely against the intolerable evil of that state of society in which each individual presumes to be judge, jury and executioner, in all cases to which he is a party; and they also

inculcate the virtues of forbearance and forgiveness.

It will be perceived that all these denials of the moral right of capital punishment, as well as the absurd notion that the design of punishment is the reformation of the criminal, involve a denial of the lawfulness of civil government. They all result in this, that man ought to be left to the restraints of conscience and religion alone; that to restrain him from crimes, or to punish his crimes, is a usurpation of the authority of his Maker. This conclusion is sufficiently startling, we would hope, to supersede the necessity of any further notice of them.

We therefore turn the attention of the reader to the Scriptural evidence of the right or lawfulness of inflicting the punishment of death for the crime of murder.

The Mosaic code recognizes and establishes the propriety of capital punishment. The very man to whom the sixth commandment was given, written by the finger of God on a table of stone, thought it unquestionably proper to inflict the punishment of death for various crimes. And what is still more decisive, God himself expressly instructed Moses, Ex. xxi: 12-17, that murder, smiting one's father or mother, man-stealing, and several other crimes, Ex. xxii: 18, 19, should be capitally punished. The Mosaic code, it is true, was made for the Hebrews, and *as such* is not binding on other nations. Still it establishes the essential morality of capital punishment; it shows that the sixth commandment is not prohibitory of it, and that human life is not in its nature inviolable; that, in short, God may require the infliction of the punishment of death for the good of society. And what was then a desirable provision of the penal code, may, for aught that appears, be equally conducive to the public good in every age and country. It is remarkable that the ob-

jections now urged against capital punishment might have been urged with equal or greater force during the Mosaic dispensation. The punishment of death then as well as now, deprived the criminal of any further opportunity of repentance; and as it was the practice of the Hebrews to inflict the punishment immediately after conviction, he had even less opportunity to prepare for death. Capital punishment was then as well as now irrevocable, admitting of no redress in case of its unjust infliction. Then imprisonment offered itself as a substitute for the punishment of death, and was as likely as now to be an equally efficient protection to the community. Then, if ever, capital punishment was inconsistent with the law of benevolence to the injurious, Lev. xix: 18.

The supposition by which it is sought to weaken the force of this argument, namely, that the Mosaic code, the only code of civil law which God himself has given to a people, is founded on a defective morality, is at least sufficiently astounding to merit a reluctant assent. It is said that the morality of the Old Testament is inferior to that of the New, and that capital punishment is a part of this defective morality. But the truth is, the system of morality contained in the ancient Scriptures, is the same which is taught only with more explicitness in the New Testament. It is a grand standing error of fanatics, that Christ in his sermon on the mount inculcates a more elevated morality than that of the decalogue. We need not enter at length into the proof of the identity of the moral codes of the two dispensations; it is enough that Christ has expressly declared that supreme love to God and impartial love to man, the sum of all human obligations, are required by Moses and the prophets. The argument in favor of capital punishment from the place it held in the penal code of

Moses, cannot therefore be set aside by the assumption that that code was framed on the basis of a lax morality.

Another argument, however, on which writers on this side of the question place far more reliance than on that which we have drawn from the Mosaic code, remains to be noticed. It is founded on Genesis ix: 5, 6, where the infliction of capital punishment for murder seems to be sanctioned by our Maker. The passage is this: "And surely your blood of your lives will I require: at the hand of every beast will I require it, and at the hand of man; at the hand of every man's brother will I require the life of man. Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed: for in the image of God made he man." This is addressed to Noah and his whole posterity—to men of all nations to the end of time. It is not, as some have dreamed, a mere prediction of the violent death of murderers, but a *requirement of God*, a demand which He makes on society to deliver up the murderer to death, for the crime of shedding the blood of man. This passage is decisive in favor of capital punishment, unless in a subsequent age the authority thus given was withdrawn. But in no part of the Bible is capital punishment prohibited. The only pretense is, that the spirit of the New Testament is opposed to it. But the spirit of divine legislation is invariably the same; and were it not, it is a correct rule that a law remains in force until it is repealed.

We turn, however, to the New Testament. It may be a source of satisfaction to those who look with peculiar reverence on the Christian Scriptures to know that even there the propriety of capital punishment is recognized. The declaration in Rom. xiii: 4, that the magistrate beareth not the sword in vain, and other parallel passages, are conclusive intimations of this right. An instrument of *death* is used as an

appropriate badge of the civil ruler. He bears the sword not in vain but for good. Can this imply any thing less than that he is justly invested with the power of life and death, and in the exercise of that power inflicts the punishment of death on malefactors for the good of society? Other intimations to the same effect might be referred to, were it not more likely to weary than inform the reader.

We are not prepared however to say that we regard capital punishment for murder as of absolute and invariable obligation: so that it can never be right to exercise the pardoning power in the case of a murderer. The fact that the magistrate bears the sword by divine appointment only makes it plain that he may rightfully inflict the punishment of death in defense of society, and not that he must inflict it upon all murderers. And if we turn to the argument from the Old Testament, it is manifest that the existence of this penalty in the Mosaic code, proves only that the punishment of death may properly be inflicted if the good of society can be promoted or secured by it. In any subsequent age if it can be shown that circumstances have so far changed that this mode of punishment can safely be superseded by a milder penalty, there is nothing in that ancient example to forbid a departure from it. The only question is, whether the instructions given to Noah are to be considered as a rule of civil government of absolute, permanent, and invariable obligation. If the passage admits of exceptions in particular cases; that is, if society may for reasons exercise the pardoning power towards individual murderers, then the rule is not of *invariable* obligation, but only a *general* rule. This it appears to us is the fact. For that exceptions to the execution of known murderers may lawfully be made hardly admits of a doubt. The

good of society seems to require it for the better conviction of *gangs* of murderers, by holding out the promise of safety to any one who will turn state's evidence against his accomplices; and it certainly allows it where murder has been committed by a large body of men: the execution of a part of them answering every purpose of the law. Other cases may be supposed in

which the exercise of clemency may be compatible with public safety, and serviceable to the state. We freely admit that the evil of too frequent and indiscriminating pardons is the tendency of the age; yet the other extreme of making the execution of every murderer without exception a matter of conscience and moral obligation, seems to us to have no support.

WINTER.

STERN winter cometh, with his freezing breath,
 And brow all lowering, and black with storm;
 He shaketh from his locks the blights of death,
 And darkness mantleth round his awful form.
 He walks in terror on the deep, dark sea,
 And with him go his ministers of wrath,
 Which, sweeping onward, uncontrolled and free,
 Fling fearful ruin round their rapid path.
 He sitteth snow-robed on an icy throne,
 That rises beetling o'er the northern pole;
 He looketh—lo! the world is all his own,
 And joy shoots wildly through his horrid soul.

But the spring will come
 In the glad young year,
 And the soft green fields
 Fresh flowers shall wear;
 And the blue skies laugh,
 And the earth be gay,
 And the sun go forth
 On his joyous way;
 And the red-breast chirp,
 And the sky-lark sing,
 And the soul of the world
 Shall be glad in the spring.

Then weep not naiads, o'er your gentle streams,
 That lie all cold, and stiffened 'neath his breath;
 For soon the sun will fling abroad his beams,
 And melt away the influence of Death.
 But sing the death-song o'er the perished year,
 Ye lovely daughters of the untrodden plain;
 Bear, slowly bear along his darkening bier,
 And deck it with the lily, cold and pale:
 Chant, slowly chant the low, funereal dirge,
 Sad, solemn, deep, like ocean's lumbering surge.

* * * * *
 The dead year sleepeth in his new-made grave,
 And o'er him rolleth darkly the eternal wave.

UNIVERSALISM EXAMINED, RENOUNCED, AND EXPOSED.*

"THERE is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth." There is joy likewise among the redeemed on earth whenever one is rescued from the enslaved host of Satan and numbered among the free sons of God; and their joy is great in proportion to the completeness and apparent hopelessness of his former thralldom. This truth was illustrated about two years since, when it became known to the Christian community in New England, that Matthew Hale Smith, who had been a popular preacher of Universalism at Hartford and Salem, had renounced the destructive errors of that sect, and by divine grace had been led, as was hoped, to receive and obey the truth as it is in Jesus, and to devote himself to the upbuilding of that faith, which for twelve years he had destroyed.

After the agitation in Mr. Smith's mind incident to such an entire change in his views, and to the peculiar internal and external conflict which he had experienced, had subsided, his Christian friends, thinking that his practical knowledge of the system and the influence of Universalism, would enable him most effectually to expose it, advised and requested him to deliver a series of lectures for that object. Accordingly he lectured in Hartford, New Haven, Boston, Salem, and many other places, to crowded and interested assemblies, and with great effect.

We were among those who listened to those lectures, and our wishes, and doubtless the wishes of all the friends of evangelical truth, have been gratified by their publication.

From the moment of Mr. Smith's decided renunciation of Universalism, he was made the object of bitter and unscrupulous hostility by his former associates and friends. His private character was assailed, his lectures interrupted by Universalist ministers and others, his person exposed to violence, and his family insulted. The foul-mouthed organs of that abusive sect set upon him in full bay, and all sorts of reproach and calumny were heaped upon him. He was pronounced a liar, a knave, and a madman. Taking advantage of an alienation of mind which he manifested when under the combined influence of disease and great mental anxiety and agitation, their most common charge was that he was insane. But he has given what, to them at least, should be convincing evidence of his sanity. He has written an exposure and refutation of their system of delusion and sophistry, which they cannot answer, or evade, or withstand.

These lectures are seven in number, with an address to Christians warning them against various artifices of Universalists. The style is perspicuous, and easy, and sometimes forcible, though somewhat diffuse and repetitious, owing probably to their being prepared for delivery to a popular audience, rather than for the press. Even in the most argumentative parts, the work partakes so largely of the nature of a record of personal experience—the author expresses himself with so unaffected a sense both of his former bondage to error and of his emancipation by the truth—that the reader's attention, kept alive by sympathy with the writer, rarely flags for a moment. The author thus announces his object:

"The design of the present course of lectures, is to present the reasons which

* *Universalism Examined, Renounced, Exposed*; in a series of Lectures, embracing the experience of the author during a ministry of twelve years, and the testimony of Universalist ministers to the dreadful moral tendency of their faith; by MATTHEW HALE SMITH. Boston, 1842. 12mo. pp. 396.

have led me from Universalism, and induced me to leave a ministry to which I have devoted twelve years of the best part of my life. In doing this, I respond to the call of the defenders of Universalism, and perform a work which they have professed themselves earnestly desirous to have performed. They invite, nay, challenge inquiry. They are confident that Universalism is opposed because it is not understood; they complain that their expositions of Scripture are unnoticed; that their arguments in defense of Universalism are either not examined at all, or lightly passed over; that doctrines are attributed to them, which they have never received, and which they disavow; and that those who speak of the moral tendency of Universalism, know not of what they affirm.

"My acquaintance with Universalism enables me to speak advisedly in relation to its practical tendency. An experience of years with the system and its friends, a settlement over one of the largest congregations of Universalists in the country, and an extensive acquaintance with the preachers of the system in all parts of the country, fit me to bear an intelligent testimony as to that system, and to state what I know and have seen." pp. 3, 4.

The first lecture gives an account of the author's religious experience, and of his life so far as is necessary to elucidate that experience. The second gives reasons for renouncing Universalism, arising from the difficulties that attend its defense; such as the character of its doctrines, striking at the root of all Christian faith and piety; the irreligious character of its ministers and their congregations; the want of confidence, both of preachers and hearers, in their own system, and their public use of arguments the sophistry of which they privately acknowledge; the number and character respectively of those who reject and those who defend it; its recent date; and its want of sanctions wherewith to enforce the duties of life. The third gives reasons for renouncing Universalism, drawn from the threatenings of the Bible. The fourth and fifth give reasons for renouncing the system, drawn from the entire insufficiency and fallacy of the arguments adduced for its support from the Bible, reason, and the light of nature.

The sixth gives reasons for renouncing it drawn from its moral tendencies and results. The seventh gives the argument against Universalism, drawn from future judgment.

We value the work chiefly for two reasons. The first, is its exhibition of the grace of God in reclaiming and converting one far gone in error, and of the means and process by which this was accomplished. The narrative of Mr. Smith's religious experience; the effect which the observation of the evil results of Universalism had upon his mind—one of great natural sensibility; his mental conflict—the conflict between attachment to his theory and his aversion to its effects, and the happy conclusion with which divine grace crowned that conflict, must affect the hearts of God's people. We have read it with much emotion, even with tears. The second reason is, the testimony here given as to the *dreadful moral influence and results* of Universalism, by one who knows them from experience and thorough observation. We have always argued from the fixed principles of the depraved heart, that a system which takes off from that heart all restraint derived from the eternal world, which throws loose the reins on the neck of human passion, which cries to the conscience of the wicked "peace, peace," which promises to men eternal happiness live in this world as they list, which, in short, abolishes the sanctions of God's law and the whole influence of God's government in their bearing on human conduct, must be most disastrous in its effects on moral character. We have seen also something of the *results* of Universalism on society. We have known that a large part of professed Universalists, are among the dregs of the community, anxious for full license to sin. We have occasionally seen a congregation of Universalists, and been struck with the apparent symptoms of moral degra-

dation, and could not repress the thought that an answer to the question, "who hath redness of eyes?" was very obvious. We have known something of the intimate connexion between their place of meeting and the grog-shop and bar-room. But here is a witness from the very center of the Universalist camp, who has seen all its stations from that center to its outposts, who has observed all the host from its leaders to its lowest subaltern, who reveals the whole of what we had seen but a part, and, testifying to the utter corruption and rottenness of the system, more than confirms our observation, and fully substantiates our reasonings from the nature of the case. Mr. Smith has taken us into the "chambers of imagery" of Universalism. He has shown to us the interior life of its ministry and their hearers. He has proved to us by demonstration that Universalism, which outwardly is by no means a *whited and beautiful* sepulcher, is surely "full of all uncleanness" within. His testimony is that of one who entered on his ministerial office with enthusiasm, and performed its duties with great popularity, but by the moral results of the faith, was disappointed, disgusted, shocked, till sensibility and conscience could endure no longer.

We shall therefore, in our review of Mr. Smith's work, dwell principally on these two points.

It is a fact well worthy of our notice, that Mr. Smith did not become a Universalist in opposition to early religious instruction, to all those associations which cluster around the family altar, and to the sacred and undying influences which parental fidelity implants in the heart. Universalism was the religion of his childhood. He says—

"I never enjoyed early religious instruction. In my father's house there was no family altar; no voice of prayer was there heard; no reading of the Bible as an act of worship. I never enjoyed the benefit of Sabbath school instruction;

no friend told me of God; no one instructed me to hush his name, or fear his law. I have no recollection of having ever passed a night in my life, till I was more than twenty years of age, in a house in which there was family prayer, or the reading of the Bible, as an act of religious worship.

"My earliest recollections as to religion, are identified with Universalism." "When I was six years of age, my father embraced the doctrine of Universalism, and became a preacher of the system. Nearly all that I heard upon the subject of religion, was favorable to Universalism; nearly all my relatives were of that faith; and almost all my acquaintances received the same sentiments. Very early I imbibed a hatred toward all systems that differed from this. So soon were the seeds of error planted in my heart." pp. 7, 8.

When he was sixteen years of age, his attention was turned to the subject of personal religion. A seriousness prevailed among his associates, the influence of which he felt. He thought his life was not what it should be, and that his heart was not right in the sight of God. His feelings were enlisted, and in some measure changed, so that he read the Bible with pleasure, and in some small meetings urged his fellow men to repentance. But unfortunately, being in a community far from evangelical, and falling in with teachers of Universalism, and being assured that Universalism and personal piety could harmonize, his religious interest was turned into that evil channel. He adopted the system of Universalism, began preparation for its ministry, and preached his first sermon in Medway, Mass., when between seventeen and eighteen years of age. About a year after, in December, 1829, he removed to Vermont, to take charge of two Universalist societies, one in Brattleboro' and the other in Guilford. Having unbounded confidence in the system which he had adopted, he had no doubt that it would work a great moral change in society, and used every exertion to spread that system, preaching with all the ardor of youth and all

the fervor of sincerity. How his expectations were answered, he thus informs us.

"At the very outset, I was mortified at the results of my ministry, and pained with what I saw in those who were the loudest in their professions of regard for 'the blessed doctrine,' as Universalism was usually called. I saw none of that reform which I expected would attend my preaching; no moral reformation, though none needed it more than my personal friends; no change for the better, though I saw many changes for the worse." "I was praised in the bar-rooms, and my health drank in almost every tavern in the county. On the Sabbath, my congregation came direct from the tavern to my meeting, and went as directly back to the tavern after the meeting. The intermission was usually passed in discussing the merits of the sermon, not always in the most decorous terms; and in drinking my health, with their best wishes for my successful vindication of the salvation of all men."

"While those who attended upon my ministry were called the liberal party, I knew that most of them were profane men; a large portion were open disbelievers in the inspiration of the Bible; and nearly all had been peculiar for their habits of Sabbath violation, passing the day in business or in pleasure. In all things, save an attendance upon my preaching, they remained professedly and really the same. Men came together, but not to be made better. They seemed to desire that their hands might be strengthened in sin; and thought the end of preaching to be, to prove that all retribution was limited to this life, and that all men would finally be saved. When occasionally I urged upon my hearers the duties of life, and lightly reprov'd their vices, I was told that such preaching was decidedly illiberal, and very much like the orthodox. Nor were profaneness, gambling, Sabbath-breaking, or infidelity, regarded as in any respect inconsistent with a profession of Universalism. One of the officers of my society in Guilford, was in the habit of going into the adjoining towns to hear me preach; and I have known him repeatedly to pass nearly the whole Saturday night in gambling with young men at a tavern—young men whom he had invited to accompany him to meeting. And at the same time this individual was engaged in a controversy in a secular paper with a Methodist clergyman, upon the moral tendency of Universalism!"

"One uniform tendency accompanied Universalism in all places. One class of men hailed the doctrine, and wished the preacher abundant success." "Often

have I been complimented with oaths; heard the scoffer and the vile hope the good work would go on; and been wished success in language too foul and offensive to be repeated. When I saw a man in my congregation of an intelligent appearance, I presumed him to be an infidel, and never in this respect was I mistaken." pp. 10, 11, 12.

"Often," he says, "in the solitude of my study, such questions as these, searching and painful, would arise. 'Does good attend your preaching? Do profaneness, Sabbath-breaking, intemperance, licentiousness, fly at the approach of your faith? Do religious fear, godliness, holiness, distinguish its reception among men?'" These reflections, though they made him unhappy, did not yet shake his faith in his system. He consoled himself with the thought, that the fault was not in Universalism, but in its professors.

In the year 1832, he accepted an invitation to take charge of the Universalist society in Hartford. There he attracted a large congregation, and was highly esteemed and well supported by his society. But no good moral results attended his ministry. The founders and chief supporters of the society, its clerk, a majority of its committee, and seven eighths of the pew-holders, were undisguised infidels.

"But," he says, "the absence of good moral results was not the only evil with which I was called to contend. I not only turned no sinner from the error of his ways; called back no soul from the road of death; but I saw positive evils attending my labors. Many who attended my ministry were grossly immoral, and more were waxing worse and worse.

"One fact that transpired among others, made me very unhappy. On Sabbath evenings my church was usually crowded with young men. Many of these would leave the bar-rooms and dram-shops in the vicinity of my meeting-house, attend my lecture, and then retire again, at its close, to those places of infamy, and there pass nearly the whole night. They would drink my health, and praise me and my sermons in the awful words of profaneness and blasphemy." pp. 16, 17.

Oppressed beyond measure by

these facts; not willing to do his fellow men an injury, yet knowing that many could justly accuse him as the author of their ruin; mortified and appalled at the contrast between the character and spirit of the orthodox community and that of his own community, and between the results of orthodox preaching and those of his own; harassed by doubts, and worn down by anxiety and incessant labor, his health and reason gave way. During his mental alienation, his whole theme was Universalism, its tendency, and the insufficiency of the proof adduced for its support. On this subject he had conversations at that time with two of the pastors of that city, in which he revealed what was passing in his mind.

After he had partially recovered his health, feeling that he could remain no longer in Hartford, he resigned his charge, resolved to seek another field of labor. Compelled to reject ultra Universalism, he adopted the doctrine of limited future punishment. Distressed at the immoralities of his denomination, he determined to preach less against the faith of other sects, and more against the sins of his own society; less upon the certainty of the salvation of all men, and more upon the duties of life. He was soon settled over a Universalist society in Salem. There his congregation was one of the largest in the city; but the practical results of his ministry were the same as before. He could not rest in the doctrine, which by an ascending step he had adopted, of limited future punishment. Its effect was much the same as that of ultra Universalism, and moreover he could find in the Bible no evidence of any limit to future punishment, and the same reasons by which he proved any punishment hereafter, demanded its perpetuity. Yet, unable to give up his faith in the ultimate salvation of all men, determined to cling to that, he was greatly

distressed, and could find no peace unless by a great effort he banished the whole subject from his mind, and turned his attention to something else. He wrote and preached often under the influence of doubts almost overwhelming. Once in order to remove his doubts, he wrote a sermon in which he presented in the strongest form all the arguments he could think of in defense of Universalism. He preached the sermon but once, and though his people requested it for the press, he committed it to the flames. When he conversed with his ministerial associates for relief, he did not experience it, but often found them in deeper difficulty than himself. He resolved at length to dismiss the subject of man's destiny altogether from his sermons, and to preach on moral subjects and the practical duties of life, without saying any thing in respect to the final salvation of all men.

"This change," he says, "in the subjects of my sermons was soon noticed, and complained of. Some desired a little more doctrine. Others thought the youth ought to be indoctrinated, and that the minister ought to do it. From various sources, I would hear that strangers who entered my church could not tell what my views were; and my society considered it a reproach, that men could hear a Universalist preach, and not know whether or not he believed that all men would be saved. While others, out of regard to my health and ease, desired me to preach some of my old sermons—the design being to obtain the doctrine which those sermons were known to contain." p. 28.

But notwithstanding this farther change, his mind was not at rest. He had dismissed the subject of man's final destiny from his preaching, but he could not dismiss it from his thoughts. And though he did not yet give up his faith in the ultimate salvation of all men, he felt that as an honest man he could no longer represent a system which was plainly at war with the interests of his race. He therefore wrote a letter to the committee of the Uni-

versalist society, in which among other things, he said :

"If I could serve the society without acting in concert or being identified with the denomination of Universalists, I should be ready and happy so to do.

"If, however, the society should insist upon such a concert of action, I shall hold myself ready, cheerfully, and with the kindest feelings, forthwith to tender my resignation of the office of pastor, and with it all the duties, trials, and responsibilities of that trust." p. 30.

The committee to whom this letter was sent, called upon him to induce him to take it back—expressed their surprise—thought he was committing a suicidal act, and assured him that if he would take back the letter and continue his labors, they would pledge him their honors that no mortal should ever know that it had been written. He told them that the sentiments he had expressed remained unchanged, and that he could not eat the bread of dishonesty—resigned his office, and from that hour has had no official connexion with Universalism.

Impelled by his increasing doubts about the ultimate salvation of all men, he resolved thoroughly and faithfully to review and weigh all the arguments for and against that doctrine. The result of this review was his full conviction, "that Universalism is as false in theory as it is destructive in practice." But the same gracious Spirit who had led him to reject that false system, still urged him on, and pressed the inquiry, "What is truth?" For the system denominated orthodoxy he had by early association and long habit the most perfect contempt and abhorrence. Still, he was constrained to look at religion as a personal concern, and to consider the question, whether he had met with that change and formed that character which the Bible declares to be essential to salvation.

"I felt," says he, "that there was a reality in religion, which I had never known, a power that I had never enjoyed. I longed for something that would

take hold of my own heart, and allow me to speak to the hearts of my fellow men. I was now, in a measure, afloat. I had no settled opinions upon religion. On what side soever I turned, I found difficulties; and on all sides, the horizon was black indeed." "I had no religious acquaintance, to whom I could unburden my mind. My sufferings were great; my anguish more exquisite than language can paint. I did not know where to go, or to whom I could speak; and it seemed to me literally, that 'no man cared for my soul.' I would have given all I possessed, to have found some friend to whom I could have unburdened myself; who would have said some kind thing, or bid me hope in God. But I did not dare trust even my own family. Though it seemed to me that every man I met read my feelings in my countenance, I kept them to myself till I was carried almost into my grave."

"A complaint which, from my childhood, has been the bane of my existence, and which in Hartford had led to temporary derangement, threatened to return. I was admonished that it was time to seek medical advice." pp. 33, 34.

Finding that he could not otherwise answer necessary questions, he unburdened his mind to his physician, who warmly sympathized with him, and urged him not to incur the great hazard of bearing this state of feeling alone, but to seek assistance from some religious teacher. Unwilling to commit himself by seeking sympathy or instruction from those near him, with a trembling spirit and great anxiety he wrote to Rev. Dr. Hawes, with whom he had some acquaintance, and communicated to him his difficulties. The answer, which was sent immediately, was such as might have been expected in such circumstances, from such a source.

"A letter," says Mr. S., "so full of Christian sympathy I did not expect, and, I know not why, I was unmanned for a season, and unfitted for any duty. As soon as my feelings subsided, I resolved to be a Christian, if God would give me grace, to live in his service, and die in his cause.

"But peace came not in an hour. A deep probing of my own soul took place. My sins were set in order before me, and unless help came from the cross, I felt that I must perish, and perish most justly. Against great light I had sinned, and

long and wilfully resisted the truth. I had employed my strength in strengthening the hands of the wicked, and peopling the world of despair with immortal souls. What right had I to expect mercy? what claim upon the grace of God? I was encompassed with awful fears. My days were wretched—my nights were passed in anguish that drove sleep from my pillow. I was awfully tempted to leave this world unbidden, but I dared not do it. I was certain, if I did, I should go to hell. My appetite was gone, my health declining, my strength almost exhausted. O, the worm-wood and the gall of those dark and trying moments! How vivid they stand out upon my memory! How harrowing the recital! I have barely firmness sufficient to pen these events.

"But God at last heard my prayer, and gave me peace." pp. 40, 41.

To his great surprise and joy, when, with much solicitude as to the result, he communicated his feelings to his wife, he found that she was prepared fully to sympathize with him. Her faith in Universalism was first shaken by the *conduct and conversation of Universalist ministers who visited at his house*. She felt that a system could be neither true nor profitable which had such advocates; and several months before his conversion, she had found the Savior precious to her soul; though from fear that a knowledge of her change would make him unhappy, she had not communicated it to him. "Could any one marvel," he asks, "that our first family altar should be one of thanksgiving to that God who had opened our eyes, touched our hearts, and enabled us to begin together a new life in Christ?"

But his long course of distress as to the moral results of his preaching, and of doubt as to its truth; his subsequent unsettled state, his conviction of sin, and anxiety as to his own salvation, together with the hatred and calumny and varied persecution of his former associates and friends, which affected the public mind with suspicion and distrust; the excitement of addressing in these circumstances an immense congregation on the subject of his

change of views; the anxiety attending an examination before an association of pastors for license to preach the Gospel, and before the Tabernacle church in Salem for admission to its communion, added to repeated and exciting conversations and arguments with his Universalist acquaintance, were too much both for body and mind. The disease to which he was liable triumphed for several weeks, during which, under the influence of suggestions and objections urged by his former friends, his mind vacillated respecting the strict eternity of future punishment. Taking advantage of this, his enemies raised the shout that he had returned to Universalism.

At this time, for the restoration of his health, and for advice and sympathy, he made a visit to Rev. Dr. Hawes. While in his family his health was improved, his mind became calm and decided, and his heart fixed.

"It is but just to say," he remarks, "that, if I shall ever be of any service in the ministry of Jesus Christ, it will be very much owing to the friendly attentions, the judicious instructions, and the Christian sympathy, which I received from Dr. Hawes, his kind family, and his affectionate church." p. 48.

After this he spent a few months in New Haven, attending to theological study, where, on the last Sabbath in the year 1840, "a year full of change, anxiety and suffering," he, together with his wife, entered, on profession of their faith, into communion with the First church, in that city. During the next month he took license to preach, from the New Haven West Association, and since that time has been constantly, and we hardly need say successfully, employed in building up the faith which he once destroyed. He is now the regular pastor of a Congregational church in Nashua, N. H.

It is a most interesting fact, that Mr. Smith is the child of a pious

mother, and that her dying prayer was offered for her infant son to Him who in his rich grace has said to his people, "I will be a God to thee and to thy seed after thee." To this fact he thus alludes.

"I have said that nearly all my near relatives were Universalists. There is an exception to this remark; and did I not name it, I should do injustice to the best friend I ever had. My own mother was not a Universalist. She was a religious woman. I have no remembrance of her; for she died before my memory received any impressions of her words or looks. I cannot recall any thing in relation to her. But those who knew her well, speak of her piety and love for the things of God. I was her youngest child; and she wished to live to train me up for God, and to guide me in the way of life. Very early in my life, I was made acquainted with her dying employment. As death approached, she called for me, and took me in her arms, and pressed me to her bosom with her dying embrace. Her last tears were shed for me; her last breath was spent in prayer to God for my welfare and my salvation. It was her dying petition that I might be saved from impiety and sin, and become a useful Christian. That death-bed, and the last moments of my mother, have never left my mind, since first I was told of her dying hours. When far gone in error, this scene has spoken to me. When many have thought me hardened, past feeling, and past redemption, this has made my mind tender, and sometimes almost overwhelmed me." p. 51.

In closing the account of his religious experience, Mr. Smith with very appropriate feelings thus inquires.

"How can I review my past life? The retrospect is terrible beyond description. Twelve years of this short life wasted, and worse than wasted! Employed in strengthening the hands of the wicked; in removing the restraints of the Bible; in preaching peace to the ungodly; in assuring them that they would not die, though they disobeyed God; in alluring men to destruction; in turning men from life to death; and in speaking encouragement to those already in the road to destruction; and urging them on their perilous way! O, what a retrospect! My pathway seems strewed with the wrecks and ruins of souls! My hands and my garments seem stained with the blood of my fellow-men. On every side, lost souls cry out, 'But for you, we might

have been saved!' O that I could recall the past! O that I could wipe out the influence I have exerted, and make those twelve years a blank! Could I do this, I would make any sacrifice. I would weep tears of blood, if I had them, to remove the impressions I have made upon the souls of men, while I was in the ministry of error. But this I cannot do. All that remains for me is, to lift my voice in defense of truth, and tell men what great things God has done for my soul." p. 53.

Such is the history of our author; such his acquaintance with Universalism; such his religious experience; such his competence, both as to knowledge and integrity, to testify of the moral results of that system.

What is his testimony on this point? In this testimony, as we have already intimated, lies the *peculiar* value of this book as a refutation of Universalism. Mr. Smith has indeed presented very well the arguments against the system, both from Scripture and reason. Yet this has often been well done before, and there are many who can do it well again. But there are few, very few, among the defenders of the truth, who have had equal opportunities for observing the *effects* of Universalism, and can give on that point such conclusive and overwhelming testimony.

What then according to this testimony, whose credibility we have virtually considered, are the moral atmosphere and moral results of Universalism? This we will endeavor to give in substance, and as briefly, as possible. And here, by the way, we would remark, that we know of no better test of the truth or falsity of the system than this inquiry. Of systems of faith, as well as of disciples, we are to judge by their fruits. "Ye shall know them," said our Savior, "by their fruits. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?" If a man's works are evil, his heart must be corrupt. If the tendencies and well ascertained effects of any doctrinal system are de-

structive to the best interests of man, that system is false, and has not, cannot have, for its author, the true and benevolent God.

One of the characteristics of error is, that its natural course is downward. This is a characteristic of Universalism. It has *itself* gone down, down, that is, it has gone down in *doctrine*, till it can hardly go farther. It commenced with the rejection of one important article of faith, and has continued this process of mutilation, till now it has not one of the distinguishing features of a revelation from God. "When Universalism was first introduced into the country in 1770," says Mr. Smith, "its advocates denied but one article of the orthodox creed. They rejected simply the eternity of future punishment." Its first downward step was to deny the divinity and atonement of Christ. Its second, to reject the doctrine of any, even limited, future punishment. At the third step it boldly denied that sin is an evil under God's government, and also the existence of hell, the being of the devil, the immortality of the soul, and the existence of angels. It then assailed the institutions of religion. It denied the divine institution of the Sabbath, and devoted it to secular purposes; denied the binding nature and sacredness of the Lord's supper, and virtually abolished the church. Having thus rejected all of the Bible but the name, it becomes in reality identified with infidelity. Accordingly it is found, that a large part—the most intelligent part—of Universalist societies, are openly infidel, and will not allow their ministers to preach against infidelity. We have already spoken of Mr. Smith's testimony as to the infidelity of the great majority of his congregation at Hartford. When he asked them why, being infidels, they supported Universalism, they replied that—

"They thought that superstition, as they used to call religion, should be

checked; that something must be done to keep their wives and children from being orthodox; the world, they thought, was not yet quite prepared for a full advocacy of truth, and Universalism came so near their idea of truth, that it was the best thing the world at present would bear." p. 16.

One of the most intelligent, a physician, answered to the same question thus: "I unite with the Universalists because they are the nearest to nothing of any thing I know of." There is entire sympathy between infidels and Universalists. Says our author—

"When Frances Wright gave her lectures in Boston, the Universalists were among her most ardent admirers."

"The prominent ministers of Universalism were among her audiences, and were seated upon the stage with her at the Federal street theater. She visited them at their houses. And I heard Mr. Ballou, of Boston, say that he agreed with Miss Wright in the sentiments she advanced in her lectures, except in one thing; what she called *religion*, he should call *superstition*." p. 245.

Infidels are freely admitted into Universalist meeting-houses to lecture in favor of infidelity, and constitute a large part of the subscribers to Universalist papers. Mr. O. A. Brownson says, of the two thousand five hundred subscribers to the paper which he conducted when a Universalist, he presumes "that more than half were skeptics, or at least skeptical." Mr. Brownson adds, that "it was very common for the clergymen with whom he was acquainted, to speak of Universalism as a 'stepping-stone,' as 'the best weapon to destroy the orthodox, do away the clergy, and prepare the way for something better,'" and that "he has conversed with hundreds of professed Universalists, who would own to him that they support Universalism only 'because it was the most liberal sentiment they could find, and because it was better than deism to put down the orthodox.'" p. 249.

Mr. Abner Kneeland, who has gone through the Universalist and infidel camps into Atheism, says,

"that he, as an Atheist, has reached his position only by carrying out those principles of interpretation which, when a Universalist, he brought to the Bible." p. 248.

Such is the downward tendency of this error. It began by denying simply the eternity of future punishment. It is now infidelity, almost without an attempt at disguise.

Let us next consider the tendency and effects of Universalism, as manifest in the conduct and character of its advocates. On this point some testimony has already been offered, in giving an account of Mr. Smith's experience as a minister of that sect. But his book is full of most appalling evidence, leading to the same conclusion. We will give a few specimens. And first, as to the character of the Universalist clergy. If piety exist in a sect, we expect to find it in its ministry. But whoever looks for it in the Universalist ministry, will be disappointed. We have already noted the fact, that Mrs. Smith was led to reject Universalism, by the conduct and conversation of Universalist ministers in her family. Says Mr. Smith—

"Among no [other] body of men can be found, I presume, so much ill-will, jealousy, and bad feeling, as may be found among the advocates of Universalism."

"Although associated with them twelve years, I never heard the subject of personal religion introduced in a meeting of Universalist teachers as a theme of conversation, or any topic designed to improve the understanding or mend the heart. But impure and indecent jests, low and offensive stories, remarks that would rule a man out of any respectable drawing-room in the country, together with petty scandal, and criticism of no friendly character, upon some absent brother, make up the conversation of Universalist preachers when in company with each other." p. 65.

"A man may retail liquor by the glass, use profane language, and be an open infidel, and yet be a Universalist minister in good standing. A minister guilty of bigamy, was declared by an assembled council

of Universalist preachers, to have committed no crime against morality or religion." p. 74.

Universalist ministers dislike and "restrain prayer;" and there is no surer sign than this of the absence of piety. Says our author—

"No minister of the sect whom I ever knew, maintains family prayer. I have known many to ridicule the custom; but no one to observe it. I have been often in the families of the principal advocates of Universalism, and passed the night. They have been at my house. I found no family devotions at their dwellings. They expressed no surprise at not finding an altar at my fireside." "I knew one man who asked a blessing at his table. But he did this only when he had company; and was led to the practice by the remark of a friend, who told him he thought it looked strange for a minister to have no blessing craved at his table."

"So far as my own custom was concerned, I neither read the Bible in my family, nor prayed with them. I did not feel it my duty to do so. I should as soon have thought it my duty to turn my parlor into a Mahometan mosque, and gather my family together to see me perform those ablutions which the religion of Mahomet requires, as to have engaged with them in family worship. Nor is this a hard saying. The sect do not consider this thing as a blemish."

"A person of my acquaintance once said to me, after his conversion to Universalism, 'I wonder that the Universalist clergy do not pray in their families, if it were only to stop the mouths of the orthodox.' He set up family prayer for this purpose; but the flame soon went out upon his altar. He gave up his devotions, and ceased to wonder that his new brethren did not pray, even though it might have accomplished the great results anticipated, in stopping the mouths of the orthodox. Indeed, a tropical plant could sooner bloom in Nova Zembla, than a praying man continue such, when identified with Universalism." pp. 227, 228, 229.

Indeed, Mr. Smith tells us, many Universalists deny that prayer is a duty, and argue that this ceaseless importunity is offensive to God; that the editor of the Universalist paper in Hartford, announced through its columns, that for the future he should refuse to pray when he conducted public service, and said that such prayer was wrong, and a tribute to orthodoxy that he

was unwilling to pay; that Mr. Grosh, the editor of one of the most widely circulated Universalist journals in the country, defended this course; and that a large number of Universalist ministers assented to its correctness, but thought the community not sufficiently enlightened to bear it. Thus far as to the fruits of Universalism, as manifested in its ministry.

In this connexion we cannot refrain from quoting—though it is not in logical order—one paragraph as to the *competency* of the Universalist clergy to explain and amend the common version of the Scriptures, and to impugn the faith of the Christian church in all ages.

"In the Hudson River Association of Universalists, a few years since, an attempt was made to establish a rule, requiring of candidates for ordination, the study of grammar, logic, and rhetoric, for the space of six months, under some Universalist preacher; no theological study being demanded. The introduction of the resolution produced a commotion that, for a time, threatened the existence of the Association. It was declared to be 'absolutely *useless*' to possess such qualifications. It was said to be 'one of the abominations of partialism.' Some of the ablest ministers threatened to 'leave the order,' if the resolution were not withdrawn. But the excitement went beyond the bounds of the Association, and the periodicals expressed their indignation at the rule proposed. The editor of one of the most widely circulated Universalist papers says, in respect to grammar, '*We do consider this an absurd requisition for the candidate for the ministry, particularly when many of our ablest preachers could not even now pass the required examination.*' (*Mag. and Adv.* iii. p. 349.) Mr. Andrews says, 'Many of our most popular and useful preachers have no pretensions of that sort; and are, in fact, unable to write a sermon correctly, that is, without gross violation of the most common principles of rhetoric and English grammar.' (*Gospel Anchor*, ii. p. 141.)" p. 75.

Let us now consider the effects of Universalism on those who hear it. We do not usually expect to find a people better than their ministers. "Like priest, like people." The preaching of Christ and his

apostles, alarmed, reformed, and changed the hearts of men. None of these effects, says Mr. Smith, has Universalism, but the very opposite.

"Twelve years in its ministry have not brought one instance of reformation from that cause under my observation. I have never heard of an instance, nor have I ever seen a man who had been more favored than myself in this respect." p. 223.

"In the congregations with which I have had an acquaintance, I never found a family that observed the reading of the Bible as an act of devotion, or had regular family worship. And I have never found settled religious principle among those calling themselves Universalists. Not only have I never found devout reverence springing from the system, but none can live in it. I have observed it a fact invariably occurring, that, when a Universalist becomes serious and thoughtful, he will at once leave the Universalist meeting. And when a pious man embraces that system, he will abandon his habits of devotion, in changing his faith. Men peculiar for their habits of private and family prayer, and for a serious study of the Bible, if they embrace Universalism, become at once as peculiar for the neglect of these religious duties." p. 62.

"I have often been struck with the change in the characters of men, when converted to Universalism. Before their conversion, they had a family altar; afterwards, it was thrown down. Before, they would devote the Sabbath to religious worship; afterwards, to business, recreation, or pleasure. Before, they were liberal in supporting not only the public worship of God, but the benevolent institutions of the church; afterwards, the smallest sum was given with extreme reluctance. I was once instrumental in persuading a young man to embrace my system. He was an artist by profession. He had been religiously educated, was very moral, a strict observer of the Sabbath, and punctual in his attendance upon public worship. I had great difficulty in removing the many objections he urged against Universalism. At length he was satisfied to rest his hopes of heaven upon that foundation. In less than six months from the hour in which he embraced it, his moral sense was so impaired, that he used to work upon the Sabbath." pp. 260, 261.

"The *class of persons*," says Mr. Smith, "usually collected together to hear a preacher of Universalism, is proof of its immoral tendency."

"In the year 1839, I was invited to preach in the town of Lee, New Hampshire. The Sabbath was very pleasant, and a great concourse of people attended meeting. At the close of the morning service, we all went to the tavern. During the intermission, the bar-room was full, and the incessant sound of the toddy-stick announced to me that the waiter was constantly employed. The weather being warm, and the doors all open, I could hear the discussion of the merits of the sermon, and the commendations, mingled with oaths, which they bestowed upon the preacher. All were not thus employed. Some were trading horses; some betting on the relative speed of their animals, and threatening to test the matter when meeting should be done. At the close of the meeting, a scene occurred that I cannot represent. It seemed like the breaking up of some military review. So much cursing and swearing, rude and vulgar jesting, horse-racing and running, that my pen can do little towards describing it. I turned from the whole spectacle sick at heart; ashamed, mortified, and alarmed, that I was the preacher of a doctrine which called such a collection and such characters together." p. 270.

"I have repeatedly had my congregation follow me, upon the Sabbath, from the bar-room to the place of meeting, and then back again to the tavern. In the stage-coach, I have been extremely mortified, when defending Universalism, to have a profane, drinking, dissolute looking person signify to me that he thought my argument conclusive, and that he agreed with me exactly." p. 264.

"Common observation must convince any man that the profane, the intemperate, the licentious, love this doctrine. They call it their own. They support it; they defend it." "When I was a settled Universalist preacher, all such bowed to me as their spiritual guide. When a man died of the delirium tremens, was hanged or drowned by his own act, I was called, as a matter of course, to attend the funeral." p. 263.

The object for which Universalists hear the preaching of their system, evinces both their character and the character of their system. Says our author: "The great purpose of those who unite in Universalist societies, is not to make themselves better, and to throw around themselves new restraints; not that men may be reformed, converted, and made holy; but to put down orthodoxy. If a minister, in place of

preaching against religion, preaches against the sins of his people, he is at once censured as having 'travelled out of the record.' " p. 62.

"The great end of Universalist preaching is to prove that all men will be saved, to show that the doctrines of the orthodox are absurd, and that no retribution is to be found in the future world. As long as a minister attends to this, all will go well."

"But let a minister preach plainly and frequently against profanity, drunkenness, gaming, or any of the alarming sins of the day, and he will at once be reprov'd. No society, that I ever knew, will bear such preaching." "Universalists give their ministers to understand distinctly that they do not come together for that purpose. They are united to put down orthodoxy; and as for hearing their preacher often rebuke and reprove them, they are not disposed to it. They can hear enough of such preaching at orthodox meetings."

"During the latter part of my ministry as a Universalist, I was frequently censured, with oaths, because I did not preach Universalism enough; but enforced too much the practical duties of life. In Salem, I once preached upon righteousness and temperance. Some of my principal men came to me, and threatened to nail up their pews, if I meddled with that subject again. Had I added 'judgment to come,' I dare not anticipate what the result would have been." pp. 275, 276.

So manifest is the demoralizing influence of Universalism, that many confirmed Universalists fear to have it exercised on their families. Mr. Smith tells us that he is acquainted with parents, who are professedly firm believers in Universalism, who have left its meetings on this account, and give this reason for it, saying,—"Our children are old enough to understand, and we prefer to have them under a different influence." This reminds us of a remark of a distinguished Unitarian, who, when asked why he sent his sons to an orthodox school, replied—"Orthodoxy is very good for boys." Strange that men will trust their own eternal well-being on a foundation on which they fear to rest even the temporal welfare of their children.

"Universalism," says Mr. S., "leads to suicide. Its doctrines make it unnecessary and unwise for us to keep an existence which is so full of woe, and which is the only barrier to perfect and endless felicity. It must be folly and madness to continue in this life of disappointment and misery, when, by a self-inflicted death, a man may

—'and

The heartache, and the thousand natural shocks
That flesh is heir to.' " p. 322.

He mentions several cases in which men have acted according to this reasoning—reasoning entirely conclusive, from Universalist premises. Of these we will mention but one, and that partly because it is for other reasons notorious.

"Jonathan Cilley, who was killed by Mr. Graves, of Kentucky, in a duel, was in conversation with a pious lady in Washington the night before he was shot. He confessed that, with the religious views that the lady entertained, he should be deterred from fighting the duel. But, as a Universalist, he had nothing to fear; if he shot his antagonist, the world would justify him; but if he was killed, his soul would immediately ascend to heaven." p. 325.

To this case we may add another of recent occurrence. J. C. Colt, the late murderer and suicide, evidently held the same opinions as to eternal retribution. In one of his letters written while in prison, we find the poor and common sophistry of Universalists, that "a finite sin cannot receive an infinite punishment."

"The reason," Mr. Smith adds, "that so few, comparatively, commit suicide, is found in the fact that there are very few *confirmed* Universalists in the world."

Our author does not leave his testimony as to the moral results of Universalism, to stand alone. He confirms his own by that of a large number, who, like him, have left the ministry of that system, on account of its demoralizing effects. *He mentions the names of thirty-two, whose cases have come to his knowledge.* Among these are O. A. Brownson, who has passed from the lowest point of any thing called

religion, in an ascending series, and through several gradations, almost to orthodoxy; Adin Ballou, and Charles Hudson, now a member of Congress from Worcester County, Mass., whose testimony, especially that of the two latter, as quoted by our author, is very full and emphatic, and accords well with his own.

Additional confirmation of his own testimony, as to the moral results of the system which he has renounced, Mr. Smith gives, by adducing the concessions of those who still continue in the ministry of Universalism. Of these we will quote only one.

"A Universalist preacher, who stands at the head of the denomination, was settled seventeen years in the vicinity of Boston. He had under his charge the largest and best Universalist society. He was very sick, and supposed to be in a consumption. He told me that the moral condition of his society, and the moral results of his preaching made him sick, and almost carried him to his grave. He felt that he had done no good; that his ministry had been the source of much evil, besides wasting the long period of time that he had been settled. Nearly every man who was in the society when he was settled, died during his ministry. And nearly every one that died, was AN ATHEIST, A DEIST, OR A DRUNKARD. He could not remain. He left his charge, and settled over a small congregation, resolved to change his style of preaching, expecting to see a different result. Vain hope, while Universalism is preached!" p. 315.

It is cheering to the friends of truth to be informed, as they are by Mr. Smith, that "*Universalism in this country is on the wane.*" We occasionally hear from the organs of Universalism boastful accounts of the rapid spread of their system, and of the formation of great numbers of new societies. But by these statements, as we are told by our author, the community is greatly deceived. True, many new societies are formed; but most of them die, and die in infancy. And the Universalist papers, while they tell us how many new societies have been organized, do not tell us how

many, during the same period, have come to an untimely end. They keep a record of ecclesiastical births, but not of ecclesiastical deaths.

"Many," says Mr. S., "are formed to-day and die to-morrow. They are composed of discordant materials which cannot long hold together. One society is organized, because there is a revival of religion in the town; another, because the use of a church for a lecture has been refused; another, to keep women and children away from religious influence. Preaching is sustained awhile; till the fit of zeal has passed off; and then the whole attempt is abandoned. *In New England alone, more than one hundred Universalist societies have run down since 1830.*" p. 272.

"The character of these societies is so graphically described by one of the sect, that I will allow him to speak for them. Hosea Ballou, 2d, says, 'Here is a [Universalist] society that has perhaps gathered in a considerable number of members, whose ability in worldly means is equal to that of any society in the town. Indeed, they sometimes congratulate themselves on their strength over a feeble society of another faith, which nevertheless manages to support constant preaching. They, on the other hand, feel that they cannot afford to settle a pastor, nor indeed to procure the ministrations of the gospel more than a part of the year—perhaps through the warm season, possibly but half of the time even then, or only occasionally. But when they do have preaching, the thing is done up in the earthquake style. Notice is published all abroad, and when the day arrives, in come the wagons and carriages, horsemen and footmen, from a dozen miles around, and fill the church to overflowing. Many a glance is cast forth at the smaller neighboring congregation—it is a wonderful triumph; they have beaten their neighbors twofold, and this was what they meant to do. The matter is talked of; perhaps they get it published; and then—their church is shut again, till they can gather excitability enough for another convulsion fit, or rather till the apparatus is ready for *galvanizing* the dead body once more.'" p. 273, 274.

"This is a most accurate description, given, not by an enemy, but by a friend; not from report, but from actual knowledge; and by one, who, in company with myself, has assisted in *galvanizing* many a society of this description." pp. 273, 274.

"Take any place in which Universalism has existed six years, and draw a circle around it of ten miles, and you will find Universalism to be less flourishing than at its commencement." p. 326.

For the particulars which constitute the proof of the truth of this statement, we have not room. We must refer the reader who wishes to see them, to Mr. Smith's book. Such is the sinking condition of Universalism in America: while in Europe, the land of its birth, where it began with James Rely, in England, in the time of Whitefield, it has hardly an organized existence. In Liverpool there is a society consisting, says its minister, of "a few stragglers, amounting in all to some hundreds." "In Scotland there are three small congregations, numbering less than one hundred souls each. But these are Trinitarians, and make the doctrine of the Trinity the test of fellowship. *They do not recognize the Universalists of this country as Christians.*" Universalists in this country have made many attempts to cultivate the acquaintance and gain the fellowship of those in Europe, whom they have supposed to be of the same faith with themselves. But these attempts have resulted only in mortification. They wrote to Professor Tholuck. He replied once, and then, having ascertained their belief and character, declined all farther correspondence. A box containing a copy of each of their principal publications, sent to Mrs. Sherwood by some American Universalists, who thought they had reason to hope for fellowship with her, was returned unopened. Mr. C. J. Lefevre, a popular preacher of a Universalist society in the city of New York, went as delegate to "the liberal churches in Europe," by appointment of the General Convention of Universalists, with the high expectation of "lifting up his voice in defense of God's universal and efficient grace in London, in Paris, in St. Petersburg, and if possible, in Rome." He was invited by a Unitarian clergyman near London, to preach to a congregation of thirty persons! "*This*," he says,

"was the only time I officiated during my residence in Europe. It was the only opportunity that was afforded me."

"In truth," says Mr. S., "there is no Universalism in Europe, such as is thus called in America. THE SYSTEM OF AMERICAN UNIVERSALISM HAS NOT A SINGLE DEFENDER IN EUROPE." p. 344.

In reading this work of Mr. Smith, we have been pleased with the illustration which it furnishes, of the truth, that God brings good out of evil. By his experience in the ministry of a destructive error, he has been peculiarly qualified for the exposure and refutation of that error. While engaged in proclaiming a system which heals slightly the hurt of conscience, which says "to every one who walketh after the imagination of his own heart, no evil shall come upon you," he has seen more extensively and thoroughly than he otherwise could, the baneful influence and appalling results of that system, and thus gained possession of a weapon against it, which can neither be parried nor resisted; and this weapon; thus placed in his hand by the ministry of error, God by his grace has turned to the destruction of error. Winning over to his service one of the servants of Satan, he leads him on in an irresistible attack upon those strong holds of Satan, the weak points of which he had learned while employed in their defense. One of the very priests of the temple of impiety, he uses as an instrument to expose its corruption.

We may learn also from this work a lesson of charity, in judging of those who are in great error. It teaches us—what we have believed hardly possible—that a Universalist minister may be in a sense honest in his work.

Let us not be misunderstood. We say *in a sense* honest. We by no means agree with those who talk of the innocence of errorists. We do not believe that God so consti-

tutes men, that they necessarily do all that evil which results from error on practical subjects. We think that man is able and bound to believe the truth. We are confident that all false principles and opinions, on practical subjects, are criminal. If man does evil, he is guilty *somewhere*. If he does wrong, thinking that he is right, his guilt is at the point where he formed his wrong opinion. God has given us faculties capable of doing good and avoiding evil, and if we do evil, we, at some point, abuse those faculties either by misuse or neglect. In the more enlarged meaning of the terms therefore, a man cannot be honest or conscientious, in a course of evil or injurious conduct. He cannot be honest or conscientious *clear through*, in all that goes to make up that course of conduct—honest both in his action, and in forming the opinions and principles which led to that action. It is a libel on our Creator to say so. He has made us capable of doing the right and shunning the wrong, and that at all times. If we do wrong or evil, thinking that we do right, then we *thought* wrong; then we formed a wrong opinion on a practical subject, and whether we formed it yesterday, or twenty years since, we did it criminally. At that point, we knowingly neglected, perverted, or resisted light, and truth, and evidence. At that point, conscience condemned us. And for our wilful ignorance, or prejudice, or obstinacy, or hatred of truth, at that point—for this, when we appear at God's tribunal, we must be speechless. We may say, moreover, that he, who has formed false opinions and principles which lead him to a course of evil conduct, cannot have an entirely *sound* conscience. There is ever in his conscience a hollow spot, a misgiving, which, should he regard its indications, would lead him to the truth. When we say then, that a Univer-

salist minister may be honest in a sense, we do not mean *thoroughly* honest—honest in the formation, as well as practice of his principles. We mean simply, that while preaching Universalism, he may really think that Universalism is true. This, as we before said, we have been slow to believe; so palpable a contradiction to the Bible is that system.

Mr. Smith testifies that he really believed Universalism to be true, and began to preach it with enthusiasm, thinking that it would accomplish good results. Early instruction, the counsel of father and kindred and acquaintance, led him to hate orthodoxy, and embrace the error of universal salvation. The growth of wrong principles, thus early implanted in his mind, was favored by circumstances; and he became an earnest and public advocate of these principles, verily thinking that they were true; just as Paul “*verily thought*” that he “*ought to do many things contrary to Jesus of Nazareth.*” We can even believe, that those who have received their early instruction in orthodox communities and families, may, sometimes, honestly in the sense explained, enter on the ministry of Universalism, led thither by following out logically to their results, the philosophy and traditions of men, which have often been mingled with orthodox expositions of the commandments and truths of God. This evidently was the case with Rely, the father of Universalism in England, who made out his scheme by uniting the plain doctrine of the Scriptures, that Christ died for all men, with commercial views of the atonement—with the idea, that the atonement *pays the debt* of all for whom it is made. This was the case with Murray, who, with his Antinomian views, could not justify the ways of God to men, except by the doctrine of universal restoration. Believing,

that for an act committed not by themselves, but by their common progenitor, all mankind were placed under condemnation, he felt pressed to find, as he thought he did find in the Bible, the doctrine, that the whole race were united to Christ, and made partakers of the rewards of a full obedience rendered by him for all. Denying man’s free-will, and believing that all his actions are such as they are by irresistible necessity, he felt pressed to admit, that those who perish thus by sins which are inevitable, would in some way be rescued by him who placed them in so hard a condition. Believing, that God in his perfect benevolence desires the salvation of all men, and that by sheer power he can sanctify all, he felt bound in logic to adopt the doctrine of the final salvation of all. So it was to a great extent with Winchester, who, like Murray and Rely, seems to have been honest in his opinions. Thus doubtless it has been with many others. So prone are men to make the Bible mean what they think it ought to mean, what they think it must mean, in order to be vindicated. Mr. Smith tells us, that of the thirty two ministers whom he mentions as having renounced Universalism, shocked by its moral results, twenty five entered the ministry of that system from the ministry of another faith.

We would not however, intimate that any large proportion of Universalist ministers are honest, even in the sense above explained. Facts oblige us to adopt the conclusion, that many of them preach error, knowing it to be error, and thus for gain destroy souls for whom Christ died. Still, the fact that any among them are honest, should teach us candor and charity in judging of all errorists. For if a preacher of Universalism may be honest in any sense in his error, who may not?

But we would add, and the experience of our author and his ac-

count of the experience of others confirm the truth of the remark, that the limited measure of honesty which there is in the Universalist ministry *cannot remain there long*. It is a deadly work, in which honesty will either expire or fly in terror; in which conscience will either be seared or revolt. Men may follow their logic in theory, but when it leads them to disastrous results in practice, if honest, they will start back alarmed, and retreat. An honest physician may theorize wrong in medicine, but when he finds that his theory proves deadly in practice, he will not persevere. He will take it for granted that there is an error in his premises or process, and retrace his steps. He will not proceed, when he looks back on his path strewn with the dead, and sees that his medicine is more destructive than disease. So a man, honest in a sense, may theorize himself into Universalism, and enter on its ministry, but when he sees, as he must see in its ministry, its disastrous results; when he sees how piety can neither thrive nor live in that pestilential atmosphere, while impiety flourishes and exults in it as in its peculiar and chosen clime; when he sees how it encourages sin in all its forms; how its path is trod by the Sabbath breaker, the profane, the intemperate, the licentious, the disbeliever; how it is abhorred by the good and loved by the wicked, deprecated in the prayers of the one and praised in the profaneness of the other; how its results, in short, are moral corruption and rottenness, he will be disappointed, shocked, appalled, and give up either his office, or his honesty. He must either leave its ministry as the ministry of spiritual death, or go on in that ministry with a seared conscience.

The experience of our author, illustrates also our great responsibility in forming our opinions and adopting our principles. Licentious-

ness of opinion, where thought and expression are free, is very common. Men are fond of saying, "I'll think as I please." They should remember, that they think under responsibility to God for their opinions, and the results of their opinions; that they think under the inevitable and solemn obligation to think *right*. Mr. Smith early imbibed a prejudice against the doctrines of the cross, and adopted the sentiments of Universalism. This prejudice, these sentiments, led him to labor twelve years in the ministry of ruin which Satan commenced in Eden—to devote twelve years of the best portion of his life to a war upon the truth, and to the dissemination of a system of error, more fatal perhaps than any other to the souls of men. Gladly now, in his repentance, would he make any sacrifice to blot out the effects of those labors, and save the souls whom he has ruined. Yet all this time he verily thought that he was declaring the truth. Why? *Because blinded by false views and principles*. Oh, it is a fearful thing, it involves fearful guilt, to have a perverted conscience, a conscience so distorted as to harmonize with error. In this distortion and perversion of conscience by false opinions and principles, is often concentrated in one dark point, the guilt of a long series of crimes. In the adoption of the wrong opinion, that he "ought to do many things contrary to Jesus of Nazareth"—an opinion adopted by obeying his Jewish pride and prejudice, by shutting his eyes against the clear light which revealed God manifest in the flesh, and the divine authority of the religion of Jesus—was concentrated the guilt of Paul's many acts of persecution, of his work of violence, imprisonment, and murder, carried on against the saints. The awful guilt of the infidel—the guilt of a life of rebellion against the Son of God, denying his authority, reject-

ing his mercy, and trampling on his blood—is concentrated in his infidelity, in that false opinion as to the truth of the Bible, which he has so wilfully adopted, and which by necessity leads to, indeed involves, such a life. How great then is our responsibility, in forming our opinions and adopting our principles! How carefully should we attend to the truth, searching for it as for hid treasures! How free should be our minds from prejudice, and partiality, and obstinacy! Yet how common are these faults among men, especially with respect to divine truth. The intimate connexion between falsehood in principle and criminality in action, should lead all to beware how they tamper and trifle with the truth, especially religious truth.

But the most important lesson taught by this work, is that on which we have chiefly dwelt, and for which especially we commend it to public attention—the bad moral tendency and results of Universalism. We think the volume fitted, on this account, to produce a salutary effect on those in the community, (and they are more numerous than is often thought,) who are more or less skeptical on the subject of eternal punishment. We wish it might be read attentively by them all. We ask them to look at the nature of the two systems, of the one which denies, and of the one which affirms, future retribution, and at their comparative bearing on human virtue and happiness; to consider, how the one lacks all adequate sanctions wherewith to enforce the duties of life, while the other brings the whole weight of two eternal worlds—a world of bliss and a world of woe—to press upon man during every hour and moment of his probation, to urge him on to holiness. We ask them to look at the actual results of the former system as they are described in this book, by one who has been an eye-witness of

them, and knows whereof he affirms, and then to say whether a system, which tends to produce, and does in fact produce, such fruits, can be from God, or can be true. We have occasionally met with men, and men of by no means inferior intellect, who declared their belief that the system which denies eternal retribution is true, and the system which affirms eternal retribution is false, who yet acknowledged, that the latter is, and the former is not, “a good thing for the people.” But is not this a palpable inconsistency? Does not the fact which they admit flatly contradict their belief? Is it so, that falsehood is better “for the people” than truth? Has God so formed the mind, that moral corruption and degradation follow the belief of the truth, and moral soundness and elevation the belief of error? Must we believe a lie in order to be virtuous and happy? These men acknowledge that, in every thing except morals and religion, success is obtained by, and in proportion to, conformity to truth. They can show no good reason why, in the department of ethics and religion, truth should not be as beneficent, and error as injurious, as in the departments of natural science and human industry. They must be compelled to admit as honest men, that truth is *universally* the friend, and error *universally* the foe of man; and therefore, that that system of faith, which in the highest degree promotes human virtue and happiness, is true; while those which are unfriendly to human virtue and happiness, are false. We doubt not, that the reader of this work who thus judges, will conclude that the doctrine of eternal retribution is “from above,” and its denial “from beneath;” and that there is no declaration more true and important, than that the wicked “shall go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal.”

TECUMSEH.*

WHENCE is our literature to be formed? What are the elements which must enter into its composition?—and what shall be its charter? Cut off in a great measure from those associations which act with such power upon the European mind—passing yet through the infancy of our national existence—living under an organization, that exhibits none of the pomp and show of the old monarchies—from what sources can we draw life and nourishment for an elegant national literature?

To the man of *science*, a new world like this opens a most inviting field. To him the ground is desirable, chiefly because it is new and unexplored. It is *his* to search for the traces of ancient organic life, to unlock the deep treasures of the earth, to discover and arrange the plants, that have been growing here in solitude from age to age; in a word, to classify and systematize all things, which fall within the domain of science.

But for the poet, who lingers most fondly among the records of ancient men, the aspect of a new world is barren and forbidding. He seeks the materials for his delicate fabric, where man has left the traces of his works. Hence it is, that countries which bear upon their faces the impress of old wars, which are filled with broken and scattered relics, whence he may read the stories of strife, and suffering, and human-sorrow—these are the regions that seem best suited to the purposes of the poet. Let it not be deemed idle, that we attempt to *reason* on a theme like this. The mind as well as matter, is subject

to law; and from our large experience of the past, we are enabled to determine the motives which influence it, and the course it will pursue. If we attend to the origin of the European literatures, and observe the manner in which they have grown up, we shall find that the mind is led almost unconsciously into this creative action, by the contemplation of the *past*. The states of Europe stretch far back in their history. They were formed by slow degrees into order and system, from elements originally chaotic. They have risen to their present greatness, through continual struggle, and turmoil, and confusion. They have passed through forms of organization, eminently fitted to awaken human energy, and stimulate to bold deeds. And when at length they began to emerge from these tumultuous scenes, and a milder spirit pervaded them—when men had time to sit down in silence and muse on life and its concerns, what so natural, as to turn the thoughts back, and survey the tumults that were passed? It is delightful, amid the stillness of after years, thus to contemplate the struggles that are ended—to hear in fancy the noise of battles which have long been closed. Moreover, in Europe, as in every old land, the memorials which meet us at every step, naturally lead the mind backward amid the stir of earlier times. The cast-off armor of old generations, still hangs in her dwellings or rests beneath her soil. The peaceful husbandman strikes upon them with his instruments of labor. A thousand old and romantic traditions still linger about her ruined castles. Hence, from the first dawn of European literature, the mind has been employed in reproducing this ancient life, giving it a new ex-

* Tecumseh, or the West thirty years since; a poem, by GEORGE H. COLTON. New York, Wiley & Putnam.

istence in the pages of poetry and romance.

We see then how age fits a country for the contemplation of the poet. He delights in a land that has been long trodden by men, that has become renowned for valor and generosity, and is strewn with the ruins of old systems. It cannot be denied, that a national literature originates in this reverence and romantic love for that which has gone before us. Every one at all familiar with English literature, especially in its earlier stages, must have remarked how entirely it is concerned with things of a former age—the storming of castles, the romantic love and adventures of some wandering knight, the fierce contentions of clan with clan, the supposed agencies of dragons and monsters and fiends; in short, every thing that belongs to chivalrous life. The institution of chivalry, with all its rich and romantic associations, forms the magnificent background for European literature. It stands in relation to the present, like those great mountainous realms of northern Asia, whence issue a thousand streams to water and fertilize the distant and sunny plains below.

With these introductory views, we are prepared to turn to our own land and inquire, what have we here? What materials has time consecrated and made ready to our hands? Many have surveyed the field and cried, "it is all barren." We are to take our position on the heights of the present, and overlook the past. We are to remember, that our view is not to be bounded by the narrow limits of two hundred years. We are to stretch back as far as we can follow the footsteps of men. Every thing that appertains to this western continent, has a dear and intense interest to us. Every trace of ancient life, every record which remote generations have left, every monument of an-

cient civilization and power, every instrument of war or of peace, that lies buried beneath our soil—*these* are our property—*these* are our memorials. The ruins of old cities now sleeping in the silent forests of Central America, the venerable mounds scattered along our western rivers, covering the bones of departed nations, the remnants of temples and palaces, rising here and there through the wide regions of the south—in a word, every thing vast and shadowy, associated with the movements of men in these western climes—all these unite to form the background of American literature.

No one can survey this field with a full appreciation of its extent, and not confess that it is grand and inspiring. Had our fathers found this land an uninhabited wilderness, had there been no stir or sound of life through all this wide domain, nor a trace of any former existence, it would still have been a field for poetry. The idea of a great land lying undisturbed for thousands of years, passing silently through vast organic changes of growth and decay—old forests growing up through the long lapse of years, falling down piecemeal, and mouldering again to earth—mighty rivers moving along from age to age, bearing upon their bosoms the spoils of the wilderness—all this would have moved upon an imaginative mind and given birth to a new order of poetry. But we are not left with this alone. As the artist when he paints a landscape always shows us a form, on some rising ground, gazing upon the beauty of the scene below, so here we have the additional interest of the spectator. The whole becomes associated in our minds, with the hopes and fears, the joys and sorrows of our mortal life. The inquiry instinctively rises in the mind, what was transpiring here during all the commotions of the eastern world? What was agitating the human bo-

som here, while battles were fought, and kingdoms were rising and falling in the East? It is useless to urge against all this, that the race which inhabited these lands were no part of ourselves, that they were a savage and cruel people, that they dwelt in miserable wigwams, and lived like the beasts of prey around them. It matters not that we were originally of another race. We have become associated with all who ever inhabited this western world. A man cannot find an arrow-head in his fields, but he must needs stop and think of it a little, and carry it home to his friends. It is a kind of standing tradition to him. It tells him a story of strange life, and of wild deeds, which he always delights to hear. If he chance in his peaceful occupation to strike upon some depository of the ancient dead, it acts upon his mind like some new and wonderful history. He can never leave talking of it. No mind is so stupid under such circumstances, as not to feel in some degree the poetry and romance of the past. There is no doubt, that these aboriginal tribes were savage and ferocious. But this matters not. Through the misty curtain that time hangs around the actors in this ancient drama, we discern only the fair and beautiful. It is by this happy operation of nature, that the past becomes so dear to us—that the memories that come flocking to the mind from its silent depths, are as sweet as our anticipations of the future. Bad as the mind may be, it is a high argument for its native glory, that it thus instinctively separates the evil from the good, and stores up within itself only those beautiful memories, which are the patterns of a perfect state. Who can think of an Indian a thousand years ago, sitting by the banks of the Mississippi, or wandering through a moonlit forest, without a certain charm and sense of delight? But

it may be asked, how is all this to be turned to any account? Will any one dare to lay the foundation of a poem back amid these shadowy scenes? Will any one be so bold as to break loose from all the influences of civilized life, and weave his plot of purely Indian elements? We see no reason why this may not be done. Men are always faithless in matters of this kind. They survey a field like this, but they have no eye to discern its beauty, or its uses. It appears desolate and waste. Suddenly, the magician strikes the soil. He raises before us forms of beauty and power, of which we had never dreamed—yet we discern in a moment that they belong there, that they are the natural occupants of the places, and that they have only been concealed from our view. The old comparison of the statuary suits our purpose. He discerns the form he is after, while the marble is yet in the quarry. He opens the earth, clears off the mass around, and there he finds the statue just as he saw it in his dream. The poet has this discerning eye. He sees forms which other men cannot see, till he has disclosed them. It is impossible to specify all the ways in which the past history of this country may furnish themes for poetry. It is sufficient, to speak in this general and abstract way of its resources. It is not necessary, that we ourselves should be the magicians that can raise these forms. From what we know of the growth of literature among the different nations of the world, by watching the phenomena of its progress, we are enabled to judge of the resources which a land presents for a polite literature.

There is much in the character of the Indian, that is poetical. We find in him none of the effeminate softness of the Asiatic, or the vulgar savageness of the islanders of the Pacific. His character, it is true, is distorted; but much that is noble

is still impressed upon it. He nourishes with sleepless care, some of the better elements of human nature. His mind is ennobled and enlarged by the contemplation of the Great Spirit, and by the expectation of that more perfect state, into which he is to be ushered after death. His heart is susceptible to love, and pity, and gratitude. In short, we cannot form an abstract conception, which shall represent the great peculiarities of the Indian character, without feeling that we are in the presence of a lofty and commanding personage.

We behold them moreover a fading race, year by year shrinking back farther into the hiding-places of the wilderness, as the star of civilization travels towards the west. We have far more reason to love them, than they us. When we leave out of view the more savage features of their character, and dwell only upon the pure and lovely—when we reflect upon the workings of that lofty faith, which is ever present in the hearts of these children of the forest—we can feel that we have far more sympathy with their inner life, than we may have supposed.

The Indian character too is shadowy and obscure. We have to wait a long time, before those heroes that figure in the open world, and whose acts are recorded in books, become sufficiently romantic for the uses of the poet. But the forest itself throws a sufficient veil around the Indian character, making it suitable for the poet, without the aid of time. Two hundred years will not suffice to throw such a curtain around the heroes of the Revolution, as the shades of the wilderness are ever spreading over its inhabitants. The point in the history of our country, which at present seems most fit for the poet, is that transition state, when the European and the Indian are brought side by side, each revealing the character of the other, in new and stronger proportions. This was a time too of doubt and danger and

suspense—a time of fierce strife and bold adventure. Both parties are obscured in a measure, by the shadows of a wilderness life. As time moves on, the acts of our regular history will become interesting and romantic themes, though at present they are too gross and material.

When however a nation has arrived at a certain point in its upward progress, and a pure and elevated tone of thought begins to prevail, a change gradually comes over its literature, which at length becomes most manifest. The mind no longer busies itself with the contemplation of mere physical facts and historical phenomena. It seeks to hold converse with the deeper mysteries of our nature; it explores the inner chambers of the soul, where thought resides. Let not this be deemed visionary, or without some meaning in its application to ourselves. Though our nation is young in years, we are old in this maturity of mind, and advancement of thought. In this matter we stand side by side with England, and for confirmation of what we have said above, we may refer to the work that is now going on there. What is the poetry of Wordsworth and his contemporaries, but an exemplification of this clear and intellectual spirit? It is the poetry of a contemplative age, framed for men who have turned aside from the hot pursuits of war and vain ambition.

It is almost unnecessary to point out the bearing of this argument upon ourselves. As the literature of England has already passed in a measure from the contemplation of mere historical phenomena, to those more elevated themes which concern man, not as a member of a particular nation, but as a thinking, reasoning being, formed for happiness and immortality; so we, possessing the same elevated feelings, have less need of those materials on which the poets of an earlier age have labored. In short, we are

disposed to think that the great outcry that has been raised against this country, in these particulars, is in a measure unmeaning. We confess as yet little has been done, and it was perhaps natural that it should be so. And yet the American mind has not been altogether idle, nor have we so great reason for shame as many of our own and foreign writers have been disposed to think.

Among the fugitive poems that have appeared during the last twenty years, we have many that shine as gems in our infant literature, and that have not been surpassed by any which have been put forth in England during the same period. We have seen no specimens of English blank verse for several years, that in fineness of moulding, in ease and gracefulness of flow, and in beauty and strength of diction, can rank above some that have appeared on this side of the water. In lyric poetry our literature is rich. Few finer things have ever been composed, than some of those little morsels of song that are now circulating among us. But it is the fate of this kind of poetry, that it does not receive its due honor. It is too fragmentary. The mind is confused by the multiplicity of objects. As in some large and beautiful garden, we are hurried from flower to flower, until the mind becomes distracted amid the variety, and we retain only a general impression of beauty, without remembering distinctly the forms in which it was embodied. Hence it is that a nation seldom gains any reputation for literature from these fragmentary productions alone. The cultivation and taste necessary to originate them, are not duly appreciated. It is not until they group themselves around some larger and bolder work, that their position and value are felt. There must be something that shall of itself arrest and hold the attention of men. Hence a few great poems, scattered along the line of a

nation's literature, serve as resting places for the memory, whence it may survey the field around.

The appearance of the poem whose title heads our article, is an event of no small importance in our literary history. No poem of equal length has for a long time appeared among us; and we are confident that no American poem, at all corresponding to this in extent, has ever appeared, bearing in itself so much life and energy, and such earnest of success. We may say in general, it is modeled after the poems of Scott, though it contains *nine* instead of *six* cantos. The time occupied by the poem is long, much longer than is common in poems of this class. Scott's "Marmion" fills a period of about forty days. The "Lady of the Lake" covers only the space of six days, while the "Lay of the Last Minstrel" is wholly embraced in three days and nights. The poem before us spreads over an extent of about two years. But when we mark the unity of the plan, and reflect too that this plan in its great outline is not fictitious but historical, we do not see how the time could well have been shortened. In a smaller space it would have been necessary either to have set at work a train of operations without following them to their legitimate results, or to have described results without showing their causes. On the whole the time seems to have been necessarily chosen as it was. If any one is disposed to object to this feature of the poem, let him reflect how undesirable it was to the author—how gladly he would have had it otherwise, could he have done so without a sacrifice. It is no easy task to spread the incidents of a poem like this over the space of two years, so as to leave no wide and barren intervals. There is another reason for this length of time, that has been finely noticed in the preface. The scene is in the wilderness, where all movements must be

comparatively slow. The actors are at first far apart. The tribes that are to be bound together by the eloquence of Tecumseh, are living in places widely remote from each other. Time is requisite that plans may be matured, and that the influences that are to act in the closing scenes, may be drawn towards a center and combined. We have no cause to regret that the time was thus extended. This circumstance has afforded opportunity for rich and varied description. We have the wilderness in all its seasons—its winter gloom, its springing beauty, its summer glory, and its autumnal decay. We have the savage before us in all the circumstances of his life—threading the primeval forests in a night of darkness and storm—sleeping alone by the great lake under the clear full moon, with no noise save the ceaseless stir of waters—or musing among the falling leaves in the dreamy Indian summer. To us, these glances into old forests, along the far sounding lakes, and into quiet mountain dells, slumbering in their unbroken solitude, are among the best features of the poem. We would most gladly, (did space permit,) give an abstract of the entire poem. But we must content ourselves with a brief analysis of the first canto. Yet from this, some idea may be gained of the fineness of plot, and the beauty and variety of incident, that mark the whole. The scene opens on an autumnal day. An Indian warrior is standing upon the banks of the Ohio, with three scalps hanging in his belt. He draws back under the shade of trees, and lies concealed until the evening. Then launching a light canoe, he leads into it a grief-worn captive girl. Two others enter with him—one a younger brother of the warrior, the other a villainous white. We leave them dropping down the Ohio in the quiet moonlight. The poem then goes back in an episode to a time anterior to its commence-

ment, and describes the early dwelling place of the captive maiden. She lived in her father's house on the pleasant banks of the Connecticut. Moray, a youth of Scottish descent, dwelt near her, and grew up with her in love. De Vere, a polished knave, seeks to supplant him in his hopes, but is scorned and rejected, and vows revenge. By reverses of fortune, to which De Vere is accessory, Mary's father is stripped of his possessions. Joining a band of pioneers, he seeks the far West, and settles in a beautiful spot upon the banks of the Miami. Her home, her forest life, her thoughts of Moray and of love, are all finely described. Moray remains for a season at his home, but his thoughts are with Mary in the West. He takes the dress of a hunter, and plunges into the forest, passes by the Catskill mountains, traverses the Mohawk, hears the roar of Niagara, till at length he stands in sight of the cottage of Mary. It is silent and solitary. He enters, and beholds three lifeless trunks. We remember the three scalps in the belt of the warrior. We return again to the boat upon the Ohio. The captive girl, worn with grief and toil, is sleeping. Oolooora, the brother of the warrior, of kind and generous heart, bends over her, and sings to soothe her slumbers. Suddenly a shot is heard from the rocky shore, and Oolooora leaps wildly, and falls dead in the stream. Kenhatawa, the warrior, is on the point of slaying the captive Mary in revenge. De Vere intercedes, and stays his hand. We leave them still passing down the Ohio, cautiously creeping under the shade of the rocks.

Such is the outline of the first canto; and we have no fear that it will not commend itself to the reader. The moonlight scene on the Ohio will linger long in many minds. We shall only glance at some of the more important points, spread along

through the remainder of the poem. In the second canto, we have the conversation of Tecumseh with his brother Elswatawa the Prophet, the motley Indian camp, the meeting of Mary and Moray in the camp, Moray's running for his life, and the prairie on fire. The third canto shows us Tecumseh standing by his father's grave, in a lone spot upon the Mississippi. Thence he sets out upon his tour. He passes among the tribes dwelling upon the Missouri and its tributary streams, turns south and crosses the Mississippi, visits the nations on the Gulf and along the rivers flowing into it, returns and crosses the great river again at a lower point, pushes up along the base of the Rocky Mountains, and among the Black Hills, crosses the Mississippi again near its source, and reaches Lake Superior in the spring. Wearied, he rests himself by night upon its rocky shore, and in that unbroken solitude the scenes of his past life rise before him in dreams. In the fourth canto we have the battle of the Wabash. It opens with an eulogy on Harrison, in eight Spenserian verses. Moray is wounded in the battle, and remains during the following winter in the hut of a settler. This is described in the fifth canto. In the same we have the beginning of the wanderings of Moray, in company with Owaola, in search of Mary, and the courting scene of Tecumseh and Omena. In the sixth we follow Moray and Owaola through the forests and across the Lake. In this canto, we find the story of the broken-hearted captive girl. The seventh carries us up to the region lying north of Lake Superior, where Moray and Owaola spend the second winter. Nearly a year and a half have now passed since the opening of the poem, and events are verging towards the close. The eighth canto contains the battle of Erie. The ninth embraces the Indian council, the parting of Mo-

ray from Tecumseh and Owaola, the last meeting of Tecumseh and Omena, the battle of the Thames, where Tecumseh fell, the death of De Vere, and the meeting of Moray and Mary. We stand at last by the lonely tomb of Tecumseh.

In this brief article we cannot undertake an examination of the individual portions of this plot. Whatever minor defects there may be in it, no one can deny that its general structure is admirable. Whoever has tried the labor of invention, knows how difficult it is to take a subject like this in its chaotic state, and fashion it into order and perfect consistency. Questions might be raised, and probably will be, upon the propriety of bringing the heroine into the battle of Erie, or of forcing Tecumseh to make so great a sacrifice as he did, to save the life of Moray. It may well be urged in favor of the latter, that it shows the abiding strength of an Indian's gratitude. Moray had saved the life of Omena, whom Tecumseh loved. But as Moray need not have been brought into such difficulties by any thing inherent in the original plan, we incline to the opinion, that this scene should have been omitted.

The verse is mainly octosyllabic, gliding occasionally into the anapestic and pentameter. This change of measure has often a fine effect upon the ear. When the feelings become enlivened by some pleasing and happy narration, the rapid and dancing motion of the anapest seems exactly suited to their expression. We love to feel ourselves borne along as upon wings. On the other hand, when the feelings become saddened by the previous story, the more slow and solemn movement of the pentameter meets us agreeably. A fine instance of this latter change occurs in the sixth book, after the mournful tale of the captive girl. It fills the ear like some sweet, low voice of consolation in the house of mourning. A few Spenserian verses

open each canto, and the whole is diversified with songs. There are fewer weak lines in the book than we might have expected, considering the youth and inexperience of the author, and yet they are not unfrequent. Some one has well remarked that "the faults of this book are such as belong to a young writer, while the excellencies are those of but few older ones." There is too much inversion of thought. The subject of a sentence is oftentimes so wrapped up in the body of it, that we are at loss where to find it.

In some cases too the presence of a tame and commonplace word in a line, degrades and stupefies the whole. But to those who are disposed to judge harshly of the poem for reasons like these, we think it may safely be said, that there can-

not be found in it a line so weak as some that occur in *Marmion*, whose author has been regarded as the great master of this verse. Adapting, moreover, that charitable style of criticism, which judges of a book by its merits, rather than its defects, as we judge of men after their death, we are but little disposed to linger among these faults, when there is so much around us that is pure and excellent. In the main then, the versification is easy, flowing, and withal spirited and stirring.

But it is time that we turn to the book itself, and give some specimens of the style and matter of the poem. The description of *Moray* and *Mary*, in their early homes; when the world looked sweet before them, has a fine passage—their thoughts of God and the infinite.

"That wondrous world within, their being,
Watched by that Life, unseen, all-seeing,
The mind, that can nor sleep nor die,
Became unto their souls instead
A deeper mystery and a dread;
And feelings, infinite and lone,
Stirred their still spirits with a tone
Like harpings of eternity,
Till they became each unto each,
As two that on the ocean's beach,
All lonely, hear the mighty roar
Of waters rolling evermore,
And feel their minds, their beings one.
Around them earth—heaven, God, above;
Their thoughts were pure, their souls were love;
And Nature with continual voice,
Whispered their hearts, 'rejoice! rejoice!'"

The whole episode, from which we have made this extract, has a most happy effect upon the reader. It adds a powerful interest to our minds, to know that those whom we follow through these scenes of danger, toil, and grief, have once lived this quiet, happy life, dreaming only

of happiness and rest. We have before this alluded to the beautiful picture presented to the mind in the moonlight scene on the Ohio—the canoe gliding quietly along under the full moon, between high rocky shores. The first canto closes with these lines.

"Warned by the shot thus hostile sent
From that primeval battlement,
They hastened where the opposing side
Flung deeper shadows o'er the tide.
The moon sank down: yet hour by hour,
As drawn by some invisible power,
Through the dim stillness on they sped,
Like fabled spirits of the dead,
In shadow borne, and silence lone
Along the lake of Acheron."

This last simile cannot fail to charm a classical ear. It has a finished elegance.

One of the finest specimens of simple, quiet, life-like description in

the whole poem, is to be found in the second canto, in the picture of the Indian camp. It lies before us so perfectly, that had we the art, we could paint it.

"Around the forest-lords were seen—
Some, old, with grave and guarded mien,
High converse holding in the shade—
Some idly on the green turf laid—

Their dusky wives, from birth the while
Inured to care and silent toil,
Prepared the venison's savory food,
And yellow corn, in sullen mood,
Or sweetly to their infants sung,
So light in wicker baskets swung
Among the breeze-rocked boughs—

While sat beneath the green leaves fading,
Young maids, their chequered baskets braiding,
Whose merry laugh or silvery call
Oft rang most strange and musical;
Whose glancing black eyes often stole
To view the worshipped of their soul:
And ever in th' invisible breeze,
Waved solemnly those tall old trees,
And fleecy clouds, above the prairies flying,
Led the light shadows, chasing, chased, and dying.

We know of but few finer pieces of description than this, in our language. It is all the mind asks. We see not how it could be more highly perfected. We might go on multiplying passages to any extent. It is difficult, among so many

that might be taken, to seize upon those that are best for our purpose. We must, however, give one sample of the Spenserian. From many which might be employed, we take the following—one of the eight in honor of Harrison.

"The storm swept by, and Peace, with soft fair fingers,
Folded the banners of red-handed war;
Where broad Ohio's bending beauty lingers,
The chief reposed beneath the evening star.
Calm was the life he led, till, near and far,
The breath of millions bore his name along,
Through praise, and censure, and continual jar:
But lo! the Capitol's rejoicing throng!
And envoys from all lands approach with greeting tongue!"

There are few things in the poet's art, that require more care, and taste, and nice adjustment, than the fashioning of a Spenserian verse. But when well done, nothing has a finer effect upon the ear. Beattie, in his preface to the "Minstrel," says, "To those who may be disposed to ask, what could induce me to write in so difficult a measure, I can only answer, that it pleases my ear, and seems from its Gothic structure and original, to bear some relation to the subject and spirit of the poem. It admits both simplicity

and magnificence of sound and of language, beyond any other stanza that I am acquainted with." We have only five or six poems in our language, of any considerable note, in this measure. It is so difficult, that it has been avoided. If we attend to its construction, we shall find that every verse should be but the expansion of a single thought. The little argument goes on evolving and evolving itself, until the last line, long and stately, brings out the grand conclusion. We are inclined to think that the author has

failed more in this part of his work, than in any other. There is oftentimes a break, a transition in the thought, that affects us painfully. We are not aware that any poet, with the exception of Byron, ever attempted to make this stanza give utterance to broken, violent, and abrupt thought, with any great success. And even in his hands, there is something unnatural in it. If we notice this stanza in the "Faery Queen," we shall find the thought opening quietly in the beginning,

and stretching peacefully along towards the end, like a stream running through a level meadow, with no ripple to break the evenness of its flow. The author, however, has left us the proof that he is competent for the work. Half of the Spenserian verses are good. The one which we have selected is well woven and beautiful.

There are many hearts in our land that can feel the beauty and force of the following passage.

"The noble, dauntless pioneers
Journeying afar new homes to raise
In the lone woods, with toil and tears,
Meeting with faith the coming years,
Theirs be the highest meed of praise!
He, who with cost, and care, and toil,
Hath reared the vast enduring pile;
He, who hath crossed the Ocean's foam,
Strange lands for science's sake to roam;
He, who in danger and in death
Hath faced the spear, the cannon's breath,
Or borne the dungeon and the chain,
His country's rights to save or gain;
He, who amid the storms of state,
Hath swayed the trembling scales of Fate
For her and Freedom, heeding naught
The scorn of hatred, sold or bought—
Are such not glorious? Yet, O deem
Their being less heroical
For mingling with it comes the dream
And hope of Fame's bright coronal:—
They see the light of years to come
Streaming around their silent tomb!
But those who leave the homes of love,
And pass by many a long remove
Through the deep wilderness, to rear,
In voiceless suffering and in fear,
Not for themselves a resting place—
Their hope is only for their race,
For whom their lives of pain are given;
Their light to cheer, is light from heaven;
Nor look they, save to God, at last
For life's reward when life is past,
But lay them down, with years oppressed,
Beneath the patriarch woods to rest,
Without a thought, Fame's wandering wing
One plume upon their graves shall fling—
Thus noiseless in their death as birth,
The best brave heroes of the earth!
While roll thy rivers, spreads thy sky,
Or rise thy lifted mountains high,
Hesperia, guard their memory!"

There are many songs scattered effect in their connexion. The soldier's song in the fourth canto, themselves, and have a pleasing commencing,

"Oh, in the bowl we'll drown dull care,
And think not of the morrow,"

flows very sweetly. The sentiments are of course suited to the time and place of their singing. Moray's lament over the body of Owaola, his faithful friend and guide, is simple and touching.

"Last of thy race ! I will not weep
 This loss the sorest,
 Though sweet the love and passing deep,
 To me thou borest !
 No ! sleep, since all thy kindred sleep,
 Child of the forest,
 And I will lay thee here, where ceaselessly
 To soothe thy rest blue waters murmur by."

They were to thee in life most dear,
 Thy joyance only ;
 Alas ! they have become thy bier,
 Though now they moan thee,
 And borne thee to thy burial here,
 To lie how lonely !
 May naught thy solitary sleep molest,
 Heaven take thy gentle spirit to its rest !"

The song that steals to the ear of Moray, when confined in fort Mackinaw, we commend to the reader for its tenderness and pathos. The war-song of Tecumseh, in the last canto, breathes the true Indian spirit. In fact, the songs are all more or less marked in this respect. We

shall close this part of our subject, by reference to the scene in the last canto, where Omena sits alone in the forest, in the hazy season of Indian summer, awaiting the approach of Tecumseh. It is one of those beautiful and finished pieces of description, that give a charm to the book.

"Within a wood extending wide,
 By Thames's steeply winding side,
 There sat upon a fallen tree,
 Grown green through ages silently,
 An Indian girl. The gradual change
 Making all things most sweetly strange,
 Had come again. The autumn sun
 Half up his morning journey shone
 With conscious lustre, calm and still ;
 By dell, and plain, and sloping hill
 Stood mute the faded trees in grief,
 As various as their clouded leaf."

We give only the opening of the passage, but we cannot commend the whole of it too highly. It ranks among the very highest order of descriptive poetry. In this situation, Tecumseh meets her, and they have their last sad interview. It was a fine fancy of the author, to leave his reader by the lonely tomb of Tecumseh. After journeying so long through the wilderness—following the hero through so many scenes of danger and adventure, it acts like a talisman upon the mind, to stand thus by his solitary grave, embosomed with trees.

Whatever defects may be found in this poem, by a critical eye, we have no doubt that its general beauty and fine effect, will be every where acknowledged. It touches the heart. It lingers in the memory. Its sweet and tender spirit grows upon the reader. Its nationality, its truth-like descriptions, its story of deep and abiding love, will win for it favor and heartfelt thanks. To the West it must have a dear and home-like interest. To the Englishman it must present charms, in this picture of a life so far removed from his daily experience.

DICKENS' NOTES ON AMERICA.*

WHEN it was announced that "Charles Dickens, Esq." intended to visit the United States, our curiosity was somewhat excited to see the man, who had so suddenly written himself into notoriety and fortune. We had laughed at the adventures of Mr. Pickwick, we had wept over the story of poor Oliver, we had followed with interest "the uprisings and downfallings of the Nickleby family," we had sympathized with little Nell in her childish trials, we had been pleasantly relieved in moments of ennui by some light sketch, half-comical, half-serious, from the pen of Boz, and were thus prepared to receive him with good-natured cordiality. But when we reflected on his moral and religious principles as developed in his writings, and on the unfortunate tendency of those writings in many particulars, we were as fully prepared to treat him with indifference; or at least, to show him no more than the ordinary courtesy due to strangers, should he chance to fall in our way. In fact, after dwelling on these latter considerations, (the force of which may perhaps be exhibited in the sequel of these remarks,) our curiosity so far subsided, that when we were informed that "Charles Dickens, Esq." had actually arrived in our city, and would receive his friends at the hotel near by, we did not even do ourselves the honor to look him in the face. We were not in the least agitated by the intelligence; we simply responded to it with the unfailing "yes, sir," and pursued our evening vocations with as much nonchalance, as if "Charles Dickens, Esq." had been three thousand miles away.

Nor was it an indifference to literary merit, which rendered us so apathetic on this occasion. Had we been favored with such an opportunity of being introduced to the illustrious author of *Waverley*, we should have embraced it with eagerness, and have considered ourselves honored in the interview. Had we been informed that our own honored Irving was stopping for the night so near us, we should have hastened to tender him our respects, and have felt a pride in exchanging salutations with one who is the ornament of American literature. We had always conceded to Mr. Dickens much merit, as a writer of a certain sort; we had even been ranked among his admirers, for rendering to him the admiration due to genius, but we felt that his literary reputation was insufficient to overbalance that moral obliquity, which made it inconsistent with our self-respect, to be particularly respectful towards him. We were, nevertheless, interested in observing the reception which he met with from our countrymen; and on the whole, it accorded well with our expectations. There were men of learning and honorable distinction, who, willing for a season to overlook his faults, and eager perhaps to give him a favorable impression of American manners and hospitality, made him their guest, and entertained him with marked kindness and attention. Others, of a more thoughtful and cautious temper, stood aloof from the movement that would make Boz, like Lafayette, the nation's guest, feeling that the ordinary attention paid to strangers might suffice for a man with no other distinction than what he had attained as a writer of droll sketches and stories of low life. It soon became apparent, however,

* American Notes for General Circulation. By CHARLES DICKENS.

that the men of fashion and pleasure, the patrons of theaters, balls, and other like scenes of moral culture and innocent amusement, the lovers of wine, cards and billiards—gentlemen *par excellence*—manifested a peculiar interest in Mr. Dickens, and were disposed to claim him as their own. Accordingly, the Gothamites would allow the lordly distinction of seeing the British lion to none, who could not pay ten dollars for the privilege. They converted the theater, which had long rendered “a beggarly account of empty boxes,” into one vast saloon, brilliantly illuminated, decorated with illustrations from the writings of Boz, and crowded with the beauty and fashion, the foppery and coquetry of the city, where, amid the voluptuous swell of music, the giddy dance, and the splendid banquet, Mr. Dickens was introduced to American society. Whether he was satisfied with this specimen of native manners, or whether he was less flattered by such a reception, than he would have been by the quiet attentions of literary men, we are not informed; but immediately afterwards, he made the necessary brevity of his visit, a pretext for declining other invitations to similar entertainments. Whatever may have been his opinion of the mode adopted by the New Yorkers to tender him their respects, there were not a few, who inferred from the personal appearance of “Charles Dickens, Esq.,” and his apparent anxiety to be esteemed a man of fashion and to mingle in the scenes of fashionable life, that no other mode could have been selected more in harmony with his character and feelings.

And here we cannot resist the temptation to turn aside for a moment, to give our readers a brief account of the origin and education of this same “Charles Dickens, Esq.,” and this we do, for the more particular edification of his

“numerous friends” in this country, who were eager to pay their respects to him, under the impression, that he was an *English gentleman*, who had good humoredly spent his leisure moments, in rambling along the lower walks of life in quest of amusement for the higher classes. We have not been able to trace his pedigree back far enough, to ascertain whether any of his ancestors fought by the side of William the Conqueror, at Hastings, or followed the lion-hearted Richard to Palestine. We have not learned, whether some Dickens of the olden time, was with the chivalry of England, at Cressy, or at Agincourt. Nor have we been able to determine the connection between the house of Dickens, and the Percys, the Howards, or the Russells. All that we can say is, that, according to the best accounts, the father of our hero was, or is, connected with the London press, getting a decent living by gathering or inventing accidents and anecdotes for the newspapers; and that, accordingly, “Charles Dickens, Esq.” was educated to the profession of a police reporter. It was in this humble, though honest calling, that he became so familiar with courts and prisons, Bow Street and St. Giles’. Here too was developed that peculiar talent for caricaturing, in which Mr. Dickens excels. Finding that this talent might be exercised to advantage, he wrote and published various humorous sketches, till at length he came before the world as the author of *Pickwick*. The “Posthumous Papers of the *Pickwick Club*” had a rapid sale, and Mr. Dickens soon found himself, with an increasing popularity, in the enjoyment of an ample income. All this we, as Americans, regard as more respectable than any mere pedigree, running back even to the Conquest. But Mr. Dickens, unable to bear this sudden turn of fortune with the equanimity that ought

ever to characterize the nobility of genius, puts on airs as if he belonged by birth and breeding, to those higher classes which constitute the "Corinthian capital" of English society. Mistaken effort! It is not by wearing white kid gloves on a railroad and steamboat journey in a New England February—it is not by being unable to understand the possibility of a gentleman's dining earlier than the latest possible hour—it is not by the most punctilious observance of the arbitrary conventionalities of fashionable life—least of all, is it by a fault-finding, querulous disposition in respect to accommodations at an inn, or on board ship—that true good breeding is infallibly known. Yet the reading of this book, as well as some 'Boziana' which have come to our knowledge from other sources, incline us to the opinion, that Mr. Dickens has mistaken such things as these for the surest indications of a fine gentleman, or perhaps for the very quality of gentility itself. Sometimes we have even queried, whether his studied cool contempt for religion in every form—the scorn which he so obtrusively expresses for the low practice of total abstinence from intoxicating drinks—and the sympathy which he seems to have with those who have no interest in the miseries and vices of the poor, except as matters of governmental regulation, or picturesque objects of contemplation, do not also enter into his idea of a high-bred gentleman. It often fares with pretenders to high breeding, as with pretenders to godliness; they know something traditionally about "the form," but "the power" is beyond the sphere of their knowledge; and thus, while they make an ostentatious and perhaps troublesome display of the former, they cannot but expose themselves by their manifest deficiencies in respect to the latter.

And here, as we find ourselves tending to a somewhat philosophic mood, we may take occasion to observe that the reception which any foreigner of note meets with among us, is to some extent, a mirror of his own character. The class of society with which he becomes acquainted, the character of his admirers, and the marks of distinction with which they favor him, are so many indications of the manner in which he has *impressed himself* upon the public mind. How different, probably, have been the impressions made on the mind of Lord Morpeth, by his visit to America, from those received by Mr. Dickens; and that mainly for the reason that the truly gentlemanly demeanor and the unsullied reputation of the former, introduced him into circles in which the latter was not at all at home. If the illustrious Brougham or the revered and venerable Chalmers, should cross the Atlantic, how different would be their opinions of American society and institutions, from those of the Marryatts and the Trollopes. Those travelers who have attempted to describe American manners, have often succeeded in describing the manners only of that particular class of society to which they have been able to gain admission; or of that particular class which their habits and their intellectual and moral sympathies enabled them to understand. And the best mode of reforming American manners, which some of these writers could adopt, would be to reform their *own* manners, and then return and view themselves in a mirror into which they were before unable to look.

Whether Mr. Dickens was acquainted with the principle just stated, and felt that it would hardly be complimentary to himself to speak of those who in some instances were forward to welcome him, we cannot say; but for some reason he has deemed it expedient to make no al-

lusion to them whatever. He simply remarks at the close of his Notes—"I have made no reference to my reception, nor have I suffered it to influence me in what I have written; for in either case, I should have offered but a sorry acknowledgment, compared with that I bear within my breast, towards those partial readers of my former books, across the waters, who met me with an open hand, and not with one that closed upon an iron muzzle."—But we cannot persuade ourselves that this is all the notice which he intends to take of his reception here; and when these catch-penny Notes shall have had their run, and the more formal stories of American society shall make their appearance, then may his beloved transatlantic friends be furnished with pleasing reminiscences, and "pictures to match." He will not be so ungrateful as to deny those who took such pains to render themselves conspicuous, the privilege of appearing in print. They are engraven on his heart, and Cruikshank will soon be called in to copy and preserve the likeness.

We have been greatly disappointed in the perusal of these "American Notes." We were well aware that there are some defects in our social organization, which might be hit off to advantage by a master-hand; and we had hoped that Mr. Dickens' keen perception of the ludicrous, would be exercised at our present expense, though for our ultimate profit. We should have thanked him for a humorous exhibition of our weak points of national character; but he seems either to have failed to apprehend them, or to have felt an unwonted reserve in making his "police reports." These Notes are barren of incident and anecdote, deficient in wit, and meagre even in respect to the most ordinary kind of information. They give no just conception of the physical aspect of the country of which

they treat; much less do they introduce the reader to the homes and firesides of its inhabitants. Nor could any thing better have been expected, since Mr. Dickens merely skimmed over the country, seldom remaining longer in a place than to learn its name, to acquaint himself with the facilities for eating, *drinking*, and sleeping, afforded by its principal hotel, to note down a few particulars respecting its public buildings and institutions, and to inquire with a professional feeling, concerning its alms-houses, its *prisons*, and its purlicue of low vice and wretchedness. The little information to be gleaned from these two volumes, with few exceptions, might be gained much more advantageously from the map and gazetteer. The perusal of them has served chiefly to lower our estimate of the man, and to fill us with contempt for such a compound of egotism, coxcombry, and cockneyism. We shall follow him in his tour, as far as patience will allow us, and then take some brief notice of the other productions of his pen.

The first two chapters of these Notes, descriptive of the departure and passage out, are, on the whole, rather entertaining, and exhibit more of that pleasantry which has hitherto characterized the productions of the author, than any of the succeeding chapters; though even here he sometimes fails in his attempts at wit. His description of the sensations produced by sea-sickness, have the merit of being intelligible, whatever may be thought of the taste of a writer who can expatiate on such a theme. He represents the anguish which he suffered, "when recommended to eat any thing, as second only to that which is said to be endured, by the apparently drowned, in the process of restoration to life;" and truly his sufferings must have been intense, if we may believe that even during the short space of their continuance, he

"drank brandy and water with *unspeakable disgust*." He could have mentioned no more decisive symptom of a disordered stomach, than this aversion to what we soon discover to be his favorite beverage, inasmuch as when on shore his "disgust" was confined wholly to the last named ingredient of that delectable compound. The state of "universal indifference" into which the patient is sometimes brought, is thus pleasantly described.

"Nothing would have surprised me. If, in the momentary illumination of any ray of intelligence that may have come upon me in the way of thoughts of home, a goblin postman, with a scarlet coat and bell, had come into that little kennel before me, broad awake in broad day, and apologizing for being damp through walking in the sea, had handed me a letter directed to myself in familiar characters, I am certain I should not have felt one atom of astonishment: I should have been perfectly satisfied. If Neptune himself had walked in, with a toasted shark on his trident, I should have looked upon the event as one of the very commonest every-day occurrences."

Yet here we cannot fail to notice the imitation of Charles Lamb—and, by the way, Dickens is eminently an imitator—who graphically describes the indifference which he felt on recovering from a severe cold in the head, by saying that if any one should tell him that the world would be destroyed to-morrow, and furnish him with satisfactory evidence of the truth of the assertion, he could only answer, "Will it?"

The paragraph succeeding the one just quoted, describes a scene which may be explained satisfactorily, as an effect of the beverage which had just been swallowed with such "unspeakable disgust."

"Once—once—I found myself on deck. I don't know how I got there, or what possessed me to go there, but there I was; and completely dressed too, with a huge pea-coat on, and a pair of boots such as no weak man in his senses could ever have got into. I found myself standing, when a gleam of consciousness came upon

me, holding on to something. I don't know what. I think it was the boat-swain: or it may have been the pump: or possibly the cow. I can't say how long I had been there; whether a day or a minute. I recollect trying to think about something (about any thing in the whole wide world, I was not particular) without the smallest effect. I could not even make out which was the sea, and which was the sky; for the horizon seemed drunk, and was flying wildly about, in all directions. Even in that incapable state, however, I recognized the lazy gentleman standing before me, nautically clad in a suit of shaggy blue, with an oil-skin hat. But I was too imbecile, although I knew it to be he, to separate him from his dress; and tried to call him, I remember, *Pilot*. After another interval of total unconsciousness, I found he had gone, and recognized another figure in its place. It seemed to wave and fluctuate before me as though I saw it reflected in an unsteady looking-glass; but I knew it for the captain; and such was the cheerful influence of his face, that I tried to smile; yes, even then I tried to smile.

"I saw by his gestures that he addressed me; but it was a long time before I could make out that he remonstrated against my standing up to my knees in water—as I was; of course I don't know why. I tried to thank him, but couldn't. I could only point to my boots—or wherever I supposed my boots to be—and say in a plaintive voice, "Cork soles:" at the same time endeavoring, I am told, to sit down in the pool. Finding that I was quite insensible, and for the time a maniac, he humanely conducted me below."

All this description may be summed up in a few words. The illustrious Boz was as drunk as a piper—a result not of sea-sickness, but of the 'sovereign remedy for an inward bruise,' homœopathic in its nature, but not homœopathic in the doses—on which he had relied for prevention or for cure. We shall make but one extract more from these introductory chapters; but it may serve to acquaint the readers more fully with the character of our author, the elucidation of which we shall have continually in view. Witness the occupations of this *literary gentleman* during his passage across the waters.

"The captain being gone, we compose ourselves to read, if the place be light

enough; and if not, we doze and talk alternately. At one, a bell rings, and the stewardess comes down with a steaming dish of baked potatoes, and another of roasted apples; and plates of pig's face, cold ham, salt beef; or perhaps a smoking mess of rare hot collops. We fall to upon these dainties; eat as much as we can—we have great appetites now—and are as long as possible about it. If the fire will burn (it *will* sometimes) we are pretty cheerful. If it won't, we all remark to each other that it's very cold, rub our hands, cover ourselves with coats and cloaks, and lie down again to doze, talk, and read, (provided as aforesaid,) until dinner time. At five, another bell rings, and the stewardess reappears with another dish of potatoes—boiled, this time—and store of hot meat of various kinds: not forgetting the roast pig, to be taken medicinally. We sit down at table again (rather more cheerfully than before): prolong the meal with rather a mouldy desert of apples, grapes, and oranges; and drink our wine and brandy and water. The bottles and glasses are still upon the table, and the oranges and so forth are rolling about according to their fancy and the ship's way, when the doctor comes down, by special nightly invitation, to join our evening rubber: immediately on whose arrival we make a party at whist, and as it is a rough night and the cards will not lie on the cloth, we put the tricks in our pockets as we take them. At whist we remain with exemplary gravity (deducting a short time for tea and toast) until eleven o'clock, or thereabouts; when the captain comes down again, in a sou'-wester hat tied under his chin, and a pilot coat; making the ground wet where he stands.

"By this time the card-playing is over, and the bottles and glasses are again upon the table; and after an hour's pleasant conversation about the ship, the passengers, and things in general, the captain (who never goes to bed, and is never out of humor) turns up his coat collar for the deck again; shakes hands all round; and goes laughing out into the weather as merrily as to a birth-day party."

After a somewhat boisterous passage of eighteen days, Mr. Dickens arrived at Boston on Saturday, the 22d of January, 1842, a day to be hereafter noted in every edition of the American Almanac. Mr. Dickens acknowledges with pleasure the excellence of our custom-house regulations, and the gentlemanly deportment of its officers; contrasting very happily with the meddlesome and insulting officiousness of

those in his own country and on the Continent. He deserves credit in this as in other instances, for giving praise where it is due, even in little things.

His first day in Boston was the Sabbath. Modestly declining a score of invitations to church, for want of "any change of clothes," he strolled abroad in his humble, unsanctified attire, to view the city. He seems to have been greatly amused with its "light, unsubstantial" appearance, as he is pleased to term it, notwithstanding the masses of Quincy granite by which he was surrounded, and the iron balconies that frown over the dark receding portals of stone. He was altogether amazed in walking the streets of a modern and growing city, not to find in every structure the solidity and grandeur of an Egyptian pyramid. The explanation of which is, that he missed the dense, dark atmosphere of London, and the vast cloud of smoke from bituminous coal, which hides the pure light of heaven from the natives of Cockaigne, and covers every thing with sooty stains. So to a man who had never been out of Pittsburg, Boston might seem as white, and airy, and unsubstantial, as it seemed to our author. His first impressions of the city are thus described.

"When I got into the streets upon this Sunday morning, the air was so clear, the houses were so bright and gay; the signboards were painted in such gaudy colors; the gilded letters were so very golden; the bricks were so very red, the stone was so very white, the blinds and area railings were so very green, the knobs and plates upon the street-doors so marvellously bright and twinkling; and all so slight and unsubstantial in appearance—that every thoroughfare in the city looked exactly like a scene in a pantomime. It rarely happens in the business streets that a tradesman, if I may venture to call any body a tradesman where every body is a merchant, resides above his store; so that many occupations are often carried on in one house, and the whole front is covered with boards and inscriptions. As I walked along, I kept glancing up at these boards, confidently ex-

pecting to see a few of them change into something; and I never turned a corner suddenly without looking out for the clown and pantaloons, who, I had no doubt, were hiding in a doorway or behind some pillar close at hand. As to Harlequin and Columbine, I discovered immediately that they lodged (they are always looking after lodgings in a pantomime) at a very small clock-maker's, one story high, near the hotel; which, in addition to various symbols and devices, almost covering the whole front, had a great dial hanging out—to be jumped through of course.

Now there is no doubt that all this appeared to Charles Dickens, Esq. to be very witty indeed; and after he had written it he probably read it many times aloud, picturing to himself a nation convulsed with laughter at every word. Yet we must confess that, as we were so apathetic in the proximity of Mr. Dickens, so now we are so obtuse that we cannot discover the wit of this exceedingly funny description. It has moved us only to a sort of commiseration for the writer. It reminds us of that scene described in the *Pickwick Papers*, where Mr. Stiggins, being thoroughly warmed with apple-toddy, clammers up the ladder to the temperance meeting in the loft, and looking round upon the audience with swimming eyes, expresses it as his decided conviction, that "the meeting is drunk." The truth is, that Mr. D. had not yet recovered from the bewildering effects of his sea-sickness, or at least of the remedy which he drank with such "unspeakable disgust," and in the confusion of his ideas he altogether *mistook the harlequin*.

On the whole, however, he acknowledges that Boston is "a beautiful city." He speaks favorably of "the intellectual refinement and superiority" of the inhabitants, which he refers mainly, perhaps too much, "to the quiet influence of the university of Cambridge;" though it is unquestionably true that both the intellectual and moral influence of such an institution is always widely

felt through the surrounding region. He speaks favorably of the American collegiate system, especially in respect to its liberal and practical nature; though nothing is more evident than that he knows very little on the subject. Mr. Dickens remained longer, we believe, in Boston than in any other city, and perhaps received more attention from literary men there than any where else. That "Dickens dinner" was a great affair in its day—it seemed almost of a piece with the *Cunard* steamers, the Western Railroad, and the Bunker Hill monument. All sorts of the distinguished men of Boston and its vicinity, "judges, generals, legislators"—old Hartford Convention federalists, and locofoco philosophers of the newest school—Unitarian preachers, and orthodox professors of theology—united in paying such homage to the author of *Oliver Twist* as was never paid to the author of *Paradise Lost*. The President of the Senate of Massachusetts brought all his own wit to honor the occasion, besides cramming himself beforehand with the printed wit of Mr. Dickens. The President of Harvard University, with all his years and all his laurels, came down from his academic dignity, to honor the author of the *Pickwick Papers*. Some of those gentlemen would probably be very willing now to forget the adulation which they bestowed on the author of "American Notes for General Circulation."

Mr. Dickens justly praises the "public institutions and charities" of Boston and its vicinity, and generally of the United States. We have respected him for the sympathy manifested in his writings for the unfortunate and the oppressed, and have sometimes felt that his stories might not be without advantage in directing the attention of certain classes in Great Britain toward the starving thousands around them. As his descriptions of our

charitable institutions were probably intended principally for his English readers, and as the little which he says of each is generally well said, we shall dismiss them with a recommendation to his own countrymen.

A single observation, however, made in this connection, on the subject of prison discipline, is worthy of a passing notice. It is in reference to the modern improvements in the internal structure, arrangements and occupations of our prisons.

"A visitor requires to reason and reflect a little, before the sight of a number of men engaged in ordinary labor, such as he is accustomed to out of doors, will impress him half so strongly as the contemplation of the same persons in the same place and garb would, if they were occupied in some task, marked and degraded every where as belonging only to felons in jails. In an American state-prison or house of correction, I found it difficult at first to persuade myself that I was really in a jail: a place of ignominious punishment and endurance. And to this hour I very much question whether the humane boast that it is not like one, has its root in the true wisdom or philosophy of the matter."

Much as we disapprove of any thing approaching cruelty in the treatment of those whom the law has condemned to be shut out from the pale of human society, we have long been of the opinion that there is danger of making the prison too comfortable a place, if not even *desirable* for those who hardly have a home, and thus lessening the dread of the penalty and its restraining influence. How far these improvements are to be attributed to a mercenary and how far to a philanthropic spirit—how far they are wise and how far truly benevolent, we do not here pretend to determine. We only make the suggestion, that kindness to criminals may be carried so far as to impair the majesty of law by weakening its penalty, and thus injure the welfare of the community.

"The tone of society in Boston," says Mr. D., "is one of perfect politeness, courtesy and good breeding." And the same may be said

of most of the principal towns of New England, though Mr. Dickens had no opportunity of becoming acquainted with the fact. The ladies, however, do not appear to have found any special favor in his sight, though he could hardly have been expected to institute any comparison between them and his own countrywomen. We believe it is an admitted fact that the American ladies excel the English in beauty in their youth, but that their beauty sooner fades; and our belles might advantageously exchange a little of their fairness of complexion, for the rosy hue of health which is the reward of frequent and vigorous exercise in the open air. The comments of Mr. Dickens on the education and religious character of the ladies of Boston we shall not stop to notice, believing that they will be duly considered by those who having been privileged with his society can most readily appropriate his *compliments* to themselves.

His own religious sentiments, as he incidentally expresses them, are deserving of a more particular attention.

"In the kind of provincial life which prevails in cities such as this, the pulpit has great influence. The peculiar province of the pulpit in New England, (always excepting the Unitarian ministry,) would appear to be the denouncement of all innocent and rational amusements. To the church, the chapel, and the lecture-room, the ladies resort in crowds.

"Wherever religion is resorted to, as a strong drink, and as an escape from the dull monotonous round of home, those of its ministers who pepper the highest will be the surest to please. They who strew the eternal path with the greatest amount of brimstone, and who most ruthlessly tread down the flowers and leaves that grow by the wayside, will be voted the most righteous; and they who enlarge with the greatest pertinacity on the difficulty of getting into heaven, will be considered by all true believers certain of going there; though it would be hard to say by what process of reasoning this conclusion is arrived at."

"The fruits of the earth have their growth in corruption. Out of the rottenness of these things, there has sprung up in Boston a sect of philosophers known as

Transcendentalists. On inquiring what this appellation might be supposed to signify, I was given to understand that whatever was unintelligible would be certainly transcendental. Not deriving much comfort from this elucidation, I pursued the inquiry still farther, and found that the Transcendentalists are followers of my friend Mr. Carlyle, or, I should rather say, of a follower of his, Mr. Ralph Waldo Emerson. This gentleman has written a volume of essays, in which, among much that is dreamy and fanciful, (if he will pardon me for saying so,) there is much more that is true and manly, honest and bold. Transcendentalism has its occasional vagaries, (what school has not?) but it has good healthful qualities in spite of them; not least among the number, a hearty disgust of cant, and an aptitude to detect her in all the million varieties of her everlasting wardrobe. And, therefore, if I were a Bostonian, I think I would be a Transcendentalist."

This charming criticism upon the general tone of preaching in Boston, is from the pen of a man who spent two whole Sabbaths in the city, the first of which was occupied in strolling through the streets meditating devoutly upon "Harlequins and Columbines;" and the second partly we suppose in the same edifying manner; and partly in listening to the Rev. Mr. Taylor, the far-famed "sailor-preacher," whose chapel was probably sought by Mr. D. with the expectation of finding in its novelty some source of "innocent and rational amusement" appropriate to the Lord's day. Who does not perceive at a glance that such a criticism is not the result of personal observation? that it is the embodiment of hints picked up in the bar-room, or perhaps in some respectable and fashionable coterie, in which however, orthodoxy finds no more favor than in the vicinity of "slings, juleps and cobbler." We do not envy the "Unitarian ministry" the distinction of never denouncing such "innocent and rational amusements," as theatrical entertainments, balls, cards and dice. We do not contest with them the honor of strewing the path to heaven with leaves and flowers, so that Mr. Dick-

ens, *et id omne genus*, can tread it pleasantly and securely, walking, reeling or dancing, at their option; on the other hand we congratulate them on a compliment paid with such delicacy and propriety, and coming from a quarter so distinguished. Yet we cannot refrain from asking the discerning public what must be the moral impression of the writings of a man who avows such sentiments as have now been quoted? What streams must issue from such a fountain?

It seems that the pulpit denunciation of innocent and rational amusements is not wholly ineffectual, since Mr. Dickens has occasion to lament that although "there are two theaters in Boston, of good size and construction, they are sadly in want of patronage." His summing up of the "social customs" of the city is given in the following words.

"The usual dinner-hour is two o'clock. A dinner party takes place at five; and at an evening party, they seldom sup later than eleven; so that it goes hard but one gets home, even from a rout, by midnight. I never could find out any difference between a party at Boston and a party in London, saving that at the former place all assemblies are held at more rational hours; that the conversation may possibly be a little louder and more cheerful; that a guest is usually expected to ascend to the very top of the house to take his cloak off; that he is certain to see at every dinner, an unusual amount of poultry on the table; and at every supper, at least two mighty bowls of hot stewed oysters, in any one of which a half-grown Duke of Clarence might be smothered easily.

"There are two theaters in Boston, of good size and construction, but sadly in want of patronage. The few ladies who resort to them, sit, as of right, in the front rows of the boxes.

"There is no smoking-room in any hotel, and there was none consequently in ours; but the bar is a large room with a stone floor, and there the people stand and smoke, and lounge about, all the evening; dropping in and out as the humor takes them. There too the stranger is initiated into the mysteries of gin-sling, cocktail, sangaree, mint-julep, sherry-cobbler, timber-doodle, and other rare drinks. The house is full of boarders, both married and single, many of whom

sleep upon the premises, and contract by the week for their board and lodging; the charge for which diminishes as they go nearer the sky to roost. A public table is laid in a very handsome hall for breakfast, and for dinner, and for supper. The party sitting down together to these meals will vary in number from one to two hundred; sometimes more. The advent of each of these epochs in the day is proclaimed by an awful gong, which shakes the very window frames, as it reverberates through the house, and horribly disturbs nervous foreigners. There is an ordinary for ladies, and an ordinary for gentlemen."

If the gongs have such an effect on 'foreigners,' we advise that they be sent back to China, where they are much needed for that purpose.

Before taking his final leave of Boston and its vicinity, Mr. Dickens made a brief visit to Lowell, with which he seems to have been highly gratified. And every American may well be proud of the condition and character of operatives in the manufactories here, when compared with those of the same class in England. The British manufacturing system has hitherto been one vast system of oppression and wrong. The author of the "Glory and Shame of England," has depicted its deformities in vivid colors; and after every possible abatement is made in view of the prejudice or exaggeration of the writer, it is still to be feared that his representations are too sadly true. We trust that the superiority of our system, as briefly delineated by Mr. Dickens, may arrest the attention of the philanthropic in that country. After speaking of the neat, cheerful, and healthy appearance of the "factory girls," the cleanliness and decorum prevalent in their boarding-houses, and even in the rooms of the manufactories, he proceeds as follows.

"I am now going to state three facts, which will startle a large class of readers on this side of the Atlantic, very much.

"Firstly, there is a joint-stock piano in a great many of the boarding-houses. Secondly, nearly all these young ladies subscribe to circulating libraries. Thirdly, they have got up among themselves a periodical, called *THE LOWELL OFFER-*

ING, 'a repository of original articles, written exclusively by females actively employed in the mills'—which is duly printed, published, and sold; and whereof I brought away from Lowell four hundred good solid pages, which I have read from beginning to end.

"The large class of readers, startled by these facts, will exclaim, with one voice, 'How very preposterous!' On my deferentially inquiring why, they will answer, 'These things are above their station.' In reply to that objection, I would beg to ask what their station is.

"It is their station to work. And they *do* work. They labor in these mills, upon an average, twelve hours a day, which is unquestionably work, and pretty tight work too. Perhaps it is above their station to indulge in such amusements, on any terms. Are we quite sure that we in England have not formed our ideas of the 'station' of working people, from accustoming ourselves to the contemplation of that class as they are, and not as they might be?"

In this trip to Lowell, Mr. Dickens took his first ride on an American railroad; and sadly does he complain of the "shabby omnibuses," in which he was jolted along. We commend his observations on this point to the special attention of those whom it concerns. Let the directors of the railroads see to this matter before Mr. Dickens comes again. Our author writes quite like himself, in his description of railroad travelling. "There is a great deal of jolting, a great deal of noise, a great deal of wall, not much window, a locomotive engine, a shriek and a bell."

There are many provisions for the comfort and safety of travelers, which we might wisely adopt from our English cousins; and we rejoice to see that the law is imposing its penalties upon those steamboat and railroad companies, by the carelessness of whose agents human life is so often endangered and sacrificed. The returns of the railroad companies in England, from 1832 to 1839, show that more than forty millions of passengers were carried over the roads in that period, and that during the same period only ten persons, (or one in four millions,) were kill-

ed by accident, of whom but four, (or one in ten millions,) were passengers. The proportion of accidents and deaths in this country is vastly greater.

Mr. Dickens left Boston on the 5th of February, for Worcester, in company with Governor Davis, with whom he spent the Sabbath. Here he was again entertained with the new and unsubstantial appearance of every thing which he saw. On Monday morning he pursued his journey by the way of Springfield to Hartford. He was much amused with the little boat which conveyed him down the Connecticut, not being aware probably that the river is not navigable for a boat of larger size. Mr. Dickens remained in Hartford four days, but his description of the place is condensed into a single paragraph.

"The town is beautifully situated in a basin of green hills; the soil is rich, well wooded, and carefully improved. It is the seat of the local legislature of Connecticut, which sage body enacted, in bygone times, the renowned code of 'Blue Laws,' in virtue whereof, among other enlightened provisions, any citizen who could be proved to have kissed his wife on Sunday, was punishable, I believe, with the stocks. Too much of the old Puritan spirit exists in these parts to the present hour; but its influence has not tended, that I know, to make the people less hard in their bargains, or more equal in their dealings. As I never heard of its working that effect any where else, I infer that it never will here. Indeed, I am accustomed, with reference to great professions and severe faces, to judge of the goods of the other world pretty much as I judge of the goods of this; and whenever I see a dealer in such commodities with too great a display of them in his window, I doubt the quality of the article within."

This little paragraph, which most readers perhaps will pass over without attention, contains several items worthy of special notice. In the first place, it revives the old and ridiculous story of the "Blue Laws" of Connecticut. We suppose that Mr. Dickens believes that such a code really existed, and as a stran-

ger, he may be excused for his ignorance. It is time, however, that the American public, and especially the New England public, fully understood that *no such code as the Blue Laws are represented to have been, ever existed in either of the colonies of Connecticut.*

Those who are not already convinced that this oft-repeated story is a sheer fabrication, may be enlightened by the perusal of Prof. Kingsley's Historical Discourse, especially notes G and N, pp. 83, 104. It owes its origin to one Dr. Samuel Peters, who, "at the commencement of the revolutionary war, was an Episcopal missionary at Hebron, in Connecticut. As he was very active in asserting the royal claims, he became obnoxious to the patriots of the day. He was threatened by a mob; though it is believed, no personal violence was done him. About 1774, he went to England, highly exasperated against his country, and especially against his native state, Connecticut. He employed himself while the war continued, in reviling the colonists; and in 1781, published in London, without his name, what he called, 'A general History of Connecticut, from its first settlement under George Fenwick, Esq., to its latest period of amity with Great Britain, including a description of the country, and many curious and interesting anecdotes.'" This history abounded in misrepresentation and falsehood; yet it had sufficient influence to give currency to the report which reached Mr. Dickens' ears in Hartford.

Mr. Dickens laments, that "too much of the old Puritan spirit exists in Connecticut to the present hour." There is greater cause for lamentation, that so little of what was upright and heroic in the Puritan spirit prevails among the present generation. If the love of law and order, of virtue and freedom—if good government, sound morals,

liberal education, and pure religion, are the fruits of this spirit, then let it every where prevail.

But Mr. Dickens was specially grieved by the prevalence of that penurious spirit, which he regards as its concomitant. He laments, that the influence of the old Puritan spirit "has not tended to make the people less hard in their bargains, or more equal in their dealings." Now how did Mr. Dickens, whose visit to the United States was prompted no less by mercenary motives than by vanity—how did this frank, generous-minded man, receive such an impression of the parsimony of the good people of Hartford? Was it from the facts, that they invited him to visit their city, sent a committee to escort him from Springfield, entertained him for four days at the first hotel, gave him a sumptuous public dinner, opened every place of interest and amusement to his inspection, and all without subjecting him to the expense of a single farthing? Or were all these smart and witty things, about "Blue Laws," "hypocrisy," "Puritan cant," and "hard bargains," whispered into the ear of Mr. Dickens, by the committee who had him in charge, or by some other worthy citizens of Hartford, who, finding themselves suddenly exalted to the very acme of human felicity, in being permitted to shake hands with the author of *Pickwick*, felt under a necessity of ridiculing their own city, in order that *they* might appear more liberal or more facetious in his eyes? We strongly incline to the latter opinion; for Mr. Dickens' personal opportunities of becoming acquainted with the characteristics of the people of Hartford, were about equal to those which he enjoyed for observing the style of preaching prevalent in Boston. We suspect that in both cases, there was some prompter behind the curtain.

At New Haven, which might have furnished some attractions to a gen-

tleman of *literary* pretensions, Mr. Dickens spent but a single night, and almost all that he remembers about his visit there, is, that he "put up at the best inn."

From New Haven he proceeded to New York, where, as we have already intimated, he was received in a most appropriate manner at the theater. His description of the city as usual is meagre, conveying to the stranger no adequate idea, in fact *no* idea, of its extent and magnificence, its commercial enterprise, its hum of business, its bustle and parade of fashion. These things of course, would not attract the particular attention of one familiar with London, but they are deserving of at least a passing notice. New York, however, appeared to Mr. Dickens more like a solitude than a Babel.

"But how quiet the streets are!" he exclaims. "Are there no itinerant bands; no wind or stringed instruments? No, not one. By day, are there no puncheas, fantoccinis, dancing-dogs, jugglers, conjurers, orchestrians, or even barrel-organs? No, not one. Yes, I remember one. One barrel-organ and a dancing-monkey—sportiva by nature, but fast fading into a dull, lumpish monkey, of the utilitarian school. Beyond that, nothing lively; no, not so much as a white mouse in a twirling cage."

In fact, Mr. Dickens is ready to die of ennui! What would he give now for one peep at "Mrs. Jarley's wax-works," or for an hour's chat with his old friends, "Messrs. Codling and Short," with a sight of their worn-out "Punch!" Pity for him, that New York has no such dignified "amusements" to entertain her *elite* and literary visitors from abroad. We presume, however, that Mr. Dickens found *something* answering to the name of "Punch" in some of those "pleasant retreats," in which he sought a momentary refuge, allured by the illuminated signs, "oysters in every style." At length, with an eye to his profession, and to the money to be realized from some American

tales of pauperism and crime, he finds his way to the "Tombs," where he makes himself acquainted with the keepers and the cells, and with the details of the mode in which the punishment of death is inflicted. Afterwards, with the same object in view, no doubt, he visits the infamous Five Points, which region of filth and vice and crime, he enters under the escort of two police officers, whom hundreds might pass in the streets daily without suspecting their official character, but whom our police reporter, long familiar with Bow Street, Seven Dials, and St. Giles's, would have recognized had he met them in the Great Desert. What scenes he witnessed at midnight in these abodes of misery and sin, we shall probably learn more fully from the tales of fun and woe, which will embellish the "new work, by Boz," to be published in monthly numbers, beginning in the present month. He favors us with only one scene, which seems to have afforded him unspeakable delight. It was a negro dance in a low and filthy cellar, performed at his particular request.

After describing, though in somewhat unfavorable terms, "the different public institutions on Long Island," Mr. Dickens concludes his notice of New York, as follows :

"There are three theatres. Two of them, the Park and the Bowery, are large, elegant and handsome buildings, and are, I grieve to write it, generally deserted. The third, the Olympic, is a tiny show-box for vaudevilles and burlesques. It is singularly well-conducted by Mr. Mitchell, a comic actor of great quiet humor and originality, who is well remembered and esteemed by London playgoers. I am happy to report of this deserving gentleman, that his benches are usually well filled, and that his theater rings with merriment every night. I had almost forgotten a small summer theater, called Niblo's, with gardens and open air amusements attached; but I believe it is not exempt from the general depression under which theatrical property, or what is humorously called by that name, unfortunately labors.

"The country round New York is surpassingly and exquisitely picturesque. The climate, as I have already intimated, is somewhat of the warmest. What it would be, without the sea breezes which come from its beautiful bay in the evening time, I will not throw myself or my readers into a fever by inquiring.

"The tone of the best society in this city, is like that of Boston; here and there, it may be, with a greater infusion of the mercantile spirit, but generally polished and refined, and always most hospitable. The houses and tables are elegant; the hours later and more rakish; and there is, perhaps, a greater spirit of contention in reference to appearances, and the display of wealth and costly living. The ladies are singularly beautiful."

The title of the next chapter is "Philadelphia, and its solitary prison." It might with propriety be inverted, for about one tenth part of the chapter is devoted to a description of the city, and the remaining nine tenths, to meditations and soliloquies in the Eastern Penitentiary. We have never read a book, professing to give an account of any country, which, in respect to its natural features, its towns and cities, its manners and customs, its social, civil, and religious institutions—in short, in respect to every thing about which the reader wishes to receive information, or at least, to ascertain the opinions of the author, is so profoundly silent as the book before us. We should hardly have thought it possible for so many pages of "Notes on America" to be written, and so little to be said in them which is of the least importance to the reader. The experiment, however, has been successfully made, and Mr. Dickens has proved himself to be utterly incompetent to write any thing which does not savor strongly of his former occupation. In jails and almshouses, amid scenes of vice and crime, he is perfectly at home, and often paints with a master's hand. He is more graphic and eloquent in describing the habits of the pigs that roam through the streets of New York, than in portraying the

more elevated manners and refined amusements of the Gothamites themselves.

From Philadelphia, Mr. Dickens proceeded to Baltimore and Washington. In the former city his stay was brief. He simply enumerates its various public buildings in a single sentence, and then occupies four or five paragraphs in delineating "two curious cases" which were brought under his observation in the *State Penitentiary*. In this city, he found the only hotel which afforded him perfect comfort and satisfaction, though there were many approximations to his *beau ideal* in other places. "The most comfortable of all the hotels of which I had any experience in the United States, and they were not a few, is Barnum's, in that city; where the English traveler will find curtains to his bed [mark this!] for the first, and probably the last time, in America; and where he will be likely to have enough water for washing himself, which is not at all a common case." On reading this sentence we were strongly impressed with the idea, that Mr. Dickens was a physiological phenomenon, exhibiting in his own person the remarkable properties of the opposite magnetic poles; for, while *externally* he manifested a very powerful attraction for water, *internally* he manifested a no less decided repulsion towards it; and we afterwards find it a ground of complaint against two or three hotels, that they had *nothing but water for "the English traveler" to drink!*

On his journey to Washington, Mr. Dickens was particularly disgusted with the exuberant use of tobacco which he witnessed on all occasions. We heartily join him in his "counterblast" against the Stygian weed; yet we apprehend, that his practice of frequenting the *bar* was no less disgusting to some of his fellow travelers, than the use of tobacco on the part of others

seems to have been to him. He could not go from New Haven to New York, without "exhausting the stock of bottled beer" on board the boat, and we believe that he even found a *bar* on board the little steamer between Springfield and Hartford. The habits of Mr. Dickens, in this respect, as our readers have already seen, need no inconsiderable reformation.

The appearance of Washington, as it strikes the eye of a Londoner, is facetiously described; though on the whole, he seems to have been in something of an ill humor while visiting the Federal city.

"It is sometimes called the city of Magnificent Distances, but it might with greater propriety be termed the city of Magnificent Intentions; for it is only on taking a bird's-eye view of it from the top of the Capitol, that one can at all comprehend the vast designs of its projector, an aspiring Frenchman. Spacious avenues, that begin in nothing, and lead no where; streets, mile-long, that only want houses, roads, and inhabitants; public buildings that need but a public to be complete; and ornaments of great thoroughfares, which only lack great thoroughfares to ornament, are its leading features. One might fancy the season over, and most of the houses gone out of town for ever with their masters. To the admirers of cities it is a Barmecide feast; a pleasant field for the imagination to rove in; a monument raised to a deceased project, with not even a legible inscription to record its departed greatness."

Our traveler was not very favorably impressed with the appearance of the House of Representatives, though he gives the Senate much credit for its dignity and decorum. His criticisms on these two bodies, though not a little exaggerated, are in the main so pungent, and have so much truth in them, that we cannot refrain from expressing the wish, that they might be read and pondered, not only by the members of Congress, but by all who have any thing to do with sending them there. Our author of course visited the President, and was well pleased with the republican simpli-

city of the various domestic arrangements at the White House. He satirizes the bustle and parade of a presentation to her Majesty, by contrasting with it the easy and unceremonious introduction to the chief magistrate of the United States. He bears his testimony likewise, to the "decorum and propriety of behavior which prevailed" at the President's levee, even "among the miscellaneous crowd in the hall," thus showing, that there is a tendency in republican institutions to engender the feeling of self-respect.

From Washington, Mr. Dickens proceeded to Richmond, where his stay was short, and concerning which he has recorded nothing worthy of notice. He was particularly pleased, however, with the luxurious and dissipated style of living which he saw, as the reader may judge from the following reminiscences.

"It was between six and seven o'clock in the evening, when we drove to the hotel; in front of which, and on the top of the broad flight of steps leading to the door, two or three citizens were balancing themselves on rocking chairs and smoking cigars. We found it a very large and elegant establishment, and were as well entertained as travelers need desire to be. The climate being a thirsty one, there was never, at any hour of the day, a scarcity of loungers in the spacious bar, or a cessation of the mixing of cool liquors: but they were a merrier people here, and had musical instruments playing to them o' nights, which it was a treat to hear again."

From Richmond, Mr. Dickens returned to Baltimore, whence he pursued his journey by stage to Harrisburg. There (being moved perhaps by considerations of economy, since the hope of securing an international copy-right law was fast vanishing away) he went on board a canal-boat for Pittsburg, in company with numerous emigrants for the west, and of course received no very favorable impression, either of the comforts of this

mode of traveling, or of American society as exhibited in his fellow travelers. Having left Harrisburg on Friday evening, he reached Pittsburg on Monday evening by dint of traveling on the Sabbath, and remained there three days, but he has hardly a word to say about the place. There is nothing worthy of remark in his account of the journey by steamboat, from Pittsburg to Cincinnati, except the dissatisfaction which he expresses, because "at dinner there was nothing to drink upon the table, but great jugs full of cold water," whilst at the same time he complains of the scantiness of the "washing apparatus," thus again illustrating the theory of opposite poles.

With Cincinnati he was particularly pleased. While there he had the privilege of seeing a temperance convention and parade, which he regarded with much interest as a "holiday concourse," though he felt little sympathy in its peculiar design.

His description of Louisville, his next stopping place, comprises little more than an account of its superb hotel and of the rooting of swine in the streets. Thence he proceeded to St. Louis, where he remained long enough to make the discovery, that the city owes much to the influence of the Unitarian church, "which is represented there by a gentleman of great worth and excellence." From St. Louis, he made an excursion to the Looking Glass prairie, and then retraced his steps to Cincinnati. From Cincinnati, his course was to Canada, by way of Sandusky and the lakes. A scene described at one of the towns between Cincinnati and Columbus, may have been admired by some as an illustration of the writer's talent for caricature. We copy a part of the concluding paragraph as another illustration of his love for brandy, and his dislike of any internal application of water.

"We dine soon afterwards with the boarders in the house, and have nothing to drink but tea and coffee. As they are both very bad, and the water is worse, I ask for brandy, but it is a temperance hotel, and spirits are not to be had for love or money. This preposterous forcing of unpleasant drinks down the reluctant throats of travelers, is not at all uncommon in America, but I never discovered that the scruples of such wincing landlords induced them to preserve any unusually nice balance between the quality of their fare, and their scale of charges: on the contrary, I rather suspected them of diminishing the one and exalting the other, by way of recompense for the loss of their profit on the sale of spirituous liquors. After all, perhaps, the plainest course for persons of such tender consciences, would be a total abstinence from tavern-keeping."

From Sandusky, Mr. Dickens hastened by steamboat to Buffalo, and thence to Niagara Falls, where he remained two days—spending the time however, on the Canadian side. He was not probably aware, that some of the most magnificent views of the falls are presented from the American bank of the river. His reflections are worth quoting, as a specimen of his descriptive powers, but as the book itself is in the hands of millions of readers, we need only refer to it. If Mr. Dickens had not been educated to the trade of making police reports, he might have been a poet.

Mr. Dickens visited Toronto, Kingston, Montreal, Quebec, and St. John's, neither of which places is described very minutely, but all of them more at length, and apparently with far more satisfaction, than any American cities of the same or even greater importance. He is more particular in describing scenery and location, and has far less fault than usual to find with the modes of conveyance, the provisions for refreshment and comfort, and the manners of the people. All this is quite natural. In Canada he was on British ground.

From St. John's, our traveler re-entered America by way of Lake Champlain, and proceeded imme-

diately to New York; but having five days of leisure before embarking for England, he made a short excursion to West Point and [New] Lebanon. At New Lebanon, he suffered dreadfully by the miserable accommodations of the hotel, at which he would have slept had sleep been possible.

On Tuesday, the seventh of June, Mr. Dickens embarked in the packet ship *George Washington*, for his native land. The chapter describing the passage home is pleasantly written, and contains some important suggestions respecting the shipping of emigrants. It is followed by a chapter on slavery, embodying some facts, but lamentably deficient in argument and force. The chapter was written for the English market, and would probably have been different, had the author's scheme for an international copyright been successful.

The last chapter of the work contains some general remarks on the prominent features of American society, but none of them betray an accurate or philosophic mind. The topics discussed are some of them important, but they are dismissed with a few hasty, disconnected observations. The writer censures that "universal distrust," which he regards as characteristic of the American people, condemns the general character of the newspaper press, laments the prevalence of the "real" to the exclusion of the "ideal," complains of the deficiency of the organ of wit in the American cranium, and the want of that "lightness of heart and gaiety," which abounds in "merry old England," discusses "the prevalence of various forms of dissent," and the tendency of republican institutions to engender the feeling of self-respect. The latter point is illustrated by the independent air of a boot-maker, who came to take his measure as he was enjoying his "book and wine-glass," and with

this anecdote, followed with a brief dissertation on cleanliness and health, the "circulation" of "American Notes" is suddenly stopped—the said notes being found completely below par.

We regret that Mr. Dickens has published these volumes, for they bear the marks of hasty composition, evince no genius, add nothing to the author's reputation as a writer, and exhibit his moral character in a most undesirable light.

It remains that, in concluding this article, we present briefly the judgment which we have formed of Mr. Dickens as a writer. These Notes are by no means a favorable specimen of the talents of the author. They are very carelessly written, and the subject affords but little scope for the exercise of his peculiar powers. Mr. Dickens is unquestionably a man of genius. He possesses in a rare degree a talent for caricature; yet it seems to be almost uniformly under the control of good nature, and is seldom exercised for a malicious purpose. His mind is continually on the alert for the ludicrous; and the faculty to which he owes his greatest success, is a faculty for making exaggerated descriptions of laughable scenes and odd characters. It may be said of him, as Dryden said of "rare Ben Jonson," that "humor is his proper sphere." Such a sentence, we are aware, would assign to him no very lofty niche in the temple of Fame. No man would think of placing the author of *Tristram Shandy* as high as the author of the *Task*. Yet in conformity with this estimate of the nature and rank of our author's genius, we are much inclined to regard the "Post-humous Papers of the Pickwick Club," as his *chef d'œuvre*. It is to the Pickwick Papers—a work of mere fun, for which the epithet *comic* is quite too dignified—a work having no aim but to make the public laugh, as laughter from the pit

and galleries greets the broadest kind of farce—that Mr. Dickens owes his chief renown. In that work, every character, every scene and incident, is in perfect harmony with the whole. Mr. Pickwick and his associates, Mrs. Leo Hunter and the *élite* of Eatanswill, the Wellers elder and junior, Mrs. Bardwell and her boy, the scenes of the election and those of the law-suit, are all of a piece; and it is not to be wondered at, that with the aid of Cruikshank, (whose "illustrations" are a great help to the story,) they have become so well known, and have furnished so much food for unmalicious merriment.

The later works of Mr. Dickens are less exclusively humorous; in fact, they deal not unfrequently in the stern and sad realities of life. But while they thus indicate another kind of talent, and show, as is often shown, that the broadest humor and the most resistless pathos may be nearly allied, they are deficient in respect to unity in the design and harmony in the effect; and the reader feels that a certain violence is done to truth and nature. The hero of the tale is commonly selected from the lower walks of life, perhaps is taken from the parish workhouse, and in spite of the most untoward circumstances, notwithstanding the baneful influences by which he is surrounded, without instruction or sympathy, deprived of the counsel and example of judicious parents and friends, perhaps even against the vicious example of those who gave him birth, he appears to the world a model of excellence, adorned with every virtue and grace, and wins his way to respectability and fortune. So rare, however, are such instances of self-guardianship and promotion in real life, in fact so contrary are they to our experience, that however deeply we may be interested in the story of such a character, we cannot at the same time resist the impression

that it is altogether unnatural. This perfect character, so serious, consistent, and virtuous, this idealized representation of all that is admirable in human nature, is surrounded continually by the most grotesque figures conceivable—by mere distortions and caricatures of humanity, extravagant in their virtues, or hideous in their deformity—and yet passes through life without being in the least affected by their influence. Thus in the "Old Curiosity Shop," little Nell, whose character is almost too lovely for earth, was trained up under the influence of a poor old man—her grandfather—shattered in intellect, addicted to gambling and theft, the bosom friend and then the victim of a hideous dwarf, whose character is even more deformed than his person. The grouping of such figures together, though it may serve to heighten the contrast between them, renders the whole picture unnatural, and even painful. One character—the center of the picture—is drawn and colored with ideal and even supernatural beauty, while every thing else upon the canvass is laughably or hideously grotesque.

There is a remarkable similarity among the late productions of Mr. Dickens, which indicates a lack of invention. *Oliver Twist*, *Nicholas Nickleby*, and even little Nell, in their origin, education, adventures, and varied fortunes, in the class of society to which they belong, the characters by which they are surrounded, the scenes of vice and temptation into which they are thrown, in their fortitude under trials, their scrupulous adherence to those moral principles which are discarded by all around them, and in all the essential features of their history, have many striking points of resemblance. In the two former particularly, Mr. Dickens seems to have done like those preachers who sometimes give us the same sermon on different occasions, un-

der different texts, and in different covers.

We are by no means insensible to the many tokens which these later works exhibit, of a better and higher kind of genius than that which wrote the *Papers of the Pickwick Club*. However improbable or unnatural may be the structure of the story and the grouping of the characters, each character is generally life-like and well sustained. Some characters have a highly tragical effect. That of Fagin, for example, would hardly suffer by a comparison with *Shylock*. Of little Nell we have already intimated an opinion. Perhaps she might be ranked with such creations of genius as *Desdemona*. Her devotion to her aged grandfather, when the poor insane old man was driven from his home by the rapacious Quilp; her clinging to him in all his wanderings, as, haunted by the fear that some one was pursuing him, he hurried from one village to another; her self-denial, to procure for him the means of subsistence; her anxiety to keep him from the gaming table, when the sight of cards at a village inn had rekindled his old passion so fiercely that, to partake in the game, he even stole from her little purse the few pence which she had hoarded to buy him bread; the quietness with which she endures privation, hunger, cold, and the neglect of the proud; all these, with a thousand other evidences of a soul ennobled and mature, in the most delicate, flower-like frame, endear her to the heart, and engrave her image there in lines which cannot be effaced. And when, weary and worn with her wanderings, she comes to die in that quiet village, where she had just found sympathy and friends, and is buried in that old church-yard, where she had loved to wander, we cannot refrain from mingling our tears with those of the village children, who weep over the fresh sod that covers her.

Occasionally we find a sentence that is an almost perfect gem of poetic tenderness and beauty. For example, when the author brings his weary wanderers to a manufacturing town, where they obtain lodgings for the night in an iron foundry, and sleep by the side of one of its ceaseless fires, and where the workman shares with them his scanty meal, makes a bed for them from his own rough apparel, and in the morning dismisses them with a pittance and his benediction. "He gave her two old, battered, smoke-encrusted penny pieces. Who knows but that they shone as brightly in the eyes of angels, as golden gifts that have been chronicled on tombs?" Their loneliness, as they stood one evening in a crowded thoroughfare, entire strangers, with no prospect of a meal or bed, is thus depicted. "Feeling amidst the crowd a solitude which has no parallel but in the thirst of the shipwrecked mariner, who, tost to and fro upon the billows of a mighty ocean, his red eyes blinded by looking on the water which hems him in on every side, has not one drop to cool his burning tongue."

Mr. Dickens probably values himself, as certainly he has been complimented by some critics, on the moral tendency of his writings. It is often said that they tend to good, by exciting sympathy with human suffering, and by increasing the reader's detestation of vice and his admiration of goodness. But after all that may be said and conceded on this point, it remains a serious question, whether any human being was ever made better by reading such books as *Oliver Twist* or *Barnaby Rudge*. Books of mere amusement—books written to be sold, and the sale of which depends exclusively on their power to amuse thoughtless minds, and to while away the tedious hours of the indolent and the frivolous, are not likely to do much towards quickening the

conscience of the reader, or leading him to recognize his moral nature and his relations to his Maker. Certainly, very little of this can be expected from the writings of a man so ignorant of that tree of life, the leaves of which are for the healing of the nations, as is the author now before us. We have heard the inference drawn from his writings, and especially from some passages in these American Notes, that he is a Unitarian. Unitarian! Did he attend any Unitarian church in Boston? Is there any evidence, that he attended any church any where in the United States, save in that one instance in which he visited "Father Taylor's" sailors' chapel, with a single eye to his own profession as a dealer in caricatures? A Unitarian! Why, Miss Sedgwick is a Unitarian, yet how much loftier is the moral tone of some of her works within a few years past, than that of any thing from the pen of this author. He compliments the Unitarians indeed, as we have seen, but not on account of their having a more accurate exposition of Christianity than other men. He speaks admiringly of the Boston Transcendentalists, and says, that 'if he were a Bostonian, he *would* be a Transcendentalist;' but the great glory of Transcendentalism in his view, is its "hearty disgust of cant;" and he names its professors, not as expounders of Christianity, but as "a sect of philosophers." In brief, then, our understanding of Mr. Dickens is, not that he embraces this or that system of latitudinarian doctrine, but that all forms and schemes of religion, Unitarian or evangelical, Popish or Protestant, Christian, Mohammedan, or Pagan, are alike to him. Is he not one of the many whom England trains, under the shadow of her old cathedrals, in a deplorable ignorance of God and of Christ? "Disgust of cant" is the profession of his faith. And what do such

men mean by "cant?" To them, all *fear* of God—all the manifestations of a devout and serious temper—all talk of sin and repentance and forgiveness for Christ's sake, and inward renovation by the grace of God—all endeavors to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this evil world, are "cant." As is the man, such will be, on the whole, the influence of his writings. What sort of influence then may be expected from the writings of this author, of whose character the American Notes give us so distinct a revelation? He is a good-natured man, loving to laugh and to see others merry, and cherishing a good-natured sympathy for those neglected and wretched classes of the population of London, with whom his early life and his professional employments have made him well acquainted. His writings, accordingly, present to us the most attractive representations of that kind of virtue, which consists of good-natured dispositions, and the most picturesque descriptions of the vices and the miseries of those who groan, and die a lingering death, under the crushing structure of the English constitution of society. Of any other virtue than that which is made up of kind and generous natural impulses—of any other virtue than that phrenological goodness, which is analyzed into 'large benevolence,' 'well developed conscientiousness,' 'large adhesiveness,' 'moderate veneration,' 'small acquisitiveness,' 'small destructiveness,' and such like elements of moral character—his writings give no lesson. Of virtue, springing from godliness as its root—of virtue, strengthened by the fear of God and by the knowledge of God's holiness—of virtue, seeking to please God, and praying, 'lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil'—no reader would ever receive any image or conception, from such books as those of Dickens.

Objections have sometimes been made to this literature of almshouses and prisons, of pauperism and roguery, as necessarily tending to corruption of taste and of morals. We do not admit the force of such objections. On the contrary, we think that philanthropy may be grateful for any fair exhibition of the vices and the better qualities, the miseries and the whole existence, of the neglected and degraded portions of society; and especially, when the exhibition is so managed by the hand of genius, as to make all feel that natural bond of brotherhood which connects the most privileged with the most degraded. It is so, for the most part, with the writings of this author. He often displays a generous sympathy with lowly wretchedness, which is not only creditable to his heart, but touches the heart of the reader. Take, for example, a passage in which he contrasts the lives of gipsy children with those of children who are compelled to toil in English manufactories. "Even the sun-burnt faces of gipsy children, half naked though they be, suggest a drop of comfort. It is a pleasant thing to see that the sun has been there; to know that the air and light are on them every day; to feel that they *are* children and lead children's lives; that if their pillows be damp, it is with the dews of heaven, and not with tears; that the limbs of their girls are free, and that they are not crippled with distortions, imposing an unnatural and horrible penance upon their sex; that their lives are spent from day to day, at least among the waving trees, and not in the midst of dreadful engines, which make young children old before they know what childhood is, and give them the exhaustion and infirmity of age, without, like age, the privilege to die."

But as often as we indulge the hope, that the writings of Mr. Dickens may be productive of good in

awakening an interest for the needy, the defenseless, and the oppressed, and by making the more fortunate and privileged feel, that even the most degraded partake in the better sensibilities and generous impulses of our common nature; we are constrained to fear, that these writings will have, on the whole, no other influence on the public mind, than to excite merriment at the expense of those who are deserving of sympathy, and disgust at those, whose deformities, sufficiently re-

pulsive in themselves, are exaggerated by the distorting manner in which they are held up to view. Mr. Dickens has written much that is worthy of praise; yet, we cannot but lament the extensive circulation of his works, and their evident influence on society. At least one benefit of the international copyright law which he is so anxious to secure, would be, that it would prevent the republication of many of his productions, or limit their circulation to the judicious few.

MIDNIGHT.

THE moon now pours her full and noontide beams,
O'er the still mountain, and the quiet lawn;
Earth's thronging multitudes lie hushed in dreams,
Weaving their plots to vanish with the dawn.

The men, who yesterday were tossed with groans,
Now travel some bright region far away;
Where golden palaces, and crystal thrones,
Rise noiselessly, and noiselessly decay.

The lonely captive held in dread suspense,
The sailor musing o'er the "rushing helm,"
Are lingering yet upon the shores of sense,
Like sentinels to guard this dreamy realm.
I'll muse awhile, ere yet the clarion's 'larm,
Shall rouse the slumbering world, and break the silent charm.

A MOTHER AT HER INFANT'S GRAVE.

SHE comes to weep alone; a mother's tears
Are falling fast upon the grave where sleeps
Her infant boy. No monument yet marks
The spot where he was laid; it is too fresh
In memory to need the sculptured stone
To guide the steps of her who weeps alone.
Yet even as she weeps, she smiles; for lo!
A voice of heavenly music thrills her soul,
"Suffer this little one to come to me,
Forbid it not;—these op'ning flowers I need
To beautify the Paradise above."

THE WAR IN RHODE ISLAND.

A civil war in New England is almost too strange an event to be believed; and, we are persuaded the body of the people are not aware of the very great dangers which we have recently encountered, and from which, perhaps, we have not yet escaped. The universal confidence in our institutions, by preventing the occasion of suspicion, produces an unconsciousness of danger, which even its near approach can with difficulty disturb. But to the inhabitants of Rhode Island, the war was a reality. It was felt in every family. The march of troops in the solemn earnestness of war to the sound of fife and drum, brought it home to every one's consciousness, that the state was in the midst of revolution. And although the blood of citizens has not been shed in battle, yet apart from this, the people, in the alienation of families, in the interruption of social intercourse and in the hostile feelings created, have suffered the horrors of civil war.

But it is not the immediate evils, which most alarm us. It is not merely that money has been lost and business disturbed, that private feuds have been engendered which may never be quelled, and distrust and suspicion excited throughout the whole community; nor even that schools of learning have been shut and the solemnities of the sanctuary broken in upon; nor, still farther, that the contest has passed beyond the bounds of the state, and becoming a topic of party politics, threatens to embroil the whole country; but it is, that *civil war should exist at all*. Who could have foreseen that it would thus early start forth in a country, whose just praise is its constitutional governments? Who could have predicted, that in a republic, which boasts the supremacy of law, the whole armed force of a

state would so soon be called out to put down insurrection against law? Who was willing to believe that where the people rule supreme, any considerable body of them could be led to attempt the usurpation of power by force?

But we confess we do not regard even this, as the greatest evil. There is a wide difference between rushing into civil war, and justifying it as a proper mode of changing free constitutions; and a still wider between this being done by those engaged in the strife, and its being done by men of learning and statesmen of influence, who far from the scene of contest, and not excited by the passions which civil war always produces, can coolly defend rebellion, not on the ground that the last necessity had arrived, and the law of nature must put down by force the law of government, but on the principle that insurrection is a legal right. We might endure a civil war for once, but how can we endure a principle which will make civil war one of the American principles of government, one of the ordinary modes of changing constitutions.

We think, therefore, the principles brought forward to justify the war, more dangerous than the war itself. For these are not the principles of the declaration of independence nor of the constitutions of the several states, however strenuously they have been confounded with them. That the people have a natural right to overthrow the government under which they live, and substitute another in its place, is a grave truth never to be questioned among us, but involving in its application the highest moral responsibilities. It is not pretended that the people of Rhode Island were so oppressed as to make it, in the language of the declaration of indepen-

dence, "their right," "their duty to throw off the government." That there is also under our free institutions, a method, originating in profound wisdom, whereby the people can exercise the natural right of changing government, without opposition from the existing government, and therefore without resort to force, has been proved by abundant experience. But this method was discarded in Rhode Island. The justification of the proceedings in that state, is not founded on either of these truly American doctrines. In asserting, therefore, the dangerous nature of the principles by which they are justified, we do not oppose any principles which are universally recognized among us. We maintain and cherish the principles of the declaration of independence; they furnish the authority for overthrowing by force an oppressive government. And we have a still higher respect, if any thing, for that wonderful expedient of political wisdom, by which the existing government is pledged against resistance; and thus that natural right, laid down by our forefathers at the Revolution, can be exercised in peace. These are not what we object to, but we do object to a principle that, under the pretense of being legal and peaceful, seduces its followers into measures which otherwise they would never take, and thus leads them on step by step to inevitable war.

What, then, are these principles? They are, *first*, that the majority of the people of any state, has a *legal right*, which may be exercised at any time, to change its constitution, and as a consequence its executive, its legislature, and its laws, without regard to the existing government and laws; and *second*, that the whole people are under a corresponding legal obligation to obey the new constitution, officers and laws, all obligations and oaths to the former government at once ceasing. This latter principle, it is obvious, follows

as a necessary inference from the former, since a legal right to command implies a legal obligation to obey. If it should so happen in any state, (to give an illustration of these principles,) that an actual minority should elect a governor, the majority could immediately get rid of him in a legal way, by assembling on the authority of this right of revolution, either in mass or by delegates, and framing a new constitution and under it electing a new governor, who would be the legal chief magistrate to whom civil obedience is due, while through the silent operation of law, the former becomes at once guilty of treason, if he remains longer in office.

We fear the statement may appear to some incredible; we will therefore give these doctrines in the language of a writer* who has most ably maintained them. Supposing a constitution made by the whole people, according to which the elective franchise is restricted to a portion of the people, he asks, "could such a restriction be removed by a majority of the whole people afterwards? Is the consent thus given, really or by implication, to a constitution revocable, and can the exercise of the sovereignty be resumed at any time by the whole people, without the consent of the parties to whom the power may have been confided, or to use a legal expression, without the consent of the grantees? Can it be resumed *without a revolution*? After a constitution is once adopted, by which an electoral body is established smaller than the whole people, does there still remain a *legal right* to change that constitution in a manner not provided by the constitution itself, and without the consent of the electoral body?" These questions are answered in the affirmative. We have italicized a few words to draw attention to the main points. A

* Democratic Review, July, 1842.

legal right thus broad in its operations, and to be exercised in defiance of law, will appear strange to our readers, and they may doubt the obvious meaning of this passage. But the writer fairly embraces the entire consequences of this principle; for he answers the objection, "where will all this lead? may you at any time take a census of all this body of persons," that is, of the people, "and if you can procure the consent of a majority of them to any scheme, does such scheme, *ipso facto*, become the law of the land?" he answers this objection, of its leading to extremes, by admitting it. "For," he says, "if the people should choose to act in an irregular manner, it cannot be helped." And that is the logical answer; but why call it "an irregular manner?" Can the fact of a majority's favoring any measure, be ascertained in a more certain, and therefore in a more regular manner than by a census? Is the writer startled at his own conclusions? It is just to subjoin his second reply, which is, "that the people of this country never will act in that manner as long as they are fit for freedom." But we would like to ask, in case any people should degenerate and become unfit for freedom, and as a consequence *should* act in this "irregular manner," whether there would be a legal obligation of obedience? We suppose in his opinion there would be, since "there is," as he says, "no help for it." We are not now upon the argument, but we think there must be a strong presumption against a legal right which binds us to acquiesce peaceably in "any scheme," which may be formed by a people "unfit for freedom." It may occur to some that this writer must after all mean the right of revolution by force. It is true some other advocates on the same side have made no discrimination, but the present writer is by far too good a reasoner to confound

things so different. He says expressly, "there is another right, a right above all human law, a right of resistance to law, a right of revolution." "It must never be confounded with the right at first considered. That was a *legal* right—a right of the majority to change their government in their *own way* and at their *own time*." We thus have before us, the doctrine of the legal right of revolution and in the language of an able advocate. The corresponding legal obligation of obedience, follows of course, and we find the same writer drawing the conclusion with perfect consistency, from the principles which he had laid down, that "if a majority of the people of Rhode Island ratified the 'people's constitution,' it is the true and real organic law of the state." We might here refer to the letter of Governor Hubbard, where the same doctrine is maintained, but it is unnecessary, the more especially as the doctrine seems to have been borrowed from the writer already quoted, while the distinctions upon which the whole argument depends, have been entirely disregarded.

We will now give a statement of the proceedings which these principles are brought forward to justify. We shall not go into a minute detail; it will be sufficient to mention only those circumstances, which bring clearly before us the points in issue.

A large number of the inhabitants of Rhode Island meet in a mass assembly at Providence and determine upon calling a convention to form a constitution for the state. This was on the fifth of July, 1841. Delegates are elected; the convention convenes and frames a constitution, and in December the constitution is ratified by the unanimous voice of those who voted upon its adoption. An election of officers and of a legislature, took place on the eighteenth of April, 1842, and on the third of May, at Providence, a government was organized in the state

of Rhode Island. This organization was supported by a body of about five hundred troops—the friends of these movements having previously commenced a military enrollment and made preparations to maintain, if necessary, the new constitution by force. On the other hand, the existing government opposed these measures at every step. It denied the validity of the constitution, by resolving at the January session in 1842, “that all the acts done for the purpose of imposing upon this state a constitution are an assumption of the powers of government, in violation of the rights of the existing government and of the rights of the people at large;” and, at an extra session in March, enacted a law declaring all meetings for the election of town, county or state officers, illegal and void, and making it penal to preside at such meeting, or to have any official connection with them, or to signify a willingness to accept of any office by virtue of such election, while the actual acceptance and exercise of any such office is pronounced to be treason against the state. After the elections were held, it made several arrests under this law, and at length resisted with the whole military power of the state, the attempt to maintain by force the new organization of government.

Such are the facts. The only point now in dispute is, was this constitution legally made and ratified. If it was, then it is to be admitted that all the subsequent proceedings were legal; that the elections were neither illegal nor void; that those who accepted of the offices to which they were elected, instead of being guilty of treason, were only exercising their constitutional rights, and the military movements were not rebellious, but in support of a just government. Then, too, it follows, that the government which continued to exercise power was a usurpation, and that the

whole military force of the state was in open rebellion against a legitimate government. On the other hand, if the constitution was not legally made and ratified, then it follows—but we will not say at present what does follow.

We turn now to the argument. Had that portion of the people who made and ratified this constitution a “legal right” to do it? It seems to us that the very statement of the proposition, that there is a legal right of forming a constitution independent of the existing government and law, is enough to refute it. The idea of law is one that can be mistaken for no other. It is clear and distinct by itself. The same may be said of the idea of government. Every body knows what law is, and what government is. These ideas therefore may be taken, since they are universally known and acknowledged, as the groundwork of our reasoning. Now we say no man can reflect distinctly upon what law and government are, without seeing that law must proceed from government. A legal right, then, is a right with which law is at least in some way connected. It may not be that law has conferred it, it may only control its exercise; at any rate, and this is enough for the argument, it holds some relation to law, and law proceeds from government. A *legal* right to form a constitution for a state, therefore, must be a right connected in some way with the law of the government of that state. But the making and ratification of this constitution was without law, and they who were engaged in those proceedings did in those acts renounce the legal authority of the state. We do not say they had no right—they may have had the right of revolution—but let the measure be properly named, let not an act which discards law, support itself by the authority of law. It may be a right, but not a *legal* right. For that exists under law and govern-

ment. But the very parties in these proceedings would insist, that the chartered government and laws had nothing to do with their constitution. To talk of a legal right under these circumstances, is to talk inconsistently; a legal right founded on no law, a right with law and at the same time without law, seems to us a downright absurdity. The truth is, there are but two ways in which the people can exercise the natural and inalienable right of abolishing and changing government; one, with the government peacefully, and the other, against government by force. And those inhabitants of Rhode Island, who have chosen the latter course, cannot now alter the nature of the transaction by applying to it the language of law and peace.

Again, a legal right can be enforced in a court of justice; and it has been suggested that the validity of this legal right of revolution, be tried in the Supreme Court of the United States. Here there would be a law-suit between two governments claiming to exercise authority over the same state. For, it is not a suit between two sets of officers, claiming under the same government, but between the whole people of Rhode Island, living under the one government, and the whole people of Rhode Island, living under the other government. We are not versed in the forms of law, but we doubt a little, whether the same man can sue himself, or be both plaintiff and defendant in the same suit. But passing by this, let the case come on; the new government claims to have been established by the authority of a legal right, by law. But by what law? By the law of the existing government? No. By the law of the new? No; that did not exist so as to make a law for its own creation. What law then? None. View this position as we will, it involves an absurdity. Nor is it mere cavil at words. The proposition that there is a legal right

to change a government, which is not the right of revolution by force, nor the right retained under government, and exercised with its coöperation, cannot be stated in any language, which will not express an absurdity, for the ideas themselves are incompatible with one another.

It may be thought we have given too strict an interpretation to the term "legal right." We confess we have seen no definition of that sort of legal right, which is independent of law and government. But we have given to the words, the only meaning they can have and express the ideas always designated by them. And moreover we have taken them in the only sense, which is relevant to the point to be proved. For, leaving out of view the peaceful change of government through its own coöperation, and also the violent change against the resistance of the government, what is left but this inconsistency, the legal right of forcible revolution? If it be said the meaning is this, it is a universally admitted truth or principle among us, a kind of common law, that it is the *right* of the people to form a constitution against an existing government, then we ask, what is the nature of this right? Is it the right of revolution against government by force, or with government by law? If it is either of these, it is not the right brought forward by those whose opinions we are refuting. If it is not either of these, what is it but this third kind of a right which is called a "legal right." So that the above statement comes exactly to the same thing and has no advantage over the other form of expression, except it is less open and fair. The fault is not in the words, but in the ideas. The writers on that side, undertook too hard a task when they tried to make out civil war to be a legal remedy.

We think the inconsistency, inherent in any statement of these principles, enough to overthrow them.

But yet we will examine the arguments in their support. We will repeat the position to be proved, that there is a legal right of revolution, against the existing government, which is distinct from the right of revolution by force. Every American citizen glories in the latter, though he knows the exercise of it is attended with solemn consequences, since it lays the opposing party under no obligation peaceably to yield to it. But that there is a right of revolution against government, which brings an obligation upon the opposing party to submit to it—an obligation too, of a legal nature, the violation of which may be treason itself—this is the issue. Is there a legal obligation binding upon our citizens to acquiesce in any scheme to which a single individual, or a body of individuals united in a party, without authority of law and government, might, by canvassing the state, procure the consent of a majority of the people? and does such a scheme become law, so as to make resistance to it rebellion? or would the charge of rebellion be upon those who get up the scheme against government? In the case a majority of the people of Connecticut should in this way abolish the town boundaries, and change the present ratio of representatives, would that act of the majority impose a legal obligation upon the rest of the state to yield to it? and would resistance on their part be rebellion?

Such is the doctrine, for the support of which is alledged the authority of the declaration of independence, and of the declaration of rights in the constitutions of the several states. The declaration of independence lays down the following doctrines: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of

happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness." "It is their right." But what right? A legal right? A right, which made the resistance of England, a legal instead of a moral wrong? Or, rather is it not, in the words of the writer whose arguments we are reviewing, "a right above all human law—a right of resistance to law—a right of revolution?" The declaration of independence is professedly a justification to the world, out of a decent respect to the opinions of mankind, of this country's taking that station among the nations of the earth, to which *the laws of nature and of nature's God* entitle her. It undertakes to show that the laws of nature and of nature's God did entitle the people to act as they were then doing—*throwing off* an oppressive government by force. What is the first position? That man—not a body of men, but man individually—has from God the right of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and that this right, this right derived from nature's God, cannot be justly taken from him. Then, the relation of government to this right is stated and asserted to be that of security. This brings on the conclusion, that when government becomes destructive of this end, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it; that is, the people may, in the exercise of right—and of what right but that which is the subject of discourse?—alter or abolish it. Is it not certain that the right here spoken of, is the above men-

tioned right, not derived from government, not derived from society, existing independent of law and government, independent of society—a right which man has received from God, and for the exercise of which he is responsible to God *alone*? How then can the declaration of independence be any authority for another and distinct right, the legal right of a majority to change constitutions at will?

It is assumed here, we are aware, first, that this right of THE PEOPLE belongs to the people as an *organized body*; and, secondly, that this organized body is a permanent one, acting by a majority; whence it is inferred, since the right itself is indefeasible, the people as an organized body, always have it in reserve to exercise at pleasure. We say both of these positions are mere assumptions, without any proof. In regard to the first, we know with absolute assurance that *each individual* possesses these inalienable rights, but what is the process of reasoning—the intermediate truths, by which we arrive at the conclusion that the *organic whole* has the same? An organic whole has a will distinct from that of each individual composing it, and the exercise of an indefeasible right by a majority, is incompatible with the exercise of the same by the individuals of a minority. Indeed how could an individual alienate to the body as an organic whole, an inalienable right? Besides, we can give a more consistent meaning to the phrase. The right is inherent in the individual. But the efforts of individuals against an oppressive government, would be in vain, without coöperation. They must exercise their rights in concert, to be successful. They agree to do it. This compact, which is itself a sort of government, may lay each individual who is a party to it, under certain obligations to the organized whole; but the right thus accruing to that body

is not inalienable; they are rights of agreement, governmental rights. We think it evident the expression, the right of the PEOPLE, has reference to this circumstance, and merely indicates that the individuals of any community are united in exercising their natural rights.

There is an equal want of evidence to establish the second position, that this organized body is a permanent one. We may suppose three cases. The *first* is, that all the individuals of any community are united in overthrowing a government. They are then constituted as an organized body, but by their own consent, and for a specific purpose. But the organization ceases by its own limitation, when the object is gained for which it existed. The next thing after overthrowing a government, is to form a new one, and this of course requires consent and union in the exercise of natural rights. The *second* supposition, therefore, may be, that the larger portion of the individuals of the people agree to act together for this purpose. But this united body is a new organization, made by a new agreement, and for another purpose. It may have authority over those who are united together in it; but how can it justly exercise any over those individuals who do not join in it? since each has the same natural right to resist the new as the old government, and they may combine together to do it—and that on the authority of the declaration of independence. But we may suppose, *thirdly*, that all the individuals who were engaged in the revolution, unite as one whole, and consent to invest the body with authority to form a government. Here then is another union of all the individuals of the community, but this too is for a specific purpose, and it must cease when the purpose is secured, and of course with it the exercise of any rightful authority by a majority as a whole, over the individ-

uals of the minority. For, suppose the majority of this body, united by consent to form a government, should afterwards endeavor to *overthrow* it, could it, by virtue of that authority, rightfully demand of the individuals of the minority to act with it or to acquiesce in what it is doing? The reply of each individual is obvious,—the authority of the people as a body, over me, is by my consent, and I consented to a union for a specific purpose, to form a government, not to overthrow one,—and the individuals of that minority may combine to make resistance, and that on the authority of the declaration of independence. These three things, then, are distinct—the *individual man* possessing in his very nature from his Creator, certain permanent and inalienable rights; *men united as a people* into government, possessed in its corporate capacity, of permanent, but not inalienable rights; and, finally, men united as a people into one body, for a temporary purpose, either to abolish or to create a government, and possessed in its corporate capacity of only temporary rights. We say, then, there is no proof that the inalienable rights of the individual reside in the whole people, as an organized body, or that the organization of the people for the exercise of these rights in abolishing or establishing governments, is a permanent one. But upon these fallacious suppositions alone, rests the argument for “the legal right” of the majority to change governments at will; and it is only through a mistaken interpretation, that the declaration of independence can be appealed to in this case.

We return now to the true doctrine of that instrument. It is, that to man, as a creature of God, there belong inalienable rights, implanted, as it were, in his very nature, by the Being who made him. The grant of these rights, elevates him

high in the scale of intelligent existences, but at the same time it imposes upon him the most solemn moral duties, and never does man act under a more awful responsibility, than when renouncing the authority of man, he directly appeals to his Creator, as the sole judge of what he is then doing. This is indeed, the necessary characteristic of these rights, which clearly makes them distinct from the rights of government and law, that for them man is accountable, not to man, not to the people as a body, not to government, but to God. The questions arising under them, may be settled peaceably by agreement, or violently by force; but when men have once appealed to these rights for their justification in overthrowing or forming a new government, there is no organized body, armed with the power of law to settle the controversy. Union there may be of those who are devoted to the same object, yet a union of action, not formed by law, but by free consent, and for a specific purpose. Wherefore, according to the declaration of independence, any portion of the people of Rhode Island had the right, if they thought it their duty to exercise it, and could agree to do it in concert, of forming a constitution in the month of November, 1841, at Providence; but the remainder of the inhabitants possessed precisely the same right to form another in the year 1842, at Newport, or to continue to live under the one which had existed for almost two centuries. If the latter thought it best to yield to the former, they could do it; but if in their judgment they thought it best to resist, in order to secure life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, they could do it. It is not necessary to decide here, which party would be in the wrong: if wrong, it is a moral wrong, for which each individual of the two bodies is accountable to a higher

than an earthly tribunal—having in these transactions made the appeal alone, “to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of their intentions.”

We see not how there is room for a shadow of doubt, but that the right laid down in the declaration of independence, is “the right above all human law, a right of resistance to law, a right of revolution ;” more especially, we see not how there can be any with the writer, whose words we have just quoted. For, he admits this right of revolution “is founded on the natural rights of the individual,” and is to be exercised when “government transcends the limits of its just authority.” But what other rights are mentioned in the declaration of independence than the natural rights of individuals ? and when does it justify their exercise, except when the government “becomes destructive of the ends” for which it exists ? Are they not the same right, and both alike the right of revolution ? How then can the writer adduce the authority of this venerable declaration in favor of another and very different right ? Unless then, the proceedings in Rhode Island are to be justified as a revolution, it gives them not the sanction of its authority. In fact, the greater part of the writers in their defense, make no distinction. They justify them as a revolution on the authority of the declaration, and then deny that it is a revolution. “A member of the Boston bar,” in a review of Dr. Wayland’s Discourse, defends the formation of the new constitution, expressly on the strength of the “old liberty doctrine, without which we should never have broken one link of parliamentary despotism, one chain of British misrule,” and yet he acknowledges, that Dr. Wayland admits the existence of that doctrine as well as himself. But in the tumult of excited feelings, he confounds all distinctions. For sure-

ly he must have seen in his cooler moments, that the greater part of his fiery sentences have nothing to do with the question to be settled. Gov. Hubbard writes in the same loose manner, though he had the benefit of the discriminations in the Democratic Review. He justifies the formation of the new constitution, as a revolution ; for he says, the principle on which its supporters acted is the same as that on which we practiced as a nation, “when we recognized the independence of the South American republics and of Texas ;” and yet, he seems all unconscious of what a revolution is, and talks of it as if it were a mere occurrence of party politics.

But we are dwelling too long upon this part of the subject. We will now examine the declaration of rights in the constitutions of the several states, taking that of Connecticut as a fair specimen of the whole. This is the language of it—“that all political power is inherent in the people, and all free governments are founded on their authority, and instituted for their benefit ; and that they have at all times an undeniable and indefeasible right to alter their form of government in such manner as they may think expedient.” Here is an assertion of an inherent and indefeasible right in the people to form a government, and as this right is exercised peacefully, it looks more like a legal right, vesting the majority with legal authority over the minority. But in order to understand the import of this declaration, we must examine again and with more care, the doctrine of natural rights.

The idea of rights includes, first, power, both physical, intellectual, and moral, for the accomplishment of certain ends, which ends may be summed up in one, “the pursuit of happiness ;” and, secondly, the consciousness of its being a moral duty, to employ this power

for this purpose. These two things in union, the power, and the sense of moral obligation to use it, constitute what may be called an authority to man, founded in his nature to pursue happiness—an authority not from human government and law, but from God. Every man knows without the wavering of a doubt, he has the proof within himself, that he, the individual man, has that right, well denominated a Natural Right. But we must carefully distinguish here; this evidence from the nature of it does not prove that the right belongs to the people as an organized body, but to each individual of those who constitute the people. According to this, each man is a sovereign, and there is nothing to prove that any individual has, *by virtue of his sovereignty*, any *legal* claim over another. We have thus far gone on with absolute certainty.

Let us now look at a fact. We find these individual men at the present time, and so far as we know, always in the past, under government and law. We state the existence of these as a fact, in order to avoid a discussion of the theories that have been made, to explain the manner in which government over a particular nation was first formed. We prefer to look at the historical fact, and to decide each case as it arises on its own merits, by the application of acknowledged principles. What, now, is the relation which government and law hold to this power, which his Creator has given to each individual for the pursuit of happiness? That the pursuit of happiness on the part of each man might be not only consistent with the pursuit of it on the part of every other, but promotive of it, is a possible supposition; and if it were a reality, there would be no need of government and law. These, then, exist in order that each individual may employ in the best way the natural rights which his

Creator has given him, and not for the sake of the whole people as an organized body. Indeed, government and law embody the wisdom of the whole, and use it for the good of the individual. So long as government completely answers this end, no questions arise to be settled, and we need not here inquire into the ground of its authority. We state its undeniable object.

We now turn to another fact. A particular government becomes destructive of the ends for which it exists. Here then a question arises, not for the people as an organized body to decide, but for each individual, as it is the individual who is interested in it. One individual, conscious of his natural rights, knowing that government exists for their security, and feeling that it has failed of this end, judges it to be his duty to resist it, and as far as he can, to overthrow it; another individual does the same, and so on till each individual, either expressly or by implication, determines upon the exercise of the same right; and for this decision, no one is accountable to another, but each and all to God. We will suppose now, that the existing government makes no resistance, and that a new government is to be formed. The individuals, who agreed in the duty of changing the government, agree also in making a new one, and declare it to be the indefeasible right of the *people* to do so. But the question is, do they mean that this indefeasible right belongs to the people as an organized body, or to each individual of those who, by consent, are united together for that purpose? The latter; because, the inherent, indefeasible right, belongs to the individual, and is derived from God, while whatever rights belong to the people as an organized whole, are derived from the consent of each individual, and are therefore alienable, since the consent may be with-

drawn. This conclusion seems to us certain. The right of altering, abolishing or forming governments, laid down in the declarations of rights, is the natural right of the declaration of independence, with no other difference than this, that it is exercised with the consent, express or implied, of each individual of the community, and with the co-operation of government. But this is a very different thing from a right in the people, regarded as an organized body, and whose will is expressed by the majority and binding legally upon the minority, to make governments at will. We have seen that the proof goes only to show, that the natural, inalienable rights, reside in each individual of the people, and that whatever right belongs to the people as an organized body, is alienable, being by consent, and temporary, the consent being given for a temporary purpose.

We stop here for a moment. For it is this ambiguous use of the word *people*, which gives any plausibility whatever to the opinions we oppose. It may refer to the individuals composing the body, simply as acting in concert and by agreement for a specific temporary purpose, or it may denote a permanent organized body, expressing its will through a majority. It is used in the former sense, as we have shown, both in the declaration of independence and in the different declarations of rights. But those who defend the legality of the formation and ratification of the new constitution in Rhode Island, uniformly use it in the latter sense, and thus pervert the genuine American principles of the declaration of independence, and of the constitutions of the states, in the very act of appealing to them as authority.

We will now upon this point follow the writer in the Democratic Review, sentence by sentence, and point out the fallacy in the use of this word.

After saying that at the Revolution "the whole population was remitted to their original rights," "their rights as men," and that "all the states but Connecticut and Rhode Island, created forms of government for themselves," to the query, "how were these formed?" he replies, "by the actual or implied consent of the whole people." (If you mean of each individual in that body, the whole people, you have proved that, for each man was remitted to his original rights, and he acted accordingly.) He goes on to say, "a constitution being thus once formed by an act of popular sovereignty," (that is, of the sovereignty of the people, and if you mean, that each individual of the body acting sovereignly, or independent of any other, consented to the constitution, you have proved that, and we do not deny it)—"the elective franchise may be restricted to a particular class," &c. He then inquires, "is the consent thus given, really or by implication, to a constitution," (by each individual, however, it is to be observed,) "revocable," and "can the exercise of the sovereignty be resumed at any time by the whole people," (that is, can each individual in the body of the whole people agree to renounce the existing government, and acting again in a sovereign capacity, make a new one? we admit such a case is conceivable,) "without the consent of the parties to whom the power may have been confided?" (We see not how there would be any parties left to withhold consent.) But let us look to the writer's own answer to these questions. The answer depends, he supposes, upon this, whether the rights which belonged to the whole people, when they formed a new government at the Revolution—that is to say, to each individual in the body of the whole people; for it is only to man as man, that inalienable rights have been proved to belong—"were transferable or defeasible?" Undoubtedly

the natural rights of each individual were indefeasible. But how can you stride from this premise to the conclusion, that the majority as an organized body had at the formation of the government, an indefeasible right to make and unmake constitutions at will? Let us suppose for a moment, that the larger portion of the individuals in the community, each one in the exercise of his indefeasible rights, should agree to form a new constitution, and that the smaller portion of individuals, each in the exercise of the same rights, should agree to abide by the old one; how has the former as an organized body a "legal right" over the latter as an organized body? Was it from this that at the outset, each individual in the *whole community* did agree to exercise his natural rights in harmony, and did then form a constitution? But *that* agreement ceased when the constitution was established. What other source is there? None. The truth is, it cannot be proved that to the people or the totality of individuals, viewed as an organized body, and expressing its will by a majority, there belong inalienable and indefeasible rights. Indeed, if the people as an organic whole, have an indefeasible right to make a constitution at will, and if any individual of this body has also an indefeasible right to revolutionize it by force, as the writer admits, we think these indefeasible rights are in danger of becoming feasible, and that too by an exercise of them which is admitted to be just. We repeat it, the notion of the people being an organized body distinct from government and to which inalienable rights pertain, has no evidence in its favor, and yet the justification of the new constitution in Rhode Island, as a legal measure, rests upon this fallacy. The important doctrine of the rights of the people, in its legitimate use, can give it no support; and the unmeaning changes which are rung

on these and kindred phrases, amount to nothing, that is, in the argument.

In this connection, we can most easily show the fallacy of another favorite argument. "Sovereignty resides in the people." The act of the majority binds the whole—and therefore, "it is the right of the majority to change the government at pleasure." This sovereignty is distinct, it is to be observed, from the supreme power which the whole people possesses as a body organized in a government. Apart from this, sovereignty can denote only that each individual has no legal superior in the exercise of his natural rights, that no one has any governmental authority over him in this, or that he acts here as a sovereign. He is accountable to no earthly tribunal for his exercise of those prerogatives which his Creator has given him. With this explanation, the first position should read thus: sovereignty resides in each individual of the whole body of the people. Then, the second position, that the act of the majority binds the minority, is false; for whatever sovereigns do, is either by agreement—and in the present case, it is supposed the minority disagrees from the majority—or by force, and that is excluded from legal right. The conclusion falls with the premises. Gov. Hubbard says, "the people are emphatically the sovereigns of this country;" and yet, he holds that a larger number of *sovereigns* had a *legal* authority over a smaller number of *sovereigns*. He says, "It is well known, that the necessary result of certain preliminary proceedings, induced the *sovereigns* of Rhode Island to appeal to what they conceived to be the ultimate principles of American freedom, and the consequences of that appeal, was the adoption by the people of a constitution for the people;" which he regards as "obligatory upon the people of that state." Would it not

have accorded better with the facts of the case to say, that a large number of the sovereigns united themselves together to form a constitution, not only for themselves, but for a large number of other sovereigns, and that these latter, in the exercise of sovereignty, resisted them? We think Gov. Hubbard has stated the doctrine truly, (though we like not the phraseology,) in saying that the people are sovereigns—that is, no individual, so far as natural right is concerned, has any legal superior; we only marvel he did not perceive how completely it overthrows himself.

We have now examined the main arguments to prove that this constitution was legally formed and ratified. "A legal right," existing independent of law and government, according to any correct use of language, is an absurdity. For the doctrine itself, there is no authority in the declaration of independence, nor in the declarations of rights in the constitutions of the several states, nor any force in the arguments by which it is attempted to be supported.

It may be thought we have been too minute in this examination. Were it a mere tumult, we should think the whole matter worthy of little attention. But it is civil war, and we may be sure, such an event has not been brought about by appeals merely to passion and prejudice. Large masses of the people are at least not kept in commotion, except by some principle which has taken strong hold upon them. It is false doctrines in the language of true ones, it is false principles, not readily distinguished from those which are universally believed in, that are at the foundation of all permanent violations of law and order. And when men act on principle, argument must be met by argument.

The general prevalence of this doctrine would be fatal to the peace of the country. If it shall ever be recognized as an American princi-

ple, that the people as an organized body, *distinct from their organization under government*, have a legal right to act at will, and thus to lay every citizen under an obligation to yield the same obedience to its decisions expressed through a majority, as to the laws themselves, then, universal confusion must pervade the land. The enactments of the legislature to-day, may be overthrown by the votes of the convention to-morrow. The decision of the judge upon the bench, may be reversed by the verdict of a jury at the ballot-box. The condemned criminal may be snatched from the gallows, and the acquitted victim of persecution put in his place. Some will say these things are impossible. They may be so at present; but it is because there yet remains a general regard for law. Let it, however, be once established and made familiar to our thoughts, that masses of men in organized bodies have legal power to act against government and law, and who, that knows any thing of human nature, can doubt, but that the power would be used, and frequently used? And who, the best man among us, entrusted with such an authority over government, and that too kept in reserve for occasions of excitement, would feel sure of himself that he should never abuse it? We know the fierceness of party conflicts. What party, in the excitement of political contests, but would appeal, in case of a bare defeat in the elections under government, to this power above government? And what parties, even the purest, could carry on a series of such contests at the polls, without destroying the peace, if not the morals of the community?

This is a far-reaching principle. It will not be confined to New England. There are other parts of the Union which are interested in it. If the "sovereigns" of South Carolina should get together on their several

plantations and choose delegates, and then at Columbia frame a constitution, giving to each man his inalienable rights, and ratify it by a majority of all the male inhabitants of the state—all of which things they have a legal right to do, and it would be usurpation and tyranny to prevent it by force—we see not how the minority of a different complexion could “help” themselves, that is, legally, and according to genuine American principles. It is nothing to the purpose to say with the Democratic Reviewer, “slaves cannot enter into any political relation. They cannot contract. To say that they are slaves, is to say that they are not thought of as beings having a political existence.” But that is not the question, how they “are thought of” by others, but how have they a right to think of themselves; and, suppose they should prove by actual fact, that they “can enter into a political relation,” that they “can contract,” would there not be a legal obligation on the part of the present government of South Carolina, to acknowledge their “political existence,” and yield to them—according to the doctrine of distinguished statesmen here at the north?

We have thus far taken it for granted, that this principle might be universally acknowledged and its exercise peacefully acquiesced in. But can we hope for this? We must shut our eyes upon the lessons of history, we must unlearn all that we know of human nature, we must become totally ignorant of our own hearts, before we can believe that such contests as this principle would give rise to, could be long carried on without a resort to arms. It is a principle of war, and the more dangerous, being disguised. It is revolution by force, pretending to be peaceful. It is insurrection against law, claiming to be lawful. And what is worse than all, it is a principle introduced without any neces-

sity, not having a single advantage to counterbalance its evils. Governments in the lapse of time may become obsolete, and not fitted to the present state of things. New constitutions are to be formed, or old ones remodeled. Men fall back upon their natural rights. And one of the great political problems at the establishment of our government, was, how to secure the co-operation of the existing powers to the necessary changes, and thus prevent violence and bloodshed. It seemed to be solved by providing in the constitution itself for the aid of the government, in its own alterations or even dissolution. We have been accustomed to regard the establishment of this principle, as one of the great achievements of modern times in political affairs—a principle which produces changes in government with all that ease and quietness, with which the laws of nature revive what is perished, and supply what is decayed, in the material world. We would have no doubt cast upon it, as if it were not adequate to every emergency. It is not from the feelings of party politics, it is not from hostility to changes in government, that we oppose this new doctrine, but because of our deep conviction that it is the firebrand of war, and of the worst of all wars, civil war, and sent forth to kindle flames, which we might boast till now, that we had put out.

Whatever view we may take of them, the proceedings in Rhode Island must be pronounced to have been revolutionary. But there is no necessary reproach in a revolution. With all the unavoidable suffering which it produces, duty may require us to attempt it. To resist an oppressive and tyrannical government, is to be faithful to man. The pledge of life, fortune and honor, in such a cause, is an act of fealty to human nature itself. Although unsuccessful, they, who have ventured all in behalf of lib-

erty, deserve to be well spoken of. If the actors in a revolution are ever to be branded as the enemies of their country, it is either because they are in arms against a government, which is not oppressive, or because they resorted to war, before they had sufficiently tried the measures of peace. And surely a war, which convulses the whole community and severs it to its very foundations, disturbing every household, and raging in every bosom, and which, after stirring up the fiercest passions of human nature at the fireside, at the social board, and at places of public concourse, arrays father against son, brother against brother, friend against friend, and citizen against citizen, on the field of battle, can be justified by nothing but oppression, and then only when all hope of other relief has expired.

Was there then oppression in Rhode Island, to justify a civil war? We say civil war, because, quiet as may have been the preliminary measure of forming and adopting a constitution, that was the first step, and, if it meant any thing, the necessary step to the violence which followed it. That great grievances existed, we most fully admit. The exclusion of all citizens, excepting owners of real estate, from voting, was a wrong, which it was natural many persons should deeply feel. The extension of the right of suffrage was demanded, however, not merely from respect to the feelings of a large number of the inhabitants, nor merely as a political expedient to quiet the complaints of the people, but not less out of regard to the true interests of the state. It is not enough to say that a state is well governed, which after all only means in general, that taxes are light, salaries small, and public improvements few and late. We have seen the economy of the government of Rhode Island alledged as a sufficient answer to all com-

plaints; but we cannot look upon a cheap government as of course a good one. "There is, that withholdeth more than is meet, but it tendeth to poverty." Where the elective franchise is limited to a body of landholders, the majority of whom own small estates, and increase their wealth slowly by hard labor, government will be cheap; the only fear is, it will be too cheap. Personal property, the property acquired more rapidly in mechanic arts, commerce and manufactures, and therefore spent more readily, should be represented at the ballot-box for the very purpose of making government more liberal in its expenditures. Besides, we deny the maxim of the poet in respect to government, that "whate'er is best administered, is best." A good administration of government is a great benefit, but the structure of the government may of itself have a beneficial influence distinct from its administration. And this is the boast of a republic, that it elevates the citizen by making him not a subject, merely to be governed, but a constituent part of the government itself. If government is to be considered as a something done for us, in which we are merely to take a boon, then that which is the best done, may be best; but if government can be so constituted, as that the people under it may share not only in receiving but also in imparting, then the very constitution of it is a great good in itself, to each individual; and it is not sufficient to say to those who are excluded from being, as it were, living and organic parts of this body—you are well taken care of and that is enough. With our views upon this subject, we do not wonder, considering how large a portion of the inhabitants were excluded from the polls, that there should be a deep sense of injury, and, as their complaints were disregarded, a strong feeling of indignation at their

wrongs—and both strengthened by the peculiar and marked distinction existing between the freemen and other citizens.

We admit, that from the fluctuations of population and other causes, a uniform ratio between the number of voters and the number of persons to be elected to office, cannot be attained; or if attainable, that the advantage would not compensate for the trouble in securing it. But some limits may be put to the inequality, and we cannot deny but that in Rhode Island, this inequality had grown to be a great grievance. We know it may be said, as before; that it wrought no practical evils; but we reply, it is an evil for government to exhibit before the community an obvious disregard of what is just and fair. Rhode Island was in fact, situated somewhat like England before the reform in the constitution of the House of Commons. Birmingham, and Leeds, and Manchester, had grown into large cities, while many ancient boroughs, once distinguished places, had decayed; and it was no longer to be borne, that the former should be unrepresented, and that the latter should still send the same number of members to parliament, though we have Lord Brougham's authority for saying, that even "this class of seats had certain practical uses." It was a little like this in Rhode Island. Great changes had taken place since the time when the charter fixed the number of representatives for Newport and Portsmouth and Warwick; and the inequality in the ratio of representation had become so great, as to demand a prompt adjustment, though practically, the improvement might not be in sending any better men to the legislature.

We have now mentioned the only real grounds of complaint. In the excitement of the contest, many other things have been brought forward as wrongs and grievances;

but of these, some are utterly unfounded, others doubtful, and others still, mere matters of declamation. We pass them by. The limitation upon the right of suffrage, and the inequality of representation, are the principal political evils which needed to be removed, and we cannot but regard them, notwithstanding the sincere attachment of so many of the citizens to these ancient establishments, as sufficient to justify the use of any *legal means* to alter this state of things. But this concession, which is due to what appears to us to be the truth, leaves untouched the question, whether it was an oppression to call for the dreadful hazard of a civil war. We see not how any one can have a doubt upon this point. But if there could be any, it must cease when we farther consider the exact period of time, at which legal and peaceful measures were renounced for force. There have been various attempts at different times to remedy these defects, but without success. At length, in the January session of 1841, the legislature passed resolutions, calling a convention to meet in November, for the purpose of forming in whole, or in part, a new constitution for the state. This measure appears to have been adopted from the conviction, that the time had come for decisive action. The only serious objection to it could be, that the delegates were to be elected by the votes of freemen only, and hence it might be inferred, that under such circumstances, full and entire reform could not be expected. We may admit this, and still we say, that here is an opportunity by which in time, every political wrong may be peacefully remedied. And surely, the evil of deferring complete redress, even for some years, is as nothing, compared with the evil of civil war. We take our stand here; we urge the present opportunity as decisive

upon the question of the necessity of war, even admitting there was otherwise a sufficient cause ultimately to justify one. If every thing might not be gained at once, the beginning would be made, and final success, either by means of amendments to the constitution, or by specific legislation, would be certain.

But the friends of reform, who had been now for some months united together as a party by an organization of "suffrage associations," extending throughout the state, make an early demonstration of hostility to the proposed convention. They do not wait to petition the legislature to extend to the citizens generally the right of voting for the delegates to the convention, but before using any efforts to make the character of that body more to their liking, appoint a state committee in a mass meeting at Newport, with directions "to call a convention of delegates to draft a constitution at as early a day as possible." We call attention to this fact. The resolution of the government to redress the acknowledged political evils, is resisted by the suffrage party with counteracting measures. The appointment of this committee itself was an approach towards revolution, and at the very time when there was a reasonable prospect of a peaceful settlement of the difficulties. It is necessary to look at the dates of these transactions. The suffrage party held their first general mass meeting on the 17th of April, at Providence, when several distinguished politicians, for the first time, appeared in their ranks, and openly associated themselves with them. The next meeting was the one just mentioned, at Newport; this was held on the 5th of May, the very day, it is to be observed, on which the spring session of the legislature commenced. Why was it called at this precise time? Why not wait to

see what farther action the legislature might take? Was it to overawe the legislature? Or was it a determination to resist, under any circumstances, the proposed convention? One or the other of these it must be, for surely it was not a measure of peace or conciliation. With these facts and dates before us, it cannot have much weight that afterwards, at this session, a member of the house, who was one of that party, made a motion to extend the right of voting for delegates to the convention, which at the next session in June was rejected. Its rejection under other circumstances might have been unwise, but even this, as we have already remarked, would be but a poor apology for the necessity of a revolution. As things were, it could not be otherwise than rejected without yielding to intimidation. Thenceforth, the suffrage party, directed by an able and determined if not a wise and sagacious leader, and marshaled in a solid body, is seen moving just in advance of the government, and anticipating it in all its measures. The delegates to the convention summoned by the government were to be elected on the 31st of August, those to the other convention were elected on the 28th of that month: the former convention met on the 2d of November, the latter on the 4th of October, and by adjournment on the 16th of November, one week after the former was adjourned. The constitution framed by the latter was voted upon in the latter part of December. The legal convention met in February, 1842, and completed a constitution, which was voted for in March, but was rejected by a small majority. The suffrage party up to this time had one plausible excuse left to them for their opposition to the government—that there was no sincerity in the call for a convention, that it was a mere maneuver to get rid of the matter. This is now taken from them. Here

is a constitution actually formed, liberal in its provisions, and, though not precisely what they wanted, yet capable of being amended. But what is their determination now? They make all possible opposition to it. We call attention to this circumstance, as another fact decisive upon the question of the necessity of civil war. Admit, if you please, that there was oppression in Rhode Island to justify a war, if it could not be otherwise removed. But here it is actually removed. The first step had already been taken by them towards war it is true; but we may overlook that, we may say the probability of a peaceful redress was too small to wait for the attempt; but now, when what was before conjecture is fact, when a constitution is made substantially removing the evils, what shall we say of those, who instead of renouncing violent measures when they are proved to be unnecessary, actually defeat the peaceful remedy. For they caused the rejection of the legal constitution, since they had to their own constitution, as they claim, an actual majority of freemen; or if they did not, the smallness of the majority against it was full proof under the circumstances that a legal and peaceful removal of every wrong and grievance was in their reach.

The proceedings of the suffrage party, in forming and adopting their constitution, were revolutionary. It was a revolution for which there was no sufficient justification in the wrongs to be redressed. And more than all, they go on with it, even af-

ter redress has been obtained, and rush into the calamities of war, at the very time when they might with honor and with the applause of the whole country, have given a glorious example of the supremacy of the people, acting under government, in executing peacefully their own will. This unwise course placed the government of Rhode Island on high ground. It is no longer a government with wrongs and grievances unredressed—it is a government, first setting itself right before the people, and then, with firmness and dignity, maintaining its own authority and the supremacy of law. The signal of war, from an armed body in the very midst of the city of Providence, though it came with horror, in the silence of night, upon every household, struck no terror, but found the citizen soldier at his post ready to defend his home. But some good providence defeated the rash act, which would have been as the knell of death to many. And, when cheered on by men in other cities, who, themselves in peace and out of danger, could devote a sister city to the flames and involve a state in war, the insurgents make another attempt, they find no longer a city but a whole state in arms against them. The people come from every quarter, and when the forces are collected, instead of a tenderly nurtured aristocracy, they turn out to be the sturdy yeomanry of the land, whom nothing can resist. But the contest was bloodless. Honor to the state of Rhode Island for her maintenance of law, and equal honor for her new constitution.

STUART'S HINTS ON PROPHECY.*

If an Index Expurgatorius were ever needed, it is in the department of prophetic interpretation. If the books in the Alexandrian library were all as worthless as is a great proportion of modern works on the predictions of the Bible, the name of the Caliph would have been immortalized with another kind of renown than that which now attaches to it. Our libraries are overrun with books which ought to be given to the trunk-makers. Many of them are of no more use than the vaticinations of the astrologer, or the calculations in Lilly's Almanac. In England, if we are rightly advised, this passion for religious soothsaying has been more rife than in our country. The adherents of the 'personal reign,' and of 'the literal return,' have not ceased with the life of Edward Irving. It is only the other day that we saw an elaborate effort to demonstrate that Isaiah had in mind the realm of Albert and Victoria, when he wrote in his 18th chapter, "Ho! land with rustling wings, beyond the streams of Ethiopia." Every great event in civil history, has been the *terminus ad quem* of a herd of writers. The knell of every demolished dynasty was rung by inspired seers centuries before. The current of divine prediction has been made to flow continuously and parallel with the current of man's affairs in successive ages.

We need not search far for the causes of these misdirected efforts. One of the most influential is the passion, so natural to man, which incites him to lift up the curtain that hides the future. We are dissatis-

fied with the past; we loathe the present; we long to gaze upon the secrets of the future. There is a restless desire to know that, of which the Son of God is ignorant, and which the Father has put within his own power. The manifestations of this original tendency in man's nature, are seen in all the pages of his history. It is alike revealed in the nearly incoherent jargon of the West African, in the Sagas of the Northmen, in the polished literature of the Augustan age, and in the Christian rhapsodies so much in vogue now. There is a passionate yearning, of which we are all more or less conscious, 'to pry between the folded leaves.' If this tendency is left to grow unchecked, it breaks out into all the luxuriance of the spiritualizing Papias or Cocceius. The entire future is peopled with images beautiful or fantastic, according to the genius of the conjurer. Again, we like to try our skill at a hard problem. It is an honor to fail, where thousands have set us the example. We would run the risk of being devoured by the monster, rather than not attempt to solve the enigma. The unraveling of the prophecies is confessedly a hard work. Thousands of acute men have exhausted their arithmetic, their historical knowledge, and their fancies, upon Daniel and the Apocalypse. But their lamentable failures serve only as a stimulant to succeeding adventurers. Though others may have been foiled, we shall not be. We have the advantage of their errors. We can avoid the rock upon which they split. We have a key which no other student of hieroglyphics has grasped. The most intricate wards will answer to its touch. Another cause, which has been very influential, is piety, mistaken indeed

* Hints on the Interpretation of Prophecy. By M. STUART, Prof. Theol. Sem. Andover. Second edition, with additions and corrections. Andover: Allen, Morrill & Wardwell, 1842. pp. 194.

in some important respects, but sincere and estimable. Many enthusiastic students of the prophetic Scriptures have been animated with cordial love to the word of God. They have been afraid lest they should lose the apocalyptic blessing that alights upon "him who reads, and upon them who hear, the prophecies of this book." They have pored over the sacred symbols by night and by day. The visions of coming glory have passed before them in the midnight watch. Their lack of zeal in investigating the pages of the holy seer, they have mourned over as a sin almost mortal. While others hesitate before they plunge into the dark waters, these walk joyfully in, as if they were the river of life. Many Christians find their spiritual nutriment in the devotional Psalms, and in the discourses of our Lord; these draw water out of the deep wells of the evangelical prophet, or from the rocks of Patmos. The mass of believers are willing to wait, till the great Revelator shall make known the events of the "latter day;" these continually turn their spiritual telescope into the blue heavens, and imagine that they descry worlds hitherto unseen. It is no sinister motive which causes them thus to keep lonely watch. It is reverence for the word of God; the desire of drawing nourishment from its darker pages; and real regard, though mingled with much alloy, for the glory of God.

It becomes, therefore, an important question, What are the indispensable qualifications for an interpreter of the prophetic portions of the Bible? When may one take upon himself the office of an expounder of these heavenly oracles? What are the essential elements in his training?

1. He must be possessed of a competent knowledge of the original Scriptures. We entertain nothing but feelings of respect for our ven-

erable English translation. It is a noble monument, not so much to the learning and piety of James' translators, as to their good sense in adhering to the earlier versions by Coverdale, Tyndal, and others. Like the tunes composed by Luther, like the "Dies Irae" of the Catholic church, like the best lyrics of Watts, Doddridge and Cowper, it is consecrated in our deepest and holiest affections. Its noble Saxon cadences are hallowed sounds, wherever in the wide world, an English ear is found. But however great are the excellencies of this version, however accurately it gives the sense in the historical and didactic parts of the Bible, yet, in the poetic and prophetic portions, it labors under serious disadvantages. Take, for example, the book of Nahum, characterized for the extreme abruptness of its transitions, for the life-like and wild energy of its delineations, for the impetuosity of its entire movement. The mere English reader, we venture to say, cannot feel half the force of this admirable poem, while there are some verses which are unintelligible. The same remarks are applicable to a passage like the 18th chapter of Isaiah, which, in the English version, is as destitute of sense as any thing can well be. The case is precisely similar in relation to the Apocalypse. In order to interpret that book, the knowledge of Hebrew is almost as necessary as that of Greek. It is essentially a Hebrew poem. The writer drew his life from the old prophets. He wears the same venerable costume. His tones and idioms are those of Isaiah and Ezekiel.* He collects, as it were, the spoils of both Testa-

* "The modes of thinking, feeling, speaking, threatening, used by the ancient prophets, and all their poetical apparatus and ornaments, are so familiar to the writer of the Apocalypse, they are so present to him by long use, that he employs their illustrations and diction very felicitously, on any occasion and in any

ments. His drama has the gorgeousness of the old dispensation, and the simplicity of the new. It is truly the song of Moses and the Lamb. It must have been written by a Jew. How, then, can it be interpreted except by one who is at home in the Jewish Scriptures? Who can point out the various objects in this splendid panorama, except he who is familiar with the visions of Daniel and Zechariah? Besides, not a little minute criticism is necessary. The interpretation of important points in the rival theories, sometimes depends on the use of a connective, on the meaning of a numeral, or the prevalent usage in regard to the Hebrew article. Indeed, there is scarcely any part of the Scriptures, where the drift of the argument turns so much on the signification of a small number of words, as in the latter part of Daniel and the Apocalypse. Who would venture, therefore, to pronounce an opinion on the testimony of any version, however good? It is a case where we must resort to the source. No one is competent to judge who is in his novitiate. Something of that critical tact, that nice appreciation of the use of language, is wanted, which cannot be possessed without faithful study. We do not affirm that no one is to try to understand the prophecies, till he has become a profound student in languages. The mere English reader may derive much benefit from the perusal of them. What we mean is, that he who would expound this part of the Bible satisfactorily, must be acquainted with the original terms employed. The mere private reader, also, would find this to be the wisest course.

2. For the same reasons, accurate acquaintance with the manners and customs of the Orientals is

manner; using the same or similar, more or less, words, with fuller or with less ornament, inverted, modified, or amplified." *Eichhorn in Apocalypse.*

necessary. The more thoroughly versed one is with the mind of the East, with the passion for figurative language, and, also, for visible and tangible illustrations, and with the disrelish which prevails for philosophical statement and exact definitions, the more readily will he see the pertinence of inspired symbols and metaphors. The neologist sometimes makes himself merry with the homely illustrations of the prophet Ezekiel. But were they not significant? Were they not fitted to the rude and hardened company of exiles on the banks of the Chebar? Did he not thus convey to them exactly his meaning? What more could be desired? He was not writing for occidental rhetoricians. The hatred which he aroused, showed that his weapons were of good temper, and adroitly used. The obscurity of the oracles of Zechariah, has been the subject of complaint both among Jews and Christians. This is partly owing to the great prevalence in his writings of symbolical and figurative language. In order to encourage the disheartened Jews, he presented before them a series of symbols, fitted to awaken their attention and animate their hopes—a method of instruction analogous, doubtless, to that with which they had been familiar in their banishment in the East. Brief and abrupt instruction of this nature is common at the present day in the Arabian *consensus* and in the Persian bazar. He, therefore, who would be an apt interpreter of the Hebrew prophets, must be "filled"—in a sense indeed different from that of Isaiah—"with the East." He must divest himself, for the time being, of his occidental logic. He must travel awhile with the Bedaween. He must look into such books as Lane's *Egypt*, the *Arabian Nights*, and Burckhardt's *Journals*. He will best obtain a key to the treasure in the land where it was first collected.

3. A cultivated imagination.—There is hardly any intellectual faculty more important in these prophetic studies, than the imagination. And this is the very power which is most deficient in a large part of the interpreters of the present day. They may have wit, ingenuity, and a thousand thronging *fancies*. They may exhibit a singular adroitness in quietly removing a signification which would make against their theory. But of imagination, no trace appears in their works. That faculty, properly educated, would have led them to call in question their baseless hypotheses. It is a power, which, by its very nature, has to do with the indefinite, the immensurable, the invisible. If it is brought down to things which may be exactly weighed or measured, its appropriate action is destroyed. Apply this, now, to the sixtieth chapter of Isaiah, which portrays, with oriental gorgeousness, the glories of the Messiah's reign. All coëval history, all contemporary nations, are laid under a tax. The imagination of the poet, with the guidance of the controlling Spirit, acts, not in disorder, but in strict obedience to the laws of the faculty which then predominated. It is a *general* delineation. The eye of the seer glances, as lightning, from one great illuminated point in his picture to another. He is not describing specific events. He colors, with the hand of a master, the grand outline. Now, why should we wish to dissolve the charm? Why should we search for definite objects and exact events, and thereby destroy the very sublimity of the thing itself? Striving after precise information, in such a case, is in direct variance with the nature of the imaginative faculty. "God is from eternity to eternity." The moment we attempt to apply the calculations of arithmetic to those words, the lofty conception, which the bare naming of them oc-

casioned, is gone. Milton, speaking of the Messiah going forth to expel the rebel angels, says,

"Attended by ten thousand thousand saints
He onward came; far off his coming shone."

The force of that passage lies in its indefiniteness. The instant we begin to inquire *how* far off, we drop from heaven to earth. It is just so with a large part of the prophetic Scriptures. They are outline delineations—rapid, general sketches. We must learn to look upon them in that light, if we would understand them. The eternal roar of the ocean is sublimest in the distance. We do not wish to count each separate dash. The great cataraet of our country produces one of its deepest impressions when it is first seen through the trees two or three miles below. The analysis of a sublime object is apt to destroy its sublimity. The 45th Psalm is a prediction of the reigning Messiah. Shall we then search for events in his life which will correspond to the splendid portrayal of an oriental nuptial feast? By no means. We misinterpret the passage if we do. One of the best qualifications, therefore, for him, who would rightly expound the sublimer parts of Revelation, is an earnest study of his imagination, of the principles of poetry, and of the nature of figurative language; a kind of acquisition which is, doubtless, held in contempt by those who would enlighten us into the meaning of that which the sublime genius of Milton has but expanded; which the elegant taste and rapt spirit of Cowper has only paraphrased; which has been the admiration alike of the great orator, the accomplished linguist, the original painter, and the all but inspired poet.

4. Another indispensable requi-

* See the Prefaces to Wordsworth's Poems.

site is a well-balanced understanding. An unusual proportion of the writers on prophecy, if we mistake not, are men "of one idea." They are not deficient in talents; some of them, it may be, have genius. But their intellectual furniture is ill-adjusted. A single tendency is inordinately developed. Some of them have no intellectual culture. Like the man in Zechariah, they might say, "We are no prophets, we are tillers of the ground." From the labors of the farm or of the shop, they resort at once to the exposition of the most difficult parts of the Bible. Henceforth, these become their only study. Nothing else is of any account. Other portions of the Bible are read in order to ascertain their bearing upon the favorite chapter or book. The pages of contemporary secular history are searched, that they may supply events corresponding to the oracle of the seer. The mind, thus made to revolve in *one* orbit, loses its healthful tone. Its energies, except in a single direction, are cramped. There is no comprehensiveness about its views, no "intermeddling" with all truth, no generous and scholar-like appreciation of general knowledge. The man is seized and fettered with one thought; nothing will content him but its apotheosis.

The importance of a well-adjusted intellect in the student of the prophecies may be argued from various considerations. The reverence which we justly feel for the Scriptures, may mislead us. We may feel that it is a kind of profanation to apply to them the common laws of speech. A sort of cabalistic or spiritual hermeneutics must be invented. Sound sense is needed to divest us of this superstitious feeling. The Bible is a revelation to man, and, therefore, to be comprehended by his faculties, according to the common laws of speech. Again, the nature of the subject is such as to demand caution, and a considerate application of

all the powers of the mind. Many of the events predicted are now future, or are supposed to be. Full scope is thus given for the excursions of an unbridled fancy. There is nothing fixed, as in the stern past, to repress and recall the wandering flight. We may revel, as we will, till time has confirmed or dispelled our theory. The greater is the necessity, therefore, for moderation, for the exercise of a well-balanced mind. We cannot, on this subject, trust our first impressions. Analogies may mislead us; or the points of resemblance may not be in the objects, but only in our own fancies. Besides, we are called to investigate the meaning of language as employed, not by philosophers and acute dialecticians, but by simple minded men. It abounds, indeed, in metaphor of almost every species; and what is more common than the boldest figures in the dialect of herdsmen and vine-dressers? Still in the interpretation of it, a sound understanding is demanded. It is the speech, often, of common life, and we are to judge of its meaning by the rules of common sense. An intellect, like that of Edward Irving, powerful, but misdirected, of great original strength, but sadly unsymmetrical, would be wholly incompetent to interpret David or Isaiah. It would make the oracle as disjointed as itself.

5. We name, in the last place, intelligent piety. Destitute of cordial love for the Divine word, one cannot, of course, rightly explain the meaning of it, especially of its more spiritual portions. He has no key to unlock its mysteries. To its glowing delineations, there are no answering chords in his own bosom. The neologist and the mere critical student, being destitute of a cordial relish for the sacred truths which they dissect, necessarily reduce them to a level with their own worldly understanding. Hence the strenuous efforts to divest

the Old Testament of its Messianic character—to make Daniel an historian rather than a prophet. Simple piety, however, is not sufficient. Those in Great Britain, who maintain the doctrine of a personal, visible reign of Christ on earth, are among the most devout members of the church of England. Men of ardent, unchastened piety are, in one respect, most liable to fall into errors like those just alluded to. Their very attachment to the Redeemer may lead them to long for his *visible* advent. They wish to see Him whom their souls adore. And what they desire, they gradually place among the articles of their belief. To constitute an accomplished Scriptural interpreter, therefore, experienced, cultivated piety is demanded. Warmth of affection must be joined to soundness of judgment, a glowing love to the Redeemer to enlightened views of the spirituality of his religion. In other words, the more perfectly the soul of the biblical student is adorned with *all* the graces of his profession, the more adequately may he be expected to unfold the mysteries of the Divine word.

The above remarks, we trust, are not wholly inappropriate to the times in which we live. Many expounders of the sacred hieroglyphics are running to and fro, but it is to be feared, that knowledge is not proportionably increased. Men, ill-fitted by nature or grace, often present themselves before us as prophets of the Lord. By bold assertion, by an air of solemnity real or affected, by startling appeals to the fears of men, and by apparently decisive arithmetical calculations, they seduce unstable souls, and involve the minds of multitudes in sad perplexity.

What is now, as it seems to us, most urgently demanded, is to find some common ground on which we may stand, to ascertain and settle some rules of interpretation. We need a fixed standard, something

which shall have the force of axioms, the authority of acknowledged common law. The minds of most interpreters of the prophecies are afloat on a wild sea. There is no union in regard to first principles. In this way, we may go on and propound different and warring theories to the end of the world, and no one be the wiser. In the interpretation of a poem of Homer, a drama of Sophocles, an essay of Longinus, there are some established canons which we are not at liberty to violate. When we pass judgment on an historical composition, there are a few universally received principles on which we proceed. But in the most difficult portion of biblical literature, it is not thus. All things are in most admired disorder. The spirits of the prophets are in our days *not* subject to the prophets.

It is in this view, that we rejoice in the appearance of Prof. Stuart's Hints. One great object of the book, if we understand it aright, is to lay down certain general principles of interpretation in respect to the prophecies, or to submit to the examination of the Christian public two or three topics of fundamental importance, with the hope that they may lead to a greater union of views in respect to the method of investigation. The first point is in relation to the question of a *double sense*. If, for example, the second Psalm is construed as a description of the coronation of David, and all that is there said be historically applied, have we a right to go on and find in the words of this Psalm, a secondary or spiritual sense? Prof. Stuart answers in the negative, substantially for the following reasons. It forsakes and sets aside the common laws of language. God has given the Bible to man for his instruction, and, therefore, he must speak so as to be understood. There is not one set of rules to be applied to the interpretation of the Bible, and another

er set to other books. In this respect all books are on a level. But if a passage in the Scripture has two meanings, then we cannot apply to it the common laws of language. Again, if there be both an obvious and an occult sense, how is the *occult* sense to be ascertained? Lexicons, grammars, and the like, are all set aside, for they give no directions in regard to the hidden meaning of words. Besides, how can we determine within what bounds it shall be confined. Once admit a mystic second sense, and every interpreter may add to the number according to his fancy. If a double sense may be assigned to a passage, why may not forty nine senses? Once more, it can never be relied on for the establishment of any doctrine or precept. It merely gratifies the curiosity, or pleases the fancy. The New Testament writers give no countenance to the theory. They cite passages from the Old Testament in two ways only, first, as simply and directly prophetic; or secondly, they employ the language of the Old Testament, in order to suggest resemblances between past and future events. Thus when Jesus went down into Egypt, and was recalled from that country, it was strikingly analogous to what the prophet Hosea said in regard to the children of Israel, "I have called my son out of Egypt." It was not the fulfilment of a prophecy. The two events bear a resemblance to each other. The latter was a mere filling up, or fulfilment of the former. The two cases were analogous.

The second question discussed by Prof. Stuart is this: Are there prophecies respecting which God has a meaning which is attached to the language, though it has not yet been developed?

To this a negative reply is given. Suppose John has written things in the Apocalypse which cannot be understood for two thousand years. To what purpose are those predic-

tions? For that long period they are a dead letter. Why then were they written? We are told, that the prediction will be understood only when the thing predicted comes to pass. *What* then is the thing which comes to pass? What thing was predicted? If an *event* is compared with a *prophecy*, the only means of comparison possible is, that we first assign some definite meaning to the prophecy, and then compare the event with that meaning. If this be not the case, then we merely make a comparison of a *known* thing with an *unknown*. How are we to ascertain that they agree, when we confess that one of the two things compared is an unknown quantity? So long as it is unknown, we cannot ascertain whether there is an agreement or not, in the case supposed. The prophets were inspired so that they might with certainty and authority *give information* respecting things past, present, or future. To give information, necessarily presupposes that they possessed it. The language employed, therefore, means just what the writers designed it should mean. Every book is fully interpreted, when the exact mind of the writer is unfolded.

The remaining subject discussed is the Designations of Time in the Prophecies.

When the Bible designates times and seasons, the simple and obvious sense of the words is to be followed, unless there is some special reason for departing from it. That reason can be one only, viz. when the context gives us information that such a departure is to be made. This is done in Ezek. 4 : 5, 6, and Num. 14 : 34. The passage Dan. 9 : 24; does not belong to this category. When the angel speaks of seventy sevens, or *heptades*, he must be understood as meaning so many heptades of years, that is, four hundred and ninety years, because he had been making diligent search respect-

ing the seventy years of the exile, and because years are the measure of all considerable periods of time. The context, therefore, and the nature of the case, suppose him to mean years, when he speaks of seventy sevens; (in the English translation erroneously seventy *weeks*.) So also of the forty two months in the Apocalypse, they were the literal three years and six months which elapsed between the formal declaration of war against Judea by Nero and the taking of Jerusalem by Titus in August, A. D. 70. The forty and two months in Rev. 13 : 5, when power is given to the beast to do his own will, are the three and a half years of the bloody persecution under Nero.

Did our limits permit, we would give a fuller analysis of this small but very important and timely volume. This is not, however, necessary, as the book has been already widely circulated, and is easily accessible by those who have not yet seen it. It is written with great perspicuity and plainness, and is fitted to the wants of the body of the intelligent lay-members of our churches, as well as to clergymen. We earnestly hope that it will receive a thorough examination, and that the arguments adduced in favor of the positions advanced, will be candidly, yet fearlessly canvassed. On this great subject, we cannot hold *fast* that which is good, till we have *proved* all things.

27 Fith

NATHANAEL EMMONS, D. D.*

AFTER the close of his very long and studious life, the venerable theologian and preacher of Franklin, now appears before us, addressing us in these his collected works. We hear; we judge; and placed between the dead and the living, in faithfulness to both would we speak. Indiscriminate praise, indiscriminate censure, never true, ever betrays a prejudiced judge; and will not receive approbation, either in the assembly of the departed just, or from the honest and conscientious among the living.

What then shall we say of Emmons? Where shall we place him among preachers and theologians? Without entering into particular comparisons, not assigning ourselves the task of fixing precisely the elevation he holds among departed worthies, we will rather summon

our readers before his works; and as we pronounce on these testimonies our particular decisions, give them the opportunity to judge.

Well, here are the works before us, in six volumes octavo; neatly bound and lettered; affording the best evidence, within and without, of great care and nice mechanical skill in their preparation. We like this care and good taste in the style of getting up valuable books. A book we hold to be a little more readable, whatever its intrinsic contents, when the form and outward dress, the clear and open face of the page, the distinct and pure articulation of the print, represent the absent or the dead, while communicating to us their thoughts, in something of the vividness and beauty of the living and visible orator. A well executed editorial arrangement of matter too, has always the charm about it, and the cleverness, of an escape from a chaos into the regularity of a well ordered creation.

The contents of any work, how-

* The Works of NATHANAEL EMMONS, D. D., late Pastor of the church in Franklin, Mass., with a Memoir of his Life. Edited by Jacob Ide, D. D. Boston: published by Crocker & Brewster, 1842.

ever, are the main things; and if these are high in merit, and valuable for important instruction, they never die. They will receive attention. They will not fade from the understanding. They will live, in their impress on the age.

What shall we say, then, of the contents of these volumes? Much of the matter, indeed, has already been spread before the public. The preachers and theologians, now on the stage of active life, have had access, from their youth, to many of these sermons; and whether all have read them or not, their rays have been diffused, more or less directly, on all, who—excuse the illustration—have revolved, if not as primaries around the central body, as secondaries around the primaries.

These volumes contain, beside the Sermons of Emmons and an Autobiography, a Memoir by the editor, and Reflections of a Visitor, by Prof. E. A. Park. The Memoir presents a very clever account of the peculiar character and habits of the man, the scholar, and divine; and the few prominent occurrences of a personal, domestic, or parochial nature, in a life which, though spared to extreme old age, was passed, with uniform regularity, in the study of one long cherished domicile, and in labor for one ever constant and beloved people.

The Reflections of a Visitor, to be appreciated, must be read; and when read, cannot fail to be appreciated. And who can spend an hour more pleasantly or profitably, than to visit the study of a keen-eyed, New England veteran in theology, long conversant with the social, political, and religious world, and hear him give out, in brilliant apothems, the precepts of practical wisdom; and see him smite, with the quick-sprung, pointed shafts of wit, the follies of his age or profession.

The Autobiography, in its mod-

esty and unpretending plainness, is truly worthy of a great mind; and in those respects it may well put to the blush the high-wrought diaries of inward experience, which some, it is to be apprehended, substitute for more visible and tangible excellence, and by which too, we fear, some have offered up incense to their own reputation, under the pretext of celebrating the Divine goodness.

The Sermons of Dr. Emmons are strikingly clear and instructive; and the strictly logical method in which he ever advances in his reasonings, carries all, who concede to him his premises, unfailingly with him to his conclusions. If there are a few points in the statement of some doctrines which we cannot adopt as true, yet these points are so obviously peculiar and hard to be digested, that we do not apprehend their becoming very current among the body of the faithful or their teachers; while, on the other hand, there is in them so much of deep and permanent instruction, which is valuable to the Christian in his duties and trials, and awakening to the impenitent in their guilt and danger, that, we trust, they will live to instruct and impress other generations. "The audiences who heard Emmons," said a sagacious critic, a quarter of a century ago, "have heard more truth, and are better instructed, waiving all peculiar and discriminating points, than those who heard Davies and Witherspoon; and," he adds, "I frankly declare, that I would as lief be thought the writer of the sermons of Emmons, as of Watts or Baxter, Hall or Fuller, Sherlock or Tillotson, Saurin or Claude, Bossuet or Bourdaloue."

There are those indeed who, looking at his sermons as they would at specimens of the fine arts, affect to turn away in disgust from this one single and ever-repeated model of writing; and demand more of the variety and freshness of the various

departments of the literary world, before they can accord to him the praise of good writing. Emmons, say they, wrote nothing but sermons, and these, after one pattern only. Well, we commend him for sermon-making—for adhering to his proper business as a preacher, and not turning aside to the business of book-making and publishing. And whether there is as much of literary excellence in a sermon, well written, as in novels, history, or other forms of composition—*cuique sua opinio*—we dispute not about tastes. Yet we know that men are of different temperaments, and have different gifts; and in order that each one may exercise his gifts in the church to edification, there must be diversity of operations. One may write his sermons after this pattern, and another after that, and a third still may have his own way; yet among models and patterns, with their respective excellences, one may be the more excellent way.

We have chosen, however, in the present article, to look at Emmons as the theologian, rather than the preacher; and to estimate his influence upon the theology of New England. We refer not to the number or weight of those persons who have imbibed all his peculiar views, and who may be called, in a good sense, his partisans; but rather, to those traces which his firm and bold hand, guided by his clear and discriminating mind, has left on the theology of his times.

The theology of the Congregationalists of New England has ever been distinguished as doctrinal or *systematic*; employed on the study, statement, and proof of divine truth, as a system; a system, harmonious in its parts and in its relation to all truth; a system, consonant with the dictates of reason and revelation; a system, which furnishes the deep and immovable basis of all true knowledge, and right feeling and practice on the subject of religion.

It has not been *biblical*: at least in the sense of adopting only the forms of statement contained in the Bible; yet who, in arranging the contents of the Bible into a connected and dependent system of truth, ever thought of expressing the whole in the words and phrases alone of the vernacular translation? But that it has not diligently sought the contents of the Bible, or that it has not succeeded so far, at least, as to arrive at its great doctrines, we will not admit. Yet, in respect to the narration, the poetry, the epistolary correspondence, the forms of composition, the diversities of style, the nice shades of expression, the original tongues, the various writers, the external history, which characterize the Bible as a book, it has not, we admit, been so studious, as thorough scholarship in Scriptural criticism and interpretation would demand; as would enable the preacher to be the expert expositor of portions of Scripture, as well as the thorough handler of distinct topics of truth; or as would best serve the theologian in gathering all, and exactly, the texts which give their attestation on any particular part of divine truth. Yet in the latter respect, in which alone the doctrinal is concerned, New England, for aught we see, stands, in its past history, on as high an elevation as her nearest kindred, her Presbyterian cotemporaries, (to say nothing of other denominations;) all alike having their proof-texts furnished to hand, in the confession of the Westminster Assembly. The fact is, the means of thorough biblical learning were not in the possession of our fathers. The private study and small library of the country minister, was the resort of the theological student, and the systematic questions of his teacher, his sole chart in theology. Yet in introducing a more thorough system of theological education into our country, the Congregationalists took the

lead; and we can now point to one of the indomitable sons of New England who, thirty years since, first erected the standard of biblical studies on the hill of Andover, and who, boldly facing the prejudices of the times, succeeded to effect an entire change, and still lives to enjoy the wide-spread fruit of his labors, and receive the honor of two hemispheres.

Nor has the theology of New England been *historical*. Her sons have ever been trained to minister at the altar, as the freemen of the Lord; who were never in bondage to any man or set of men, and who, in their independence, stand responsible alone to their Master in heaven, and, subordinately to him, to the individual churches over which they labor; never allowing to the traditional documents of men the weight of independent evidence of truth; never quoting them, as such, in their theological writings, or in their preaching; always, in assenting to formulas of doctrine, taking them for the substance rather than the expression, and employing them for symbols of fellowship, which mark the mere outlines of a common habitation in faith and polity, and not for complete summaries of all theological knowledge; not as the Ultima Thule of discovery; not as the eternal ocean barrier, staving off all further progress with the decree, *Hucusque*. The proofs are abundant in the unshackled freedom of debate, that has ever marked the discussions of our fathers in their assemblies, their published pamphlets and magazines.

The theology of New England, as we said, has been distinguished as the systematic. We intend not, by this statement, that her preachers, when in the pulpit, confine themselves to the mere science of theology: for it has been eminently true of them, as a class, that they have made the science subservient, not only to the instruction of their

flocks, but to the progress, among them, of experimental and practical religion. Indeed, in the invariable and necessary relation of doctrine to right experience and practice, is to be found the true secret of the intense study of her orthodox theologians. They have earnestly sought the truth of God, as that which best serves them to minister, at the altar and in the sanctuary, unto edification; to define the nature of gracious affections, and mark out the limits of practical duties; to discriminate between the counterfeits and pretexts which sustain a false hope, and the marks and evidences which ascertain the true; to separate, in their audiences, the believer from the unbeliever, the saint from the sinner, with a clearness to carry conviction to the conscience; to urge the one class to turn instantly from their evil ways unto the Lord, and lead the other forward in the way of holiness and life, with all the appropriate motives that can be gathered from the boundless field of divine truth.

Emmons, true to the principles of the fathers in grounding all exhortation in the pulpit on knowledge, was ever strenuous to maintain, that "a systematical knowledge of the Gospel is as necessary in order to form a plain, practical, and profitable preacher, as to form a consistent, thorough, and deep divine." And if any one would seek after the great object, which held the deeply logical and metaphysical theologians of New England intent on the study of divine truth, he will find it, in the power they thus secured to their instructions in the pulpit—in their increased ability to make their hearers understand, admit, and feel the force of that truth. Nor can a better view of the rationale of their practice in the pulpit be presented, than is given in the volumes before us, in the sermons entitled *The Wise Preacher and Rational Preaching*.

We are aware that the cry of metaphysics and metaphysical preaching has been raised against Emmons and many of the Congregationalists; as if their pastors and teachers, many of them at least, had, with mistaken views of their office, converted their churches into mere lecture-rooms and schools of theology, and as if they had substituted their own thoughts and reasonings in the place of revelation. True, as a body, they aimed to instruct as well as exhort and rebuke; and deemed it important to be precise in statement and conclusive in reasoning, as well as vivid in description or fervid in appeal. For this cause they were often noted, like Emmons, for adhering to those principles of logic and metaphysics which lie at the basis of all sound instruction and doctrine. They were not content to criticise the language and settle the meaning of a text of Scripture merely, but considered the substance of the declaration, when ascertained, as a truth, which, unless a matter of pure revelation, like the Trinity, could be commended to the conscience both of believer and unbeliever as true; and they handled it as such, by referring, not merely to a string of Scriptural declarations to show that by correct interpretation they assert or imply the same thing, but also, to some first principles or truths, which reason recognizes or which revelation teaches, to show that the truth in question necessarily follows, as a logical consequence, from such premises, and that men cannot escape from it and the Scriptural testimony which asserts it, without contradicting the dictates of their own reason and conscience. This is to hold the mind of others to the truth, in the only lawful or successful way; whether in the pulpit or out of the pulpit, whether in addressing believers in revelation or unbelievers. To reproach this method as metaphysical, and as spinning arguments out of one's own

head, is far more easy than to show what, in order to convince men, a religious teacher is to substitute in the place of conclusive argument; or how, in using such argument, he is to proceed without tasking his own thinking powers. Paul before the heathen at Athens; Paul before the Jews at Antioch; Paul writing to Christian converts at Rome and Galatia, is the logical reasoner, the profound metaphysician, the close thinker; and if his successors in the ministry of the Gospel, divested of the apostolic office and the guidance of inspiration, would follow out the arguments he has left, or imitate his manner in stating and defending the system of divine truth, they are to reason closely and conclusively, and to think intently that they may so reason.*

But we are not pretending that the preacher should act merely as the teacher and defender of truth, nor is there any occasion to vindicate the Congregational preachers of New England from the charge

* "Numbers there are who defend the doctrines of grace by a constant appeal to 'chapter and verse,' and they do well. At the same time it will not be pretended, that this is the only mode by which truth may be stated and defended."

"Science, 'falsely so called,' has been a means of perverting the simple truths of the Gospel; * * * but it is also an undeniable fact, that false interpretations of Scripture have corrupted the schools of moral philosophy."

"To make use of the term 'metaphysics' as if faith in the pure Gospel were in danger, is a weakness, to which a reflecting mind might be expected to rise superior."

—WILLIAMS'S *Essay on the Equity of Divine Government*.

"Many of the moderns have * * * thrown abundance of contempt and railery upon the very name of *metaphysics*; but this science * * * is so necessary to a just conception, solid judgment, and just reasoning on many subjects, that sometimes it is introduced as a part of logic, and not without reason. And those who utterly despise and ridicule it, either betray their own ignorance, or will be supposed to make their wit and banter a refuge and excuse for their own laziness."

—WATTS'S *Logic*.

of inculcating nothing but a mere belief in the system of divine truth. The elder and younger Edwards, Bellamy, Smalley, Strong, Dwight, though in their preaching powerful and expert, as reasoners, to establish truth, ever aimed to reach the hearts and lives of their hearers; using God's truth not only for doctrine, but for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness. Nor can this be denied of Hopkins, Spring, and Emmons, who, in some respects, advanced beyond the commonly received and admitted theology of the Congregationalists. Emmons, by far the clearest of all in statement, the most transparent and easy in style, the most sternly severe in logical order and method, is never content to leave his position merely as true, and established as such by his reasonings: but at the close, standing behind the impregnable breastworks of the truth, he ever sends, with unerring aim, his pointed arrows to the conscience and the heart; in other words, availing himself of such plain and necessary inferences from the established truth as serve to refute error, to reveal the state of men's hearts to themselves, to alarm the careless and unbelieving, and comfort believers, and to urge the one to immediate repentance and the other to progress in the Christian life.

But we must return to the science of theology which, among the Congregationalists, we have said, has ever been regarded and pursued as the deep and only effective source of all true religious experience and correct practice.

The creed of the orthodox Congregational churches has ever been, for substance of doctrine, that which is expressed either in the Westminster or Savoy Confessions, or in the Articles of the Church of England; embracing, on the great subject of divine grace, the doctrines which have been usually called the Calvinistic. In upholding and defend-

ing this system, in applying it to men for the purposes of redemption, the Calvinistic theologians were early called to encounter strenuous opposition, not only from unbelievers but from other bodies of professed Christians; and in their own history, have been called to witness some of the practical errors that have been engrafted on the system or arisen out of it. The independent spirit of the New England Puritans ever led them to reject the authority of hierarchy in every form; all her ministers at the altar, and all the members of her churches, bowing only to the authority of the Great Head of the Church, and seeking all truth, not from popes, councils, or the fathers, but, in the true spirit of Protestantism, from the Bible alone. They consented to dwell together in the old manor of Calvinism, not because it particularly pleased Calvin or was a model of his devising—for each of her ministers considered himself on a level with Calvin, having access, as he had, to the immediate sources of truth—but because they believed it to be constructed after the divine pattern and model, at least in all its grand compartments; and that, in it, they could dwell together, in essential unity and fellowship, as the house of God. Yet the building of the sixteenth century, rapidly put up and in troublous times, it might be expected, the lapse of centuries or the constant inspection and trial of freeborn heirs would give occasion, if not to remodel and reconstruct, at least to repair and improve, in some of the materials found to be defective, or some of the proportions that were wanting in symmetry. There might be differences of opinion whenever a change was proposed; and some controversy might arise, in the house, between those, who would venerate the precise form of the old step-stone or architrave of the entrance, and those, who saw a change in them to be more conve-

nient and symmetrical; yet they generally consented to live together still in the mansion, as one resting on the right foundation, and built after the model of the truth. It was only those who wandered after a new site and a new foundation, and sought to change the model of the superstructure, who ventured to erect for themselves the cold and shelterless abode of Unitarianism, or the sin-licensed house of Universalism, that were stricken from the communion of the body.

The system of the orthodox faith embraces, as its strong and clear outlines, the doctrine of the total depravity and the condemnation of all who are in Adam; that of justification only through the righteousness of Christ the Redeemer; that of renovation and sanctification and preservation in holiness to the end by the Holy Spirit; and that of the purposes of God as to all his works and all their results in time and eternity.

In upholding and defending these great and essential outlines of the system of divine truth and grace, it is easy to see that subordinate and minor statements, made in the Institutes of Calvin, or in the extended formula of the Westminster Assembly, might be imperfect and defective; that statements made in one aspect of truth, when considered in other relations, might be not so precise and guarded as is necessary to the complete harmony of all truth; and that time and trial—either by means of practical errors which should be found to shelter themselves under any of these statements, or through the light which continued and increasing investigation into every department of knowledge, should throw on the whole connected system of truth—might lead to improvement by the substitution of statements more discriminating, more precise, and more obviously in harmony with universal truth.

Were we now to survey the broad

field of Protestant Christendom since the days of the Reformation, we might select many discussions, many controversies, many errors, and many advances in science and knowledge which have had an influence, under the providence of the Head of the Church, in advancing on the whole, the science of all sciences, that of the system of theology in the precise statement and arrangement of its various parts. Yet we look rather to the field of New England, that soil of the Puritans—the men of clear and piercing intellects and of honest and indomitable will—where devoted attachment to the cause of Christ and his church, and deep reverence for God and his truth, if any where, have marked those who minister at the altar, and who act as the defenders and teachers of divine truth. Here, the theologian, like Edwards, and Bellamy, and Emmons, is not the mere reader of other men's statements on the subjects of theology; not the committer, by rote, of human formulas, nor the beggarly wearer of the second-hand and cast-off clothing of human predecessors. He is the disciple, intent on acquiring the knowledge of truth; tasking his own powers to the work of investigation, and going with those powers to the right sources of knowledge; seeking after the teaching of God in his word and in his works, and, before this high authority, searching and testing all the teachings of his fellow servants. He is the disciple, learning the truth of God from God; and from such thorough discipleship in the investigation of divine truth at its high sources, qualified to teach that truth to others, in the clear statements and on the firm grounds which characterize his own faith, and constitute it a living faith in God.

Two errors have been found to take shelter under the statements of Calvin, the discussion of which has led the theologians of New England,

as we believe, to advance the orthodox system of theology to a better state, or to a more precise conformity with truth. The Calvinistic statements were taken as a shelter for the erroneous doctrine of such an utter passivity of human nature, as to divest man of all active relation to the government of God, and all capacity for it, and also as to throw the whole concern of redemption in its accomplishment in the individual, upon the simple efficiency and activity of God. Here then, with no responsibility on the part of the individual, as to belief in God, repentance of sin, or faith in the Mediator, a division was struck at once between those who resolved to do *something* in the matter, and those who would do *nothing*. The Arminian hyper-Calvinist sought, by a circuitous route, to lay himself as a mere passive recipient, by the pool of ordinances, and *wait*, in his sleeping and waking hours, for some strange operation and efficacy to be instilled into the means; and thus was exposed to linger ever as a careless or a fitful seeker, and never rise up to do the will of God heartily, as his servant in the earth.

The Antinomian hyper-Calvinist, on the other hand, would not offer such a bait to his own pride and sense of merit, as to feel the responsibility, or make the effort, to do *any* thing; but, simply and passively, acquiesce in seeing himself the inactive material on which grace alone was to work, and get to itself all the glory. Now though either error had some important truth incorporated with it, there was wanting an element of truth, which the Calvinistic system in its particular statements did not supply, or, at least, bring forward in that clearness and with that just relation to the main truths, which has been done by the theologians of New England. Nor do we doubt that they who at once forsook the whole system, the Unitarians—after all

due allowance is made for the natural hatred of men towards unwelcome truth—owe half their revolt to the seen and felt untruthfulness of the triangular rock of hyper-Calvinism, and of each of the courses taken by the parties who separated and filed off at its base. Edwards, in his attempt to show the freedom of the will to be consistent with that necessity which is predicated of it in the Calvinistic scheme; Smalley, in setting forth distinctly the natural ability of man and the universal obligation of the law of God; Bellamy, in storming the citadel of Antinomianism, and entering it triumphantly with the broad banner of no evangelical faith without holiness, or hearty obedience to the law of God; the younger Edwards, in presenting the atonement as a moral means in distinction from redemption as the final result, and in giving it, as a means, that universal relation to man which involves his obligation to accept of it at once, with penitence and humble gratitude, as a free gift: these all have done something for theology, which every discriminating and pious pastor, as well as studious and independent theologian, cannot but regard as improvement, and as adding that truthfulness to the parts of the system which he would never consent to throw overboard or exchange for the previous state of things—the *status ante bellum*.

What, then, shall we say of Emmons? Harmonizing, in his philosophy, with the Cartesian—the denier of finite substance or essence, he brings forward the omnipotence of the Deity, as the sole immediate source of each thought, act, event, quality; and presents the workings of Providence as effecting alike, by immediate efficiency, the hatred of the malicious and the love of the benevolent, the impenitence of sinners and the holiness of Christians, the blasphemy of the fiend and the ecstasy of the seraph. It is a high

and a fearful philosophy, that so annihilates and swallows up all being in God, as that, did we not by consciousness necessarily rely on ourselves as existent beings, we might sound in vain amid its depths, to find any footing for ourselves, our duties and responsibilities, or our hopes. Yet this theologian, put into the immediate hands of God the constitution of all things, in the general laws which he believed the Deity to have affixed to himself in his own operations; and therefore he did not in fact deny that constitution of created things on which knowledge, appeal, obligation, and moral duty and responsibility are founded. But in this respect he has not carried with him the theologians of New England: but few individuals being found to follow him fully into the scheme of immediate efficiency. They have as a body, admitted the existence of a constitution in created things, which constitution, as apparent in the starry heavens and the globe, and in the mineral, vegetable, animal, and moral kingdoms, is a reality and the cause, ground, or occasion, under the providence of the Creator, of the events which take place in all, except in cases of miracle or of special Divine agency in regeneration.

Yet Emmons, in connection with his philosophy, has brought forward the scheme of responsibility for voluntary exercises only, or, "the exercise scheme," with such force and clearness, as forever to have established this point in theology—that all holiness and sin in the creation, lies in the voluntary action of moral beings. If he admitted nothing to exist in such beings but intellectual and voluntary actions, and therefore could not on his own scheme place the subject in any other department, still, the glaring evidence he ever holds before us of the truth of his position, so meets all the demands of reason and conscience and reve-

lation as to force us to admit its truth; and, also, to acknowledge that, if there is an existent constitution of being in man, that constitution itself, by whatever causes affected, or whatever it may itself affect as a cause, is not to be ever accounted the substance or matter of holiness or sin.

More than this. In passing over the field of theology with this principle, he has shown that the sin of Adam could not be directly imputed to his posterity as theirs, or be made the immediate ground of their condemnation. If he were then asked why the sin of Adam entailed depravity on his posterity, he answered, not on the ground of any law imposed on him in Eden, which directly inflicted death on them for his sin, but simply on the ground of the divine constitution, that if Adam sinned, his posterity would also sin, when they came into existence. Here too they who, rejecting the immediate efficiency scheme, believe in the created physical, mental, and moral constitution of man, can point to the constitution of Adam, as a *thing existent prior* to the imposition of the law in Eden; that constitution of man, as male and female, which placed Adam at the head of a race, which were to be affected in their constitution by the laws of descent, by which natural laws—as we have since learned from the results—when he sinned against the moral and positive law of Eden, and thus vitiated his own natural and moral constitution, he inflicted, by consequence, evil on that of his posterity.

This original donation to Adam of being the natural head of a race, like the donation of physical strength, or like that of moral influence through the faculty of speech or the exhibition of example, was a trust, lodged with him for good or evil to others according to his voluntary course of conduct: on the plain principle that, without trusts of some kind, there can be no such thing as responsibil-

ity, or good or evil conduct, and that the increase of a trust only extends the sphere of responsibility and the power of doing good or evil. Yet, what result, precisely, physical, mental, or moral, would arise to his posterity from his conduct, through the natural and original laws of propagation and descent, could be learned only in the sequel, by deduction from the facts, unless made known beforehand by immediate revelation.

Dr. Emmons justly contends that the revelation made to Adam of the consequences to arise from transgression is confined, so far as we have any reason to assert, simply to personal death for the personal violation of the moral and positive law under which he and his partner were put upon trial, to test their own fidelity. It is true, the natural laws, already established in the constitution of created things, and, of course, in that of these heads of the race, unless suspended by miracle or annihilated by the destruction of the race, were to have their course. But did the law, published to Adam in Eden, originate them? or did it, even, reveal what would be their results?

Did that law promise the pair, that if they continued holy during any particular period of time, they would ever after be confirmed in holiness and happiness; or did it leave them simply under *law*, without gratuitous covenant respecting the future—the engagement of law, that *while* obedient, and *while* continuing to do the things contained in the law, and on that simple tenure alone, they should go on to enjoy peace and life in God's kingdom? Did it state whether, if all their immediate children were born while they continued holy, these children should be holy at the first; or, what is more remote, that they should ever continue holy, and transmit again the same inheritance to their immediate descendants, and these

again to theirs, and so perpetually? Did it state what consequences would arise, if they should continue holy till after the birth of half their children, and sin before the other half were begotten? Did it state whether, if Adam should transgress at the first, the evil consequences would go beyond himself? Or does the fact, which has been since learned, that the sin of his whole posterity is a consequence of his transgression, show at all that sin might not have broken out somewhere in his race and gone forward with its destructive consequences, even if he had not sinned? Are any of these things revealed in the positive precept and penalty given in Eden? Or have we any ground to assert that Adam had any direct revelation, of consequences to arise from his holiness or sin, before the enactment of that law, or aside from its publication? If not, then, not that positive law, but the natural laws already and previously affixed to the constitution of Adam and Eve, are those by which the Creator gave them the station of heads of the race—heads who incur no immediate good or ill desert upon their children, but act simply as benefactors or injurers of those who come after them, to what extent, as is true of every instance in which entrusted power is employed to its right end or is abused, the sequel only is to show. They were held to the right use of their own trust—to secure whatever good consequences to others were to result from their continuing obedient—under the bonds and penalties of their own eternal death in case of failure. Here was the protection of law thrown over the interests entrusted with these persons; here was a trial made of their own character; here, the righteous exaction of justice; here, personal duty and personal responsibility laid on the only existent beings: and that was enough.

But they sin; and the sequel—

what is it? Not only are they condemned by the Judge, but the race which springs from Adam are seen to be vitiated in their constitution so as to render sure their own sin and condemnation, as the experience of all ages and the word of revelation attest: and the respite, which was allowed him and is allowed them, of the present life before the execution of punishment, is made the occasion of a new dispensation, better than law—of a covenant by promise, through the Redeemer, of deliverance and life to the penitent and believing.

Now in tracing out this broad field of depravity and redemption through Christ, Dr. Emmons carries the principle most convincingly of the voluntary and active nature of all sin and holiness. And nothing is wanting, in our view, to complete forever the harmony of the principle with all the facts, but the simple admission of an agent constituted to act in a holy or sinful manner, and whose constitution may be so affected by the laws of descent, or by special influences from God, as to become the ground or occasion of the certainty of—as the case may be—either sinful action or holy.

The theologians of New England have generally admitted an existent constitution of being in man; but, until the time of Emmons and the clear exposition he gave of his principle, they were confounding constitutional tendency with the voluntary action of the being, as though both were included in the matter of sin or holiness, and in the desert of praise or blame. In the collision of the two clashing parties, they who held to an existing constitution in man as furnishing a ground or occasion of the certainty of action, or as being a subject of deterioration or improvement in the course of action, had clearly the advantage of Emmons, who could look to no created forces in operation, but saw only the divine hand; and to no

laws impressed on created forces, but to a pattern secreted in the Divine mind. They, when speaking of the grounds of human sinfulness, of the adaptation of revelation to the nature of man, of the immediate agency of God in miracles, of the peculiar influence of the Holy Spirit as distinct from creation or miracle, of the imperfection and internal conflicts of the saints—had most clearly the advantage. The material was present in their system which gave consistency and harmony to these facts. But when these same theologians undertook to place the constitution of man within the category of holiness or sin, desert of reward or blame, they introduced an item into the account which the logical acumen of Emmons has succeeded, we trust, forever to efface. With his principle—nothing but voluntary action, holiness or sin—and the clear foundations of the principle exposed in the divine requirements, and the truth and justice of placing responsibility only within such limits, he shows that they are introducing an item into their systems at war with these plain and glaring facts of the holy and righteous moral government of God.

Nothing remained, therefore, at this posture of the subject, to give clearness and harmony to all the parts of theology, but for the theologian to admit a basis and footing for natural ability of right action, and for a certainty of either right or wrong action as external or internal causes might operate, in the *nature and constitution of man*; and, at the same time, to consider the sin and holiness of man as consisting alone in voluntary action, right or wrong, in heart or life. Now the way was clear to consider as existent in man, and in all moral beings in the universe, a reality—in distinction from a mere plan in the mind of God as to his own efficient operations—a constitution of inherent

powers of intelligence, feeling, and will; which powers, though fitted for right action, might be variously affected from diverse causes; might be weakened and impaired, or strengthened and improved; might be more or less depraved in their tendency to wrong action, or more or less corrected in their tendency to right; from causes, too, without the being himself, as well as from his own course of voluntary actions; from causes for which he is not responsible, as well as from those for which he is. With this clear distinction drawn between the powers of the being on the one hand, and his voluntary course of action on the other, the way was clear to harmonize the two grand facts of dependence on God and accountability to him; to reconcile with each other the great departments of the providential government of God and his moral; to represent the certain futuration of all events in the moral kingdom of God, as arising from the wisest arrangement of means on his part to secure the greatest amount of holiness and blessedness, in full consistency with his own sincerity, righteousness, and holiness, and with the good or ill desert of his subjects; to set forth the great facts, stated in the system of grace now in operation over man—of the fall of Adam, the original and total depravity of the race, their insufficiency to recover themselves, the atonement of Jesus, the call of the Gospel, the influence of the Spirit employed as the means of recovery, the renovation and sanctification of the people foreknown and chosen in this eternal plan of operations, the hardness and destruction of the rest—as consistent, throughout, with the grand close of the drama—the summoning of the whole race before God the Judge

at the last day, and his awarding to each a sentence in righteousness on the basis of what have been his deeds in this life while in the body.

We trust, therefore, that Emmons, whose pure, intellectual ray was so long shining above our horizon, and who has left, in the volumes before us, so many interesting records of that piercing intellect in its researches in the wide field of theology, has performed, during his stay among us, some service for the science; to give clearness to the views of its teachers who minister to the instruction and hopes of their Christian brethren at the sacred altar. His mission has not been in vain, were it marked only with this one deep trace on the theology of the times. Many a servant of Christ has thereby felt his way clear to apostolic simplicity, in calling on sinners to repent and turn in their hearts unto God at once, unshackled by doctrinal hindrances and perplexities. The tide has, long since, set that way; and great is the company of the preachers, and wider and wider is the circle becoming, who herald forth at once the sovereignty of an offended God in bestowing salvation, and his demand on every sinner immediately to repent, with a sincere and understanding heart, and with a free and unfaltering tongue. The stickler for old technics and the pugnacious defender of every word and comma of an ancient formula may, for a while, scare the weak, by crying out heresy and brandishing the knife of excision; but even he and his servile followers are destined to give way before the clear shining of truth, and the swelling current of holy love that is bearing onward the free in Christ, to hasten the world's redemption.

THE CONSTELLATION OF THE CROSS.

EXTRACTED FROM UNPUBLISHED "WANDERINGS ON THE SEAS AND SHORES OF AFRICA."

At last, the cold storms which pursued us from Cape Fear, during the opening of our voyage, including nearly the whole of the first fortnight of the new year, had died away; and the still more tedious calms which succeeded them in "the middle passage," had also been followed by the trade winds, under whose welcome impulse we now moved rapidly southward, with a pure air, and a clear sky varied only by light flying clouds, and with a temperature which, though not uncomfortable during the day, was particularly delightful in the brilliant nights of the tropic seas. With the setting of the sun, the bright clouds, which gave so much splendor to the closing day, vanished from the scene, and left the sky all northward, eastward, and westward, without a vapor to veil the stars, which here shone out with a luster and power far beyond all I had ever seen, inspiring an intense delight, as I watched them through many unwearying hours from our narrow deck. The polar star each night sank lower and lower over the northern horizon; and the zodiac now passing through the zenith, brought the larger planets, with the moon, by turns directly over our heads, an aspect, to me, novel and imposing;—while in the south, new stars, unknown to northern eyes, rose in dazzling beauty to my inquiring view.

Yet several nights passed while I looked in vain for some of those peculiarly interesting constellations near the south pole, which were already above our horizon. For though all the rest of the sky was clear, along the southern quarter, a peculiar dark misty cloud descended across our path, shrouding from

view the long-desired lights of the southern hemisphere. The cloud occupying about fifteen degrees in altitude from the horizon, was just sufficient to hide for some time the magnificent SOUTHERN CROSS, so richly described by Humboldt, and by Tyerman and Bennet, whose vivid impressions at the sight, so poetically expressed, had long ago led me to anticipate this, as one of the richest rewards of a tropical voyage.

And when, at length, my nights of vain watching and my years of studious hope were requited by the sight of this most glorious object in the created universe, all the circumstances and incidents seemed wonderfully arranged to impress me not only with gratification at the happy accomplishment of my wishes, and with admiration of the beauty of the spectacle, but also with deeper and farther-reaching feelings of the moral power of the whole of the strange picture before me in heaven and earth. It was on the evening of Monday, January 23, in about lat. 23° N., and lon. 24° W., that I first obtained a distinct view of the Southern Cross, the form of it being so perfect, that at the very first glance no observer could be mistaken. I saw it standing erect and resplendent over the dark cloud, in more than imagined beauty and glory, its four large stars arranged in striking order and symmetry, in the form which all Christendom recognizes as the sign of God's infinite love and man's eternal hope; and the rapture I then felt was cheaply purchased by all the sufferings and perils of the voyage then past, or yet before me. Many hours I enjoyed the scene and the emotions rising with it; and so through months and years of wanderings that followed, that

glorious object attracted my eyes through watchful nights of exile, of suffering, of peril and of loneliness, till it became to me a familiar and welcome thing, associated with the idea of high consolation under trials and fears. As in the poetic "dream" of the famed "pilgrim" of our time:

"The wanderer was alone as heretofore:
The beings that surrounded him were gone
Or were at war with him. He was a mark
For blight and desolation,—compassed round
With hatred and contention. * * * * *
* * * * * He lived
Through that which had been death to many men;
And made him friends of mountains. With the STARS,
And the quick spirit of the universe,
He held his dialogues; and they did teach
To him the magic of their mystery." * * *

In those wild years of strange adventure, many a dreary night of perilous exposure and of fearful watching, on ocean and land, was solaced by the sight of that beautiful starry cross, standing erect or bending at various angles over the south pole; and I well remember how in one stormy night of shipwreck, while struggling in darkness and fatigue, to steer a little boat through the roaring waves, against the howling tempest, I "strained my seeking eyes" to catch a glimpse of those same stars, to direct our course due south, away from the breakers of the rocks which threatened to dash us in pieces with the relics of our lost ship. Never was ray of light more welcome than the momentary sight of one of those stars through the driving clouds, as I wiped from my eyes the salt spray and pelting rain that half blinded them. Even now, as that perilous scene recurs, I renew the desperate excitement with which I strove to rouse and cheer our exhausted and despairing boat's crew, and exclaim again, "Pull away, good fellows! *I see the cross.* We shall soon be clear of all danger."

With such remembrances and associations, the intensity of the feelings I still express, in reviving my first impressions of that remarkable object, will not be thought extra-

gant; and the extract which I subjoin from the "Personal Narrative" of the philosophic Humboldt, will show that I but shared the emotions of far graver and less excitable observers, and that even my strongest expressions are not overwrought, when compared with others' descriptions.*

* "From the time when we entered the torrid zone, we were never wearied with admiring, every night, the beauty of the southern sky, which, as we advanced towards the south, opened new constellations to our view. We feel an indescribable sensation when on approaching the equator, and particularly on passing from one hemisphere to the other, we see those stars which we have contemplated from our infancy, progressively sink, and finally disappear. Nothing awakens in the traveler a livelier remembrance of the immense distance by which he is separated from his country, than the aspect of an unknown firmament. The grouping of the stars of the first magnitude, some scattered nebulae, rivaling in splendor the milky-way, and tracts of space remarkable for their extreme blackness, give a peculiar physiognomy to the southern sky."

"The lower regions of the air were loaded with vapors for some days. We saw distinctly, for the first time, the cross of the south only in the night of the 4th and 5th of July, in the sixteenth degree of latitude. It was strongly inclined, and appeared from time to time between the clouds, the center of which, furrowed by uncondensed lightnings, reflected a silver light. If a traveler may be permitted to speak of his personal emotions, I shall add that in this night I saw one of

But even at this my first view of the starry cross, unconscious as I was of subsequent associations with the sight, I seemed to have an almost foreboding interest in it. As our brigantine bounded swiftly over the long swell of the Atlantic, the bowsprit was bowing to the cloud and cross, and the tall mast pointing to the starry crown, which hung above us—known to astronomers as the “*Corona Australis*”—a bright constellation, but less conspicuous than that which is familiar to us in our own skies, under the name of the “*Northern Crown*.” A poetical idea, suggested by the descrip-

tion given in the missionary voyage of Tyerman and Bennet, came vividly to my mind, and led me to attempt an expression of my feelings in such verse as was within the powers of one unused to this sort of composition. Unmusical and labored as it is, it has to me some interest in having been conceived and composed under the excitement of the actual sight of these objects, though never committed to writing till my return to America, when it was somewhat enlarged and corrected, yet remaining essentially the same as I bore it three years in my memory.

the reveries of my earliest youth accomplished.”

“When I studied the heavens, to acquire a knowledge of the stars, impatient to rove in the equinoctial regions, I could not raise my eyes toward the starry vault, without recalling the sublime passage of Dante, which the most celebrated commentators have applied to this constellation :

Io mi volsi a man destra e posi mente :
 All' altro polo e vidi quattro stelle :
 Non vистe mai fuor ch' ella prima gente. :
 Goder parca lo ciel di lor flammelle ;
 O settentrional vedovo sito
 Poi che privato se' di mirar quelle !

“The two great stars which mark the summit and foot of the cross, having nearly the same right ascension, it follows hence that the constellation is almost perpendicular at the moment when it passes the meridian. This circumstance is known to every nation that lives within the tropics or in the southern hemisphere. It has been observed at what hour of the night, in different seasons, the cross of the south is erect or inclined. It is a time-piece which advances very regularly four minutes a day ; and no other group of stars exhibits to the naked eye, an observation of time so easily made. How often have we heard our guides exclaim in the savannas of Venezuela, or in the desert extending from Truxillo to Lima, ‘*Midnight is past ;*

the Cross begins to bend!’ How often those words reminded us of that affecting scene, where Paul and Virginia, seated near the source of the river of Lantianiers, conversed together for the last time, and where the old man at the sight of the southern cross, warns them that it is time for them to separate.”—*Humboldt's “Journey to the equinoctial regions of the New Continent,” chap. 3.*

“At night, (the sky being clear after much cloudy weather,) for the first time we descried the constellation *crux* or *the cross*. The four stars composing this glory of the southern hemisphere, are of large but varying magnitudes, and so placed as readily to associate with the image of the true cross, the lowest being the brightest. Another beautiful constellation attracted our notice, nearly in the zenith. This was the *northern crown*, in which seven stars brilliantly encircle two thirds of an oval figure. We were reminded—and though the idea may seem fanciful, yet it was pleasing to ourselves amidst the still night, and on the far sea—that while we kept in constant view *the cross*, that cross on which our Savior died for our redemption, we might venture to hope that the *crown*, the crown of life, which ‘the Lord the righteous judge’ hath promised to ‘give to all them that love his appearing,’ might be bestowed upon us ‘in that day.’”—*Tyerman and Bennet ; “Journal of Voyages and Travels,” chap. 1.*

THE CLOUD, THE CROSS, THE CROWN.*

Low hanging o'er my ocean-path,
 To that dark land and martyrs' tomb,
 Far lours a CLOUD, dim-boding wrath,
 In nightly-gathering, deepening gloom,
 But o'er it, pure from airy dross,
 Heav'n's silvery light comes clearly down ;
 Above the *cloud* I see the cross,
 Above the cross, the starry CROWN.

Hail ! glory of the southern skies !
 Erst beamed in light far less divine
 On the first Christian Cæsar's eyes,
 His triumph's pledge and "conquest's sign :"—
Brief flash !—perhaps a fabling gloss
 To lend *earth's* empire-wreath renown ;
 But here the EVERLASTING CROSS
 Points ever to the HEAVENLY crown.

With cross on staff and sword and breast,
 Of old, crusading pilgrim bands
 Won for the heroes of the West
 The gorgeous crowns of Orient lands.*
 Their "glories gone,"—now dust and moss
 Shroud their tombed thrones in ruin brown,
 While here above the bright "*true cross*"
 Christ's faith-armed warriors see their crown.

The cross, "a graven image," stands,
 The snare and shame of Christendom,
 On dome, tower, spire, through thousand lands,
 From Peru to Jerusalem.
 Its gold-shrined form oft gems emboss
 Worshiped alike by king and clown :—
 Idolaters !—behold the cross,
 Heav'n-shrined, star-gemmed, which God doth crown.

Unknown for ages, now it wins
 The eyes of millions to adore :
 "Midnight is past ; the Cross begins
 To bend" o'er AFRICA's dark shore.
 Yields to white robe the vile *kaross*,
 And groveling *kraalt* to spiry town :
 The southern world beneath the cross
 Awakes to hail its king and crown.

* Godfrey, Baldwin, Guy de Lusignan, and Conrade, kings of Jerusalem.—Guy, &c. kings of Cyprus,—Bohemond, prince of Antioch, William, prince-archbishop of Tyre,—Baldwin I and II, emperors of Constantinople, &c. &c.

† *Kaross*,—the name of the filthy scanty dress of the wild natives of South Africa.
Kraal,—South African village, a circle of oven-like huts.

My way is dark : still—" holy light !"—
 Shine o'er the cloud to guide and cheer,—
 O angel-watcher ! through each night
 Beam on my " wanderings " lone and drear.
 In every danger, pain and loss,
 Thy ray, which ocean cannot drown,
 Shall tell me—he who bears " no cross "
 Of toils and tears, shall win " no crown."

• Sign of my faith ! Seal of my hope !
 Pledge of God's love to wand'ring man !
 Beaconed by thee no more I grope
 Dimly the way of truth to scan :
 And ever when life's billows toss,
 Though whirlwinds sweep and storm-clouds frown,
 Faith o'er the *cloud* shall see the *CROSS*,—
 Hope o'er the cross shall hail the *CROWN*.

WHAT MUST BE DONE TO PROVIDE AN EDUCATED CHRISTIAN MINISTRY?

THAT the Christian ministry, especially in such a country and such an age as ours, ought to be a body of liberally educated men, is with us an axiom. We write not for that reader who needs an argument to make him know that the minister of the Gospel of Christ, among a free and a free-thinking people, ought to be an educated man—educated not only in those departments of knowledge which are immediately and especially related to his employment as an expounder of the Scriptures, but also in all that various discipline which invigorates the mental powers, which enlarges the scope of thought, and which gives to him who has profited by it a rank and standing in society such as does not belong to the man of merely technical or professional culture.

How shall such a ministry be obtained, in sufficient numbers, to overtake and supply the growing wants of our country ? Some tell us to leave the whole question to take care of itself, under that law of political economy, by which the de-

mand creates the supply. But what socialism is this ! What a blundering application of a simple principle ! What is demand, in the sense of political economy ? The mere absence of a given article, does not constitute a demand for that article. There are neither warming-pans nor snow-shoes, nor yet Olmsted stoves, in all the bazaars of Calcutta ; there are no Cashmere shawls in the wigwams of Labrador ; there are no spelling-books in Jeddo, no biographies of Henry Clay in Pekin, no schoolmasters in Patagonia ; yet who, in such cases, mistakes destitution for demand ? Nor does mere want—though it be a want of something acknowledged and felt to be essential to comfort or even to existence—constitute a demand, in the sense in which demand tends to produce a supply. A people may be dying for want of bread, while yet in all its ports there is no demand, in the commercial sense, for the staff of life. Demand, in the only sense in which demand for any article can create a supply, is the ability and willingness to pay,

for the article demanded, such a price as shall remunerate the cost of production. The only way in which the demand causes the supply, is by offering such a price as induces a sufficient number of men to withdraw their skill, their capital, and their labor, from other forms of industry, and to engage in the production of the article demanded. The notion, then, that the demand for an educated Christian ministry, may be safely relied on to work out its own supply, assumes—in the face of notorious and stubborn facts to the contrary—that the people of this country, and of every part of it, are both able and willing to pay for the services of Christian pastors, such a compensation as is necessary to induce a sufficient number of able and educated men to withdraw from secular employments and devote themselves to the preaching of the Gospel. Without this assumption, so utterly at variance with known facts, the notion of demand producing a supply, is no better logic than if, from the naked statement that ten or twenty years ago a given district was in a condition bordering on heathenism, some economist should undoubtingly infer that now it is well supplied with a Christian ministry; for surely, if it is an unfailing law, that demand, in the sense of mere destitution, produces a supply, that law must manifest itself in the phenomena of the present and of the past, as well as in the phenomena of the future.

Some arrangements then ought to be made, to secure the education of a suitable number of such men, properly qualified in other respects, as are willing to devote themselves to the work of the Christian ministry. What arrangements and efforts for such a purpose are the wisest? What system of measures for such a purpose, is likely to bring forward the best men, at the least expense to the Christian public, and in the requisite numbers?

Before attempting any answer to this inquiry, we need to form some just idea of the number of men whom it is desirable to introduce into the Christian ministry, or at least of the principle by which the requisite number is to be determined. It has been common to say that in such a country as ours, there ought to be at least one well educated minister of the Gospel for every thousand souls; and it has been taken for granted, that till the educated evangelical clergy in the United States number as many thousands, as there are millions of population in the census, there is no danger that the ministry will become too numerous. In one sense, this is right. If the people of the United States were all members of Protestant Christian congregations, and if every congregation were to be supplied with an educated pastor, there would be needed at this moment, not less than eighteen thousand such ministers; and in less than fifty years from this time, if the same state of things be supposed to exist then, there would be needed fifty thousand. Christian patriotism, planning for the religious welfare of the country, has for its ultimate aim, nothing less than to place every family and every soul under the care of an able and faithful pastor; and of course when we calculate how to provide an adequate supply of such pastors, we ought to desire nothing less than one for every thousand souls. Yet it is true that there may be more ministers in the country than can find employment—and therefore, in an important sense, more than are needed—while yet the number falls far short of such a ratio. Ministers of the Gospel must not only be educated and licensed to preach; they must be put to work in their vocation, and they must be supported in their work. Ministers who for any reason cannot find employment, and cannot live in their

ministry, are not needed. The work then of providing ministers, cannot go forward faster than the work of employing them when provided. And if the Christian people of this country do not intend to employ an increasing number of ministers, at home and abroad; and, particularly, if they do not intend to prosecute the home missionary work on a scale corresponding with the greatness of our territory, and the increase and dispersion of our population; there is little occasion for any very strenuous and extended effort to multiply the number of candidates for the ministry. But if, on the other hand, the work of evangelizing our whole country is to be prosecuted with increasing energy—if, particularly, the contributions to the American Home Missionary Society, and to other institutions aiming at the same object, are to be doubled within five years, and to be doubled again within five years more—then we need to have in a course of training, at this moment, the young men who in five years, or in ten years from this time, will be called for, to bear their part, as pastors and evangelists, in the work of filling our whole territory, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, with the influence of pure Christianity. No man needs to be told that a minister of the word of God, is not ordinarily fitted for his work in a day, or in a year. No man needs to be told that if a thousand ministers of the Gospel in addition to the number now in the field, are to be called for in this country ten years hence, the thousand must be put to school immediately. If then we would act as wise men, with forecast and with a due economy of effort, our plans in this department, must be formed and prosecuted not with reference merely to the opportunities and means of giving employment to ministers, which happen to exist to-day—nor with reference merely to

the number of ministers that might be employed, if the whole country were already fully evangelized—but with reference to the probable progress and success of other departments of evangelical enterprise. Find out how many ministers the American churches may be expected to employ, at home and abroad, ten years hence, more than are now in the field; and that is the number of the young men who ought to be coming forward, in addition to those who will be needed to fill up all the vacancies which time will make in the present supply.

To what extent, then, is an increased number of educated Christian ministers likely to be called for, by the Congregational and Presbyterian churches and missionary institutions, within eight or ten years to come? Let this question be considered for a moment, and it will be found to resolve itself into that other question, whether the Congregational and Presbyterian churches of this country are to be faithful or recreant in respect to the trust committed to them. As our population spreads out farther and farther towards the Pacific—as our population grows more crowded in the commercial cities and busy villages of the older states—what is to be the character of these increasing millions? Are they to keep the Sabbath holy, sitting under the ministry of enlightened Christian teachers? Is the work of evangelization in this country to go on, expanding itself from year to year, as the field to be occupied opens more widely and more invitingly? Is the whole empire of this Union, from ocean to ocean, and from the tropic to the wintry north, to be filled with the light of the Bible, and with the influences of simple, spiritual Christianity? If so, then a thousand ministers more than are now employed, must be called for within ten years from this time, to supply churches that are not yet formed, and a population

that is not yet counted in the census. At the end of ten years from this time, there will be full five millions of people in our country, more than there are now; and if no more than one fifth of that increase is to be gathered into Christian congregations, and is to enjoy the labors of an enlightened and faithful ministry, there will be employment and support for a thousand ministers more than are employed to-day.

Returning now to the inquiry as to the system of arrangements and efforts by which the best men may be brought forward to the Christian ministry, in the requisite numbers, and at the least expense to the Christian public, we find first the proposal that this whole work be left to the spontaneous, unorganized beneficence of individuals and of congregations. It is proposed that men of wealth, who are willing to co-operate in multiplying the number of educated ministers, be left to select, each one for himself, the young man whom he will aid at school and at college, and that each patron shall bestow upon his own individual beneficiary, just that amount and kind of assistance which he may judge necessary and proper. In the same way it is proposed that a particular church, finding in its communion a young man of promising character and talents, whose circumstances are such that he cannot be educated without charitable aid, shall encourage him to leave the farm or the workshop, and shall render him all the necessary aid in obtaining an education for the ministry. We would not say one word to discourage this kind of spontaneous beneficence. We have known more than one instance, in which a church has made one of its members its own beneficiary, and has been happy in its selection of the object, and in its administration of the charity. And we have known many instances, in which benevolent individuals have sought out in col-

leges or other institutions, the individual young men to whose support and advancement they found it a happiness to contribute. We would be far from discouraging any such beneficence on the part of churches or of individuals. But who can expect that this occasional, unassociated, unconnected beneficence—however amiable and pleasant it may be in particular instances—will be adequate to the exigency? How many young men would such beneficence alone call forth from circumstances of depression? Who would seek out those gifted and sanctified minds, which might be found in the obscurer walks of life, and which ought to be fitted to serve their country and their race in the work of the Gospel? Who would bring such minds to the notice of the affluent and beneficent? Who would impress upon each church the duty of selecting, from among its sons, one or more to be the objects of its fraternal aid? And where a church has its little offering to bestow, and has no member in its communion to whom that little offering would be a sufficient help, shall it do nothing? We do not believe that any man, having any just idea of the number of educated ministers whose labors must be called for within a few years to come, can seriously entertain the expectation that any isolated and unsystematized efforts of wealthy individuals, or of particular churches, will be sufficient.

In other quarters, it has been suggested, that this work of affording gratuitous aid to indigent and meritorious young men in their preparation for the ministry, may be left entirely with those who manage the affairs of colleges and other institutions for instruction. If a college is to provide gratuitous instruction and the means of support for indigent pupils, the provision must be made in one of two ways. Either the institution must obtain permanent endowments, the income of which

shall be adequate to such an annual expenditure; or by some continued agency it must collect, year after year, from the charitably disposed, whatever may be necessary for the instruction and support of its own beneficiaries. Suppose the former method to be attempted. To support two hundred and fifty such pupils in the various colleges of New England, at an average annual expense of no more than eighty dollars each, (which is the amount now allowed to beneficiaries by the rules of the American Education Society,) would require an aggregate of permanent endowments amounting to not less than the third part of a million of dollars. Admitting the desirableness of such endowments, is it probable that the requisite amount can be obtained? Admitting that endowments so magnificent could be obtained, would it be wise to obtain them for this specific purpose? It is well to endow colleges munificently, to furnish them with libraries, with apparatus in every department, and with the means of affording a partial support to professors; and thus to bring down the price of liberal education, so that not the rich only but those in humbler circumstances, shall be able to approach the fountains of universal knowledge. It may be well to endow colleges with the ability to afford gratuitous instruction to a selected portion of their pupils. It may be well to provide them with the means of encouraging eminent scholarship, in rare instances, by such rewards as shall enable him who wins them, to withdraw himself for a season from other toils, and to indulge that burning thirst for knowledge which distinguishes the gifted mind. But would it be entirely wise to endow the colleges with permanent funds sufficient to provide not only instruction, but lodgings, and diet, and clothing, for so great a host of dependent pupils? Abandoning, then, the idea of permanent

endowments for such uses, suppose the other method to be preferred, and that each college undertakes to collect, in charitable donations from its friends and from the public at large, two thousand, five thousand, or ten thousand dollars annually, according to the number and the wants of its beneficiary students. Who shall mark out, for each college, the province within which its agents shall operate for such a purpose? What shall prevent an immediate clashing of the claims of rival institutions? In some instances—as, for example, when a college keeps its agent constantly in the field, soliciting donations for its current expenses—this method might be found practicable. But who would recommend the adoption of such a system by all the colleges? What pastor of a church would like to be visited this week by the agent of Yale College, and next week by the agent of Dartmouth College, and the third week by the agent of Amherst College, and then by the agent of Middlebury College, and so to the end of the chapter?

We cannot avoid, then, the necessity of some general organization for the purpose of aiding in the education of indigent young men, otherwise qualified, for the Christian ministry. Such an organization we have in the American Education Society; an institution, the usefulness of which has the most ample attestations in the names of the distinguished men in all parts of this country, and in the various fields of foreign missionary labor, who have been educated by its aid, and who, without such aid, would probably not have been qualified for the service of Christ, as preachers of his Gospel.

In the commercial embarrassment of these times, the Education Society has suffered more, perhaps, than any other of our leading benevolent institutions. It has suffered not only directly, as other institutions have

suffered, in consequence of the diminished resources of its friends, but indirectly, in consequence of the number of ministers who are found in some parts of the country, unemployed, or not employed in their profession. The missionary boards, home and foreign, having been somewhat crippled, and the distresses of the country having operated in various ways to cause a temporary check in the work of evangelization, it has happened that in some districts there are just now a few ministers, men of great worth, men who if employed in the right place might be highly useful, who, to the question "Why stand ye here idle all the day long?" are compelled to answer, "Because no man hath hired us." And from this the impression has gone abroad, to a considerable extent, that the education societies have not only done but overdone their proper work, and that the country is already over-supplied with ministers. We need not stop here to show the fallacy of such an impression. The true remedy for this state of things—the most efficient method of removing, from all minds, so fatal, an impression—would be found in an expansion of the missionary work in every direction. The true remedy for a surplussage of ministers in certain districts, is not to abandon the enterprise of providing an educated ministry for the whole country and for the world, but to send forth to other regions all who are properly qualified, and to put them at work, and keep them at work, where their labors will be effectual for the advancement of the kingdom of God. As yet this remedy has not been applied. The American Home Missionary Society, if it had the means of expanding its operations in some proportion to the exigencies of the great West, would give instant employment to twice as many enterprising and devoted ministers as can be found unemployed in all the re-

gion this side of the Alleghanies. But the Home Missionary Society—strange to say—has not the means for any such movement. And therefore it is, that young men whom God has called, are discouraged from entering the ministry, and the Christian community is discouraged from attempting to provide that increased number of well educated ministers which must soon be called for, unless the enterprise of evangelizing our whole country is to be abandoned.

At such a crisis, it was a matter of course, that whatever elements of unpopularity might exist either in the structure of the American Education Society, or in the details of its operations, would come to light. The time was favorable for a discussion, and for a revision, and if necessary a reconstruction of the whole system. Accordingly the directors of the society determined, wisely, as we think, to ask the advice of their constituents. They called a meeting of the corporate and honorary members, for the purpose of fully considering the whole subject. In a circular letter to the members, they distinctly expressed the desire that those who had changed their minds respecting the importance of the object, or who had any objections against the policy of the society, would not fail to come and aid in the deliberations of the meeting. We shall give some account of that meeting in another place; we notice it here, only to show with what candor and frankness the directors have invited discussion.

The present organization of the American Education Society, is analogous to that of the American Board of Foreign Missions. Every man who has paid, or in whose behalf others have paid forty dollars in one donation, is an honorary member, with a right to sit and debate in all the meetings of the society. The right of voting belongs to corporate members, no

man being now admitted to the corporation by a mere subscription or donation, but only by election. This form of organization seems to us as safe against perversion, and at the same time as open to the influence of the public opinion to which it must look for support, as any that could be devised.

The only objection to this organization, which we have heard, is founded on the idea that for some reason, such an institution ought to be controlled directly and formally by ecclesiastical influence. Thus it has sometimes been said, "We don't like to see so great a movement under the control of any corporation or body of men, independent of the churches. It is not consistent with Congregationalism. Some of us are *jure divino* Congregationalists; and we would have such a business to be directed by the churches, acting through representatives chosen by themselves for the purpose." This idea may be good Presbyterianism—though we have doubts on that point; but we are sure there is no relish of Congregationalism in it. Congregationalism is utterly opposed to all permanent bodies professing to represent the churches and to act by their authority, even for purposes strictly ecclesiastical and spiritual. The tendency of all other systems is to aggregation—to those ideas and arrangements in which the feeling of individual power and individual responsibility, is merged in the feeling of the power and responsibility of a great and extended community; hence their provincial and national churches, their synods, their conventions, their great legislative assemblies. The tendency of Congregationalism, on the contrary, is to develope and direct the very feeling which other systems, in various degrees, counteract—the feeling of individual power and responsibility; hence its recognition of no church, other than the partic-

ular congregation of believers, independent, self-governed, a brotherhood over which there is no dominion but that of light and love, and in which each brother has his voice and his vote. Accordingly, while other systems employ ecclesiastical agencies for almost all sorts of purposes, and have their theological seminaries, their colleges, their book concerns, managed by ecclesiastical functionaries, Congregationalism has nothing to do with such things. Where simple Congregationalism has had the forming of institutions, there is as much religious influence as elsewhere, though it does not appear in the form of ecclesiastical power or government. The business of the church is, by communion in worship and ordinances, by instruction, and by mutual influence, to incite its members to love and all good works; and it concerns itself as little as possible with the details of those things which can be better done by individuals, or by specific associations of individuals. So far do the Congregational churches carry their disposition to be clear of secular affairs, that they have ordinarily no property except their records and their sacramental vessels, and no treasury except to receive and disburse the little monthly contribution which supplies the elements for the communion table, and expresses to needy and suffering members, the sympathy of the spiritual body to which they belong. One of the beauties of Congregationalism—perhaps the greatest advantage which it has over other ecclesiastical systems, is, that the church, as a body, exists for purely spiritual purposes, and has almost nothing to do with any secular affairs. The church—the spiritual body, including those who recognize each other as members of Christ—undertakes, in that capacity, no secular enterprise, enters into no civil contract, makes no ap-

pearance in courts of justice, to sue or to be sued, to plead or to be impleaded. To build and to hold a house of worship, to provide for the support of the ministry, whether by permanent funds, or by taxes, or by voluntary annual subscriptions, the members of the church as individuals, unite with other individuals and form a voluntary civil and secular association, called "the parish," or "the ecclesiastical society." What Congregationalist would subvert this simple and equitable arrangement, which is every way so beneficial? The self-same tendency of Congregationalism, which leads to the formation of parishes, or voluntary ecclesiastical societies, distinct from churches, leads also to the formation of voluntary societies for missions, and for other objects of Christian enterprise, at home and abroad.

Besides, what reason or equity would there be in the scheme of a convention of delegates from churches, assembled to regulate the appropriation of such a charity. According to the Congregational principle of the equality of churches, every church must have in such a convention, as many representatives as any other church. But in respect to the number of members able to appreciate such a charity as this, and able to contribute largely to its advancement, churches are obviously unequal. One church has many members able to render effectual assistance, and able to enter fully into the embarrassments of young men pursuing a college course in the face of poverty; and by the members of that church, a thousand or two thousand dollars annually are given for this object. Another church is less favorably situated, and its members give annually for the same object, perhaps ten dollars, perhaps nothing. Is there either justice or reason, in the idea of allowing these two churches an equal voice in the

management of affairs in which their interest is so unequal? The directors of such an undertaking as that of the Education Society, ought to make their report, not to those who do not contribute, but to those who do contribute.

The American Board of Foreign Missions holds a yearly convention of its members, corporate and honorary, at which all its proceedings are reviewed and all its interests discussed with perfect freedom. No man could look at that assembly at Norwich last September, and doubt whether the churches were sufficiently represented there. If the American Home Missionary Society, and the American Education Society—institutions so closely related and so mutually dependent as to be almost one—would unite in holding a similar convention from year to year, for the purpose of deliberating on the evangelization of America; the gathering of ministers and others, from all parts of the country, would soon be such that no one would think of inquiring whether the churches were duly represented.

Proceeding from the question of the organization of the Education Society, to examine the rules by which it acts, we find among the friends of the cause a more considerable variety of opinions than on any other topic. That the present system may be advantageously reformed, to some extent, is generally conceded; but to what extent, and in what way, is not so easily determined.

Some have suggested the idea of a place of education to be founded and managed by the Society itself, where all its beneficiaries may be educated, apart from others, by one body of teachers, in the same course of studies, and under the same discipline. It is supposed that such a method would be cheaper and better than the present system, which allows each beneficiary to

pursue his studies at whatever college or seminary may be most convenient or agreeable to himself—*cheaper*, because the standard of expense being fixed without any reference to the factitious wants of the more affluent, might be brought down so low as to include only the coarsest fare and clothing, and the meanest accommodations, consistent with bodily health—and *better*, because the student would not be subject to the ordinary temptations of a college life, nor to the depressing mortification of juxtaposition with associates, who can wear better clothing and enjoy more indulgences than he can; and because all the influences of such a place would be in harmony with the design of educating young men in habits of devotion and self-denial.

It may be worth the while to look at this proposal for a moment. And first, without reference to its expensiveness or cheapness, let us look at the value of this kind of education. Is it better, at the same cost, than the education which the young men, aided by the Society, are now enabled to acquire? We answer, without hesitation, No. The ministers wanted in such a country and such an age as this—the ministers wanted for the work in which the churches of this country ought to employ all the ministers they can obtain, cannot be educated in this way. What sort of ministers do we want, to preach the Gospel in city and country, in the states of the Atlantic and on the prairies of the Mississippi? What sort of ministers do we want, to go forth in our behalf to India and to China, to Persia and to Syria, as well as to Africa and Polynesia? We want ministers whose training has made them acquainted with men, who have looked upon the world not merely as it might be seen from the loopholes of a great secluded charity school, and who are on the same footing in respect to education, with

the most enlightened and influential men in other professions. At the preparatory school and at the college, those who are by and by to speak from the pulpit, occupy the same halls, study the same books, listen to the same instructors, sit in the recitation room on the same benches, with those who are by and by to rise to eminence in other professions. As fellow students with those who are to enter into other professions, and who in a few years will be found in all places of honor and of influence, they not only help to form their character, but they connect themselves by ties of mutual respect and often of mutual affection, with those who are to adorn the legal and medical professions, with those who are to be distinguished in the walks of literature, with those who are to preside in the tribunal of justice, with those whose eloquence is to thunder in the Capitol, or whose diplomacy is to sway the destinies of nations. Young men at school and at college educate each other; and to the young aspirant for the sacred ministry, beginning his classical studies late, and pursuing them under many embarrassments, it is not the least of his advantages at college, that he is brought into competition and friendly collision with those who have enjoyed from childhood the best means and methods of intellectual culture. As for the temptations of a college life, he needs them all both for probation and for discipline. If he cannot withstand and overcome them, let him fall; he is not the man that we want for the ministry. If he overcomes them, he is the better for having encountered them. And as to the mortification of being poor and dependent, in the midst of associates and competitors who have enough, we say—*esperto crede*—there is nothing killing in it. The great body of college students, every where in this country, and we dare

say, in other countries too, are men who regard a classmate with none the less of respect and affection, because he happens to be poor. The brainless, heartless fop, who does not honor the very poverty of a fellow student, struggling to maintain himself, is not worth regarding. But what would be the depressing influence of an education in the cloisters of a great alms-house.

Then as to the cheapness of such a system—would it be on the whole cheaper than the course now pursued. The idea is preposterous. With ever so many colleges around us, every one affording education to all corners at much less than cost, it is proposed to set up a new charity college, for the sake of getting an education still cheaper, not to the pupil, but to those who are at the expense of founding and sustaining the new institution.

Several particulars in the rules of the American Education Society, have been objected to with much appearance of reason. We will not go into those details here; but will bring our remarks to a close, with a statement of our own objections to the plan of loaning, instead of giving, aid to beneficiaries. We object first, to the theory which this form of aid assumes, in regard to the lucrativeness of the clerical profession; secondly, to the effect which it naturally produces on the character and habits of the beneficiary while pursuing his studies; and thirdly, to the position in which it places him after he enters the ministry.

The theory on which the loaning system proceeds is this—that the profession of the ministry is so far a lucrative profession, that it may be expected not only to support those who enter upon it, but also to reimburse to them the expenses of their education. It is admitted, by those who formed the present system of rules, that there are cases—such as that of the foreign missionary, or

that of the home missionary who labors in some particularly unpromising field—in which the beneficiary cannot be expected to repay what he has received; but these cases are regarded and treated as exceptions, the *rule* presumes his ability to pay. But is such a rule founded in fact? Is it true that the young man who enters the ministry can ordinarily be expected to repay, within a few years, the expenses of the eight or ten years which he has employed in educating himself for that profession? No. Where is the parish which expects to do more for its pastor than to enable him to live and support a family, comfortably and respectably, according to their own average standard of comfort and respectability? Where is the parish which expects its pastor to lay up money out of his salary? Where is the parish which, if it finds that its minister is receiving, in the form of salary, more than enough to live on, is not likely to become uneasy? The salaries of ministers vary from three thousand dollars yearly to three hundred dollars, or less. But if a rich congregation in New York pay their pastor three thousand dollars, it is because they know he cannot live decently, according to their idea of decent living, or in other words, cannot live as they expect him to live, with less than that income. And if another congregation, in some agricultural district remote from the markets, give their minister only three hundred dollars, it is because they think that sum sufficient to provide for his family all the comforts which they enjoy in their own. In neither congregation do the people, when fixing the salary of their minister, take into consideration for one moment the capital which has been absorbed in his education. The only question with them is, What will it cost him to live among us as our families generally live? All those arguments

then, which are drawn from the readiness of young merchants and mechanics to begin business with borrowed capital, and their ability to repay that capital and grow rich afterwards, are inconclusive; for the analogy which they presuppose, does not exist. The young man entering into any secular business, expects to realize not merely a living, but profits to be accumulated; and out of his accumulations he can afford to repay the borrowed capital with which he begins. Not so with the young minister of the Gospel. His education is not a lucrative investment of capital, so long as he continues in the ministry. Let him turn aside to some secular employment; and as soon as his habits shall have been adjusted to his new business, he will show that his education is worth something, in the commercial sense, and can pay for itself. But in the work of the ministry, he can ordinarily be expected to gain no more than a living.

What then is the effect of this loaning system, on the character and habits of the beneficiary? The question is not what might be, in an isolated case, the effect of loaning money to an individual, to be repaid after he has finished his studies; but what must be the effect of such a system of education, on a body of young men so numerous as to constitute perhaps a moiety of all the expectants of the ministry? Why, the very first lesson which you teach them, when they begin to think of preparing themselves to preach the Gospel, is that the ministry is ordinarily a lucrative employment, affording to those who labor in it, not merely food and raiment and a shelter "convenient for them," but a surplus revenue above all necessary expenditures. Instead of teaching them to renounce at the outset all secular views, and to expect that while their associates of the workshop and the counting-

house are growing rich, they are to be all their lives long in a condition of comparative dependence; and are never to get more than their living, you compel them to calculate somewhat on the lucrativeness of the clerical profession. Is this necessity of regarding the ministry as an employment which is to yield something more than a living, likely to have a good influence on those whom you thus train for the sacred work of the ministry? Would it not be better to say to them at the outset, You must not expect that the work of preaching the Gospel will enrich you, or will enable you to pay old debts; it is a self-denying work, and we would have you frame all your expectations accordingly.

But it is thought that to loan money to beneficiaries, and to hold them under obligation to repay all that they receive, will make them more frugal and careful than if the aid were bestowed as a simple gratuity. Undoubtedly, if you will open a treasury, and allow every one to put his hand in and help himself to as much as he thinks he ought to have, frugality and the dread of unnecessary expense will be no part of their learning, whatever else they may learn. But if the greatest allowance to a beneficiary be always the least that will enable him, with the utmost frugality and with all reasonable exertion, to live from one appropriation to another, certainly there is no better way of teaching him frugality, than to give him that allowance, with the full understanding on his part, that he must live within those means or abandon his studies. "Owe no man any thing but love," saith the Scripture; and so ought the Education Society to say to all its beneficiaries. But instead of this, the whole discipline of the Society now teaches a contrary lesson. Through the whole course of his education, the beneficiary is taught to live upon the future. Run in debt and

fear not, is the first lesson taught him by those great and good men, who founded the patron Society and framed its rules. However alarming and oppressive the idea of being in debt may be at first, the burthen by being long borne and gradually accumulated, sits easy on his conscience. This is not the right way to train a man for the ministry. To be in debt is a dangerous thing for a man's moral sensibilities and moral habits. He who is habitually in debt, is always in danger of thinking lightly of his obligations to his creditors. For more than one reason, the rule of the Methodists, requiring every candidate who applies for admission to the body of their itinerating and ruling clergy, to declare that he is not in debt, is worthy of commendation. The directors of the Education Society have a pretty good security that their beneficiaries will not turn Methodists.

We are told, however, that this loan is of a peculiar character; it is "a paternal loan," and payment is not to be sternly enforced, if the beneficiary is in a situation in which he cannot pay without being distressed. For this very reason it is the worst kind of a loan, in its moral effect on the feelings and habits of the debtor. Debts which are not to be paid, unless it shall be convenient to pay them, are of all debts most likely to eat out a man's integrity. If the benefaction is to be called a loan, let it be a loan in good faith, and let the borrower understand clearly that when the payday comes, payment will be exacted to the last cent, so long as there is any law to compel payment; and the debtor may feel from beginning to end a salutary dread. But this growing debt which is yet no debt, weakens his sense of the obligation of all debts.

And when at last the beneficiary, having completed his preparation, comes forth as a candidate for the

ministry, what is his position? Under a load of debt, and long instructed to expect that the profits of his profession will soon enable him to pay the debts which have been accumulating for six or eight years, he looks around to see where those profits are to be realized. What is he then? A free minister of Jesus Christ, ready to go wherever he may do good, and able to rise above all secular considerations? No. He is compelled, in conscience, to be a parish-seeker—an inquirer after desirable vacancies. The question with him is, not simply, Where can I do good? but Where can I get a salary large enough to pay my debts? How embarrassing must it be to stand in such a position. How unfavorable to the development of that free, enterprising, self-consecrating spirit, which ought always to characterize the ministry of Christ, and most of all in such a country and such times as ours.

We know there is a pledge that if the beneficiary will go on a mission either to foreign lands, or to the remote and destitute parts of our own country, his obligations to the society shall be cancelled. But is this a good argument to employ with men to make missionaries of them? Does it represent the missionary work in the most attractive and inspiring light? Who wants men to go on missions, as defaulters run to Texas, to get rid of their liabilities? Besides, what shall the man who contemplates the acceptance of this offer, do for the satisfaction of his other creditors? The doctrine of running in debt for an education, taken in connection with the scantiness of the loans made by the society—which are but little more than half enough to support a young man at his studies—has led him to contract other debts in the expectation of being able to pay all out of his salary as a minister. Thus in addition to the five hundred dollars or more which he owes to the society;

he owes another five hundred dollars or less to other friends; and those other friends cannot afford to release him on the single condition of his emigrating. Like Peter, in the prison, he is "bound with two chains," and the offer that one shall be loosed if he will first break the other, can hardly be expected to operate like the summons of the angel—"Arise up, quickly"—to the chained apostle. "The chains" will not "fall off his hands" at such a word.

But let him obtain a settlement in a good New England parish. Now he must begin to save from his salary in order to pay his debts. But how is this saving to be made? Go into his study, and you may see. Where are his books? You look around for shelves. Ah! his library can be accommodated without shelves. Here lie his books upon the table. What are they? First, the Bible, in our good old English version. Well, the Bible is the best of books. What next? What helps has he—what apparatus for the critical study of that sacred book which it is his profession and his official duty to interpret and expound? Here is the old Greek Testament which he studied in the grammar school; Robinson's Lexicon he had once, but he sold it when he left the Seminary, hoping to buy another after he had ceased to be a candidate, and he wears the proceeds in the form of a shirt. Meanwhile if he looks into his Greek Testament and cannot remember the meaning of a word, he ascertains its meaning by reverting to the translation. Now for his commentaries. Has he Scott, Henry, or the Comprehensive? Has he Kuinoel, Rosenmueller, or Calvin? None of these. But he has two volumes of Barnes' Notes on the Gospel, which he bought when he was a Sabbath-school teacher, and one volume of Hodge on the Romans, in the abridged form, which was given to him, in

the spirit of disinterested benevolence, by an Old School Presbyterian elder. Here, too, is Abbott's Young Christian, and the Life of Harriet Newell, but they belong to the family in which he is a lodger, and have strayed into his room from the parlor below. Where is Dwight's Theology? Where are the Works of Emmons and of either Edwards? How is it that his mind is to be quickened and enlarged by habitual communion with the mighty minds of other days? How is his mind to keep pace with the progress of theological studies? How is he to know what is said and done in the great world? Does he take the Biblical Repository? No. Does he take the Edinburgh Review, or the North American, or the American Eclectic? Nothing of the kind. He has heard of the New Englander, and his heart has ached to subscribe for it; but no, he is in debt, and he must buy no books till his debts are paid. He takes a newspaper, and the Missionary Herald; sundry pamphlets are sent to him by mail, the postage of which is more than the price of them would have been at a bookstore; and this is all his intellectual aliment. Is this the way in which the pastor of a New England congregation ought to begin his ministry? Why, in a year or two, long before that fatal debt is paid, his mind comes to a dead halt; his habits of study, and his sympathies with the intellectual world, are destroyed; his sermons are commonplace iterations of the ideas which he picked up in the theological lecture-room; his people are disappointed in him, and begin to complain; he begins to be discouraged, and to look about for a better place. So much for the necessity of saving out of a small salary, to pay debts.

Sometimes it is said, let such a minister remain unmarried a few years; and the salary which his people give for the support of a

family will enable him to throw off his load. But where is the parish that wants its minister to remain unmarried, an object for village coquettes and desponding spinsters to set their caps at? And is such advice likely to be followed? He who has not bound himself by an irrevocable vow of celibacy, is very apt to be persuaded, as soon as he has a home and an income, that his usefulness as well as his happiness will be promoted by his entering into the family state; and, if his choice is a wise one, we will let others dispute the soundness of his conclusion. But suppose that the subject of matrimony comes into his mind in close connection with the thought of paying his debts, how natural will it be for him to look about him far and near, and perhaps to perform some adventurous journeys, for the sake of finding—not a wife, whose piety and affection and plain good sense, whose kindness and gentleness towards all, and whose habits of industry and thrift, shall make his lowly home the brightest and happiest in the parish, a model household—but a wife, whose portion shall relieve him from his embarrassments. What then? We write not for him who needs to ask such questions.

Let us be allowed to hope, then, that in this particular, the rules of the American Education Society will be reformed. Let the beneficiaries hereafter be taught in every practicable way, that a debt is a dreadful thing for him who would serve Christ in the ministry of the Gospel; and if it be possible, let them come forth to their work free from all secular embarrassment. The effect on the spirit and character of the ministry generally, would be invaluable. Let it henceforth be a first principle with us, to educate, if possible, those who

shall "owe no man any thing but love."

It has always been deemed a noble charity to aid the efforts of a youthful mind, striving in the face of poverty, to cultivate its powers and to raise itself into the highest walks of usefulness. This is the charity of the Education Society. John Newton had in his congregation an unfriended young Scotchman, who, having found peace in believing, was moved by a desire to qualify himself for the ministry of peace. The good pastor approving and nurturing that desire, introduced the aspirant after usefulness to John Thornton, and that more than princely merchant sent the young Scotchman, at his own expense, to the University of Cambridge. Suppose now that this were the end of the story. Was it not a generous charity on the part of Newton and Thornton? Had not they a reward in the consciousness of having acted kindly and generously? Might they not read with humble joy, the words of their Savior, "Forasmuch as ye have done it to one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it to me." But who was the beneficiary in that instance? CLAUDIUS BUCHANAN—whose name India, converted to Christ, will hold in thankful remembrance, when the names of Clive and Hastings are effaced from her monuments. Could the reader look into the cheerless apartment of many a young man in our colleges, he might see there a spirit kindred to that of Buchanan, struggling perhaps with discouragements which Buchanan never knew. Could he peruse the catalogue of those whom the Education Society has counted as its sons, he might read there names which the churches and the nations are already learning to pronounce with something of the reverence due to greatness and to goodness.

RESEMBLANCE OF CERTAIN LANGUAGES TO THE LATIN.

THERE is no closer test of the proximity of two kindred languages, than an attempt by one who is familiarly acquainted with each, to write a paragraph which shall read equally well in either language. Some attempts of this kind have been made in reference to languages cognate with the Latin, which may be regarded as philological curiosities.

1. *Italian and Latin.*

The great etymological affinity between Italian and Latin, is illustrated by the following lines addressed to Venice, by a citizen of that republic before its fall, which read equally in both languages. It is of course a constrained composition, and serves merely to show the possibility of the thing.

Te saluto, alma Dea, Dea generosa,
O gloria nostra, O Veneta Regina!
In procelloso turbine funesto
Tu regnasti segura; mille membra
Intrepida prostrasti in pugna acerba.
Per te miser non fui, per te non gemo;
Vivo in pace per te. Regna, O beata,
Regna in prospera sorte, in alta pompa,
In augusto splendore, in aurea sede.
Tu serena, tu placida, tu pia,
Tu benigna; tu salva, ama, conserva.

There is also the following well-known invocation to the Virgin Mary, the lines of which, besides the

words being in both languages, retain the poetical measure in both.

In mare irato, in subita procella,
Invoco te, nostra benigna Stella.

Matthews, (Diary of an Invalid, c. 10,) adds these verses:

Vivo in acerba pena, in mesto orrore,
Quando te non imploro, in te non spero,
Purissima Maria, et in sincero
Te non adoro et in divino ardore.

2. *Spanish and Latin.*

The Spanish language has a similar resemblance to the Latin. But we are unable to exemplify it.

3. *Portuguese and Latin.*

The following verses which may

be read indifferently as Portuguese or as Latin, evidently prove the very great analogy which these two languages bear to each other. It is a hymn to Saint Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins.

Canto tu|as pal|mas, fa|mosos | canto tri|umphos,
Ursula, divinos, martyr, concede favores.
Subjectas, sacra nympha, feros animosa tyrannos.
Tu Phoenix vivendo ardes, ardendo triumphas.
Illustres generosa choras das, Ursula, bellas,
Das rosa bella rosas, fortes das sancta columnas.
Aeternos vivas annos, O regia planta!

Devotos cantando hymnos, vos invoco sanctas;
 Tam puras nymphas amo; O candida turba,
 Per vos innumeros de Christo spero favores.

4. French and Latin.

The French has less resemblance to the Latin than the Italian or Portuguese has.

The following sentence is taken from Caesar, a Latin writer, slightly altered:

Tota Gallia est divisa in tres partes.

Translated into French, it would read thus:

Toute la Gaule est divisée en trois parties.

5. Sanscrit and Latin.

The learned French philologist, F. G. Eichhoff, in his *Parallele des Langues de l'Europe et de l'Inde*, Paris, 1836, fol., has illustrated the resemblance between Sanscrit and Latin, by the following sentence composed in these two languages.

Sanscrit: Râjam Pâlâçvan Râj-nîm Amalân Yuva-Râjam Bhrâtârn Svasârç-ca Tâyatâm Mahâ-daivas.

Latin: Regem Philippum Regium Amaliam Juvenem Regium Fratres Sororesque tueatur Magnus Deus.

NOEHDEN'S GERMAN GRAMMAR.*

THIS grammar is called Noehden's on the cover; but as the accomplished German scholar who has edited it informs us, is indebted for its most important parts to the grammatical works of Dr. Becker. The truth is, that Noehden was far behind the present race of philologists in his attainments, and that since he first published his grammar, a new light has been thrown upon the German language by the study of the ancient dialects with which it has affinity. The results of these new investigations, Becker, who is we believe a physician, residing near Frankfort on the Maine, has embodied in his grammatical works; and has added to them some very acute and original observations on syntax. Others have followed in his train, and applied

the same syntactical divisions to the Greek and Latin grammar. The extensive works of Grotefend on Latin, and of Kühner on Greek grammar, are modified according to his principles; and it now seems likely, that the next age will have grammatical terms and an analysis of propositions, unknown to their fathers. The old works must of course suffer the fate of being put up on a high shelf and being forgotten, if, as seems likely, the new system can maintain its ground. It is not however received with universal favor: the older scholars object to its application to the Greek and Latin; and at one of the late meetings of the union of German philologists, a number of voices, if we are not misinformed, were lifted up against it.

So far as we know, Becker's views have never been exhibited in English, except in his "Grammar of the German language," published at London in 1830, and written ap-

* Noehden's German Grammar, with alterations and large additions, by Rev. B. SEARS, D. D., President of the New-tons Theological Institution. Andover, 1842.

parently by himself in our tongue. His mind does not seem to be the clearest in the world, nor is his arrangement in all respects good. We are disposed to object, for the purposes of teaching, to his placing the verb before the noun and pronoun, a method, which, when applied to Greek, as it is by Kühner, brings the most formidable and appalling forms of grammar before the student at the outset, and tends fairly to frighten him from the study of the language. This arrangement is not followed by Prof. Sears, in the grammar before us. But there are many observations in the first or etymological part, which would be more in their place if in the syntax, while the chapter on the composition of words, which is inserted in the syntax, seems to be out of its place, and ought to be put at the beginning of the etymology, (as Becker has done in his English-German grammar,) or with still more propriety, at the end.

The principal fault we have to find with this grammar, is, that Dr. Sears was not called soon enough into the councils of the booksellers who projected it. If by earlier advice he could have made it all of a piece, and carried his improvements through with a more sweeping hand, the work would have gained as much more perhaps by his means, as it has now gained over the original work of Noehden. We would suggest, that when this edition is exhausted, the learned editor, (than whom no one in our country is better, if as well, qualified for the task,) should throw away what remains of Noehden, and put new matter in its place; that he should rearrange the work, and make more clear to the beginner some of Becker's new terms, and should call the work, as it ought to be called, by his own name. We doubt not that it would long continue in use as the guide for students of German.

But what do so many German grammars, published within a few years—Follen's, Fosdick's, Hempel's, Noehden's, and we know not how many others—portend? To some alarmists they portend every thing that is evil; all that is erroneous in religion, unintelligible in philosophy, and fantastical in works of polite literature. Such persons would have us avoid all contact with a nation of minds so perverted, and it raises their pulse to see the ugly letters to which, with national fondness, the Germans still adhere, as if these letters expressed the sounds of a dangerous cabalistic philosophy.

To such persons we would say, that the study is among us for good or evil, and is rather forwarded than hindered, by the notes of alarm that are rung against it. Do they suppose that young men of inquisitive minds will be deterred by such denunciations, against a language and its whole literature; and not rather have their curiosity excited to taste the forbidden poison, and drink it the more eagerly after the first trial? Our impression is, that as long as there is a number of persons in a certain part of our country, who are enamored of a certain sort of German philosophy, and who, without understanding it, are giving out crude bits of it to the world as specimens of wisdom, that the cure for these crudities must come in part from the same study. "Drinking largely must sober us again." It must be seen in the history of the successive systems of philosophy which have tilted with each other in that land of speculation; how little of positive and permanent result has been gained, and how little likely the murky followers of Hegel are to be remembered beyond their generation, and to give the watchword to the next age. So in theology, the age of scepticism in that country is in a measure passed; rationalism has

become old, and most of its earlier views would now be pronounced exceedingly shallow. The study even of this revolution is most instructive, and most cheering for the friends of the Scriptures. It shows, that whatever difficulties have been found and discussed in the deep researches made by the Germans into the Scriptures, still there remains a groundwork of truth which cannot be washed away, and to which, one after another of these floating disbelievers returns upon his little plank, and seeks there that resting place which he could find no where else.

But lest it should be thought that we view the study of German as a necessary evil, into which we are brought in order to counteract the bad uses that are made of it, we will add before closing, one or two positive grounds, why this language and literature should receive attention. And in the first place, there is much that is healthy in German literature. It expresses the honest, simple, earnest character, the deep feeling, and the imaginative turn of the national mind. There is no literature of Europe so akin to our own, and none upon which ours has had so much influence. Every educated boy and girl now must study French. But what is there in French, with the exception of a few works that one may count upon his finger's ends, calculated to rouse the mind to vigorous thought, or to kindle a healthy enthusiasm. In poetry, their drama is but finely wrought declamation; and their songs the breathings of gross voluptuousness. And neither in prose nor in poetry, if we may judge, have they produced any truly great work, any thing—with the exception of Pascal's works—which the world would be much the worse off for losing. The affinity of their language with the Latin, has tended to fetter their literature and make it imitative; their despotic institu-

tions long cramped the free energies of their minds; their material philosophy united with their faith, or want of it, to degrade the tone of their moral feeling; and perhaps to all this must be added, an original insusceptibility to the higher emotions. But the Germans are the reverse of all this. They incline to the spiritual rather than the material. Their imagination oftener has an undue ascendancy, than a feeble sway. In thinking and feeling they are as uncontrolled, as they are peaceful in acting. Having an original language, they are capable also of an original literature. They are seldom found to lose sight of the great distinctions of morality, or to write without earnestness of purpose and without an important end. When therefore it is told us, that their greatest writer, Goethe, wrote with no lofty moral purpose in view, and Proteus-like, rather strove to represent things under every beautiful form of art, than to express lofty sentiments and to do good; we may put by his side Schiller, who had an equal love of beauty, and whose heart beat in unison with freedom and morality, as well as a host of poets of inferior name, the tendency of whose works is at least as good as that of their English contemporaries.

Another reason for the study of German is, that it affords helps in every branch of study, which one cannot do without. This is particularly the case with all historical and critical investigations. There is hardly a period of history, which has not been explored with fidelity and impartiality, by some able German writer; hardly a branch of art or literature, for whose history we are not indebted to the same indefatigable nation. In the history of literature, from the meagre outline to the critical examination according to the rules of taste, they have done more than all nations put to-

gether. It would be safe to say, that more and better criticism on Shakspeare has been given to the world by Germans, within forty years, than the English have produced during all the time since Shakspeare lived. In these studies, they show on the whole, more patience and less partiality in weighing facts than any others; and when the principles of art are concerned, show a depth of feeling and a power of judgment, which throw French and even English criticism, completely into the shade.

We will only add, that the study of German enables us to understand our own language better, and to employ a better taste in the selection of words. Here we find those short and strong words which are the crown of our own tongue, but

which the taste of the age of Johnson had nearly thrown out of the written style. Here we find a dialect of the same parentage with our own, which has flowed along through past ages nearly free from Latin admixture, and we learn thus to value more highly than our fathers could, the earliest ingredients of our own language. We think no one can study German long without gaining a simpler taste, and becoming able to make a better choice of words; to keep to those which have sounded in the ear of England since the time of Alfred, and to throw aside those, where they are not necessary, which wandered across the channel into Saxon England, and took up their abode by the title of the sword, on a soil which was not their own.

MURDOCK'S MODERN PHILOSOPHY.*

THE character of this work is expressed in the title. It is an historical sketch of the various modes of philosophizing, or of the fundamental principles of the different systems of intellectual philosophy, from the days of Des Cartes to the present time, especially among the Germans. In traversing so wide a field, the author was obliged to confine his observations to a brief statement of the general principles of the several systems, or swell his work far beyond the limits which he had prescribed to himself. The phraseology of the work is so precise, the distinctions so clear and well defined,

the style so lucid, that the reader finds nothing to desire, but a work of equal ability exhibiting a more full development of the *systems* of philosophy that were erected on these various foundations. We were forcibly impressed in reading, with the adaptation of the work to be a textbook in college, introductory to the study of this department of philosophy. A second edition, enlarged by sketches of the English and Scotch systems of philosophy, would be admirably adapted to this purpose; as it would furnish the student with exactly the kind and amount of knowledge which he must have if he would read intelligently the works of any particular philosopher, or listen with advantage to the lectures of his professor.

* Sketches of Modern Philosophy, especially among the Germans. By JAMES MURDOCK, D.D. Hartford, published by John C. Wells, 1842, pp. 201, 18mo. Price, 50 cents.

REVIEW OF RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS.

UNION CONVENTION.

A CONVENTION called by ministers and laymen of the principal evangelical denominations was held in New York, in May, 1842, to take into consideration the practicability and duty of evangelizing the present generation of heathen. A committee was appointed, consisting of one from each of the denominations represented in the convention, whose duty it is to collect and publish information which they may consider adapted to warm the zeal of Protestant Christendom, and stimulate their efforts in this great enterprise. The committee is also charged with the duty of calling a similar convention in New York, in May, 1843. Resolutions were passed, condemning a sectarian spirit, and expressing a strong sense of the duty of a cordial union and co-operation among all evangelical Protestants in the cause of Christian missions to the heathen; but the design of interfering with the present denominational arrangements for the prosecution of the work, was expressly disclaimed. We think it suitable to make a distinct record of this meeting, regarding it as a sign of the wide diffusion of a zealous missionary spirit, and perhaps as the origin of a series of successful measures for enkindling, purifying, and spreading that spirit through every branch of the true church.

MEETING OF THE AMERICAN BOARD.

The anniversary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, was held in Norwich, Connecticut, on the 13th, 14th, and 15th days of September. There were many circumstances which invested the occasion with uncommon interest.

The place of meeting awakened,
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in the minds of all present, the memory of names embalmed in the hearts of American Christians; the names of Harriet L. Winslow, of Sarah Lanman Smith, and of no less than eighteen others, natives of Norwich, who have given their lives for the salvation of the heathen. These devoted missionaries have associated the very name of their native town with the evangelization of the world; and no mind, of Christian principles, could be in the midst of the scenes of their childhood, in the church where they were inspired with the missionary spirit, in the presence of their kindred who gave them to the work, without feeling awed and melted by a profound and tender sympathy.

The presence of an unusually large number of foreign missionaries, added intensely to the interest of the meeting. There were Bingham, Scudder, and Perkins, whose self-denying labors, from the commencement of their respective missions in the Sandwich Islands, in Ceylon, and among the Nestorians of Persia, have been indefatigable; and to whom, as much as to any others, the Board is indebted, through the Divine favor, for the brightest chapters in the history of its operations. Nor these alone. Not less than fifteen others, connected with the various stations of the Board, or once connected, were present, surrounded each by his respective circle of friends, and regarded by all with peculiar affection. There, too, was Mar Yohannan, the excellent Nestorian bishop, the first and the fast friend of our missionaries to his country, who had accompanied Mr. Perkins to America, for the purpose of qualifying himself for greater usefulness, and in person to thank us for sending the pure Gospel to his people.

The interest of the meeting was farther heightened by the attendance of an unprecedented number of ministers and other friends of missions. At the lowest estimate there were not less than six hundred strangers present, a majority of them clergymen.

But the grand source of interest lay in the financial condition and prospects of the Board. The previous anniversary, in 1841, found a deficiency in the treasury of more than fifty thousand dollars. The friends of the cause were alarmed. An unparalleled state of embarrassment in the business of the country, was the manifest cause of this deficiency; but the cause was still in full operation, with no immediate prospect of relief. What could be done? This question was answered by a nearly unanimous pledge on the part of those who attended the meeting in 1841, to increase their subscriptions at least twenty five per cent. on those of the year previous, and to use their influence to induce the churches, with which they were connected, to adopt the same course. The reports of the monthly receipts of the Board were thenceforward anticipated with trembling solicitude, until the certainty of liquidating the debt of the Board became apparent. The churches came up nobly to the work; so that at the close of the financial year in August, 1842, it appeared that the expenditures of the year, including the debt of the previous year, were three hundred and eighteen thousand nine hundred and fifty five dollars and ninety three cents; and the receipts three hundred and eighteen thousand three hundred and ninety six dollars and fifty three cents, leaving the Board indebted only to the amount of five hundred and fifty nine dollars and forty cents. It was in these circumstances, so full of joy, and calling for the profoundest gratitude to Divine providence, that the Board met at Norwich. But it was felt

the crisis had not passed. The churches had contributed more than one hundred thousand dollars above the contributions of the year preceding. But it might prove to be a spasmodic effort. It was known, that in some instances at least, donations had been made, which would not be repeated; and that an interest in domestic missions was rising in the churches, which would direct an unprecedented amount of their charities to that channel. In this, all rejoiced; but it was feared that the cause of foreign missions might be left to suffer.

It was, therefore, with contending feelings of hope and fear, that the Board convened at Norwich. The problem to be solved was, can the Board expect to be sustained the ensuing year, by an amount of contributions equal to that of the year just ended. The main objects of the meeting were to ascertain, by a free expression of opinion, the views of the friends of the cause on this point, and if possible, to awaken in the hearts of that great assembly of ministers and Christians, a more ardent and intelligent missionary spirit, which, through them, might extend to all the churches. These objects, it was hoped, were accomplished. The reports from the various parts of the country were, in general, highly encouraging. It appeared that the pastors had labored to prevent the impression from prevailing among their people, that the liberality of the last year was called for by an emergency, and not by the constant wants of the cause. And many of the speakers expressed a determination, for themselves and their friends, to equal, if not to surpass, their last annual contributions. Thus far, however, the monthly receipts of the Board have not equalled the receipts of the corresponding months of the previous year. The next annual meeting of the Board is appointed to be held in Rochester, N. Y.

THE AMERICAN EDUCATION SOCIETY.

A special meeting of this society was held in Park street church, Boston, October 19th, 20th, and 21st. The directors were induced to call the meeting by the financial embarrassments of the society, which, in the opinion of some, were owing, not so much to the commercial distress of the country, as to a want of confidence, extensively prevailing, both in the necessity of such an institution and in the wisdom of its management. The directors thought it not best to make a new appeal to the Christian public for funds, without first submitting the fundamental principle of gratuitous aid to young men preparing for the ministry, and all the specific regulations of the society, to the reconsideration of the members.

After a long and able discussion, it was unanimously decided by the meeting, that the principle on which the American Education Society is founded, is correct, viz. "That indigent young men, of piety and suitable intellectual promise, ought to receive pecuniary assistance in obtaining an education for the ministry." The question, whether any general organization ought to exist for this purpose was also discussed at length, and unanimously decided in the affirmative. A committee, afterwards appointed on the principle of gratuitous aid, and the expediency of a general organization, reported to the same effect. A committee on the present organization of the society, next reported in favor of a revision of the standing rules of the society; and after discussion, a resolution was passed to the effect, that the constitution and regulations of the society need revision, and referring the whole subject, as it had been before the meeting, to a special committee, to consider and report at the next meeting of the society. In a brief statement of the results of this meeting, the society expresses its

conviction, that the reason for its establishment remains in undiminished force, and that the system can be so modified as to secure the end in view, and command the fullest confidence of the Christian public.

We cannot but hope that the able committee, to whom this important subject is thus referred, will embody the three following rules in their plan:

1. *The aid of this society shall be extended only to members of college.* This rule would oblige the student in the first and last stages of his education, in the academy and theological seminary, to look to other sources of assistance. In his theological course he should be aided to the extent of his necessities, by the permanent funds of the institution of which he is a member. In other words, our theological seminaries should be endowed with the means of furnishing to every indigent student his board, lodging, and fuel, without charge. And these privileges should be granted to every member, on his own declaration of indigence, or inability to pay for them. We have no doubt our theological seminaries, each in its own sphere of influence, would not appeal in vain to the Christian public for this object. Benevolent men of affluence would be raised up to found scholarships, by immediate donations, and by legacies, until all our seminaries would be adequately endowed. In the course of study preparatory to college, some aid might be rendered by well endowed academies, by churches, and by benevolent individuals. But happily, a young man of doubtful promise, would not be likely to obtain encouragement from any of these sources. None but young men of sound judgment, of studious habits, of quick perceptions, of Christian gravity, would awaken sufficient interest. If any persons of dull parts, or of equivocal character, were brought forward, it would only be by the aid of their

family friends. This rule would therefore guard the entrance to the ministry, through the Education Society, against unsuitable persons. This it would the more surely effect, because a much safer judgment can be formed of the capacities and main characteristics of a young man, after he has entered college, than at an earlier period of his education. On the other hand, the rule might possibly prevent some from preparing for the ministry, who would have adorned the sacred profession. Not many such instances, however, would be likely to occur. The class of young men from which we wish to draw our ministers, will find sufficient encouragement for their enterprising minds, in the prospect of aid in college; and they will press through a course of preparatory study, by their own unaided efforts, if aid cannot be had from others.

2. *The aid of this society shall be conferred on all young men of piety in our colleges, who sustain a specified rank or standing as scholars, on a declaration by them of their need of such assistance, and of their intention to be ministers of the Gospel.* A certain rank in the class should be fixed upon as the lowest grade of scholarship, for which the aid of the society should be granted. Whoever fell below this point, would be obliged either to leave college, or to go on by the aid of his friends, until he could take the necessary rank. The distribution of the quarterly appropriations should be entrusted, we think, to a committee in each college, where there are students entitled to aid; and be distributed by them according to their best judgment, either in equal sums, or in proportion to the necessities of the several applicants, or in a compound ratio of their wants and their merits. The society would then be a mere financial agent, whose sole business it is to collect funds and pay them over

to the college committees in sums varying with the number of students in each entitled to patronage. The responsibility of bestowing the patronage would rest on the several college committees; and upon them would come both the honor of success and the disgrace of disappointment. The effect on the students would also be happy. Greater attention would be paid to a thorough preparation for entering college. And as the aid of the society would partake very much of the nature of a reward for literary and scientific attainments, it would be so far divested of an eleemosynary character, and constitute a motive, like those of active life, for the greatest intellectual exertion.

3. *The aid of this society shall be a free gift.* The great body of our ministers are unable to save from their small salaries the means of refunding the expenditures of a nine years' course of study. But if they were relieved from the necessity of paying their college bills, they might generally be able to liquidate any debts that they may be obliged to contract, while preparing for college, or in a theological seminary.

THE AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY.

A special meeting of this society was held in the Broadway Tabernacle, New York, on the 25th day of October. It was called by the executive committee, for the purpose of laying before the society the urgent wants of the cause, and of obtaining a full expression of views respecting the various operations and plans of the committee. They wished particularly to ascertain whether they should be sustained by the churches, in making such appropriations to the missionary boards as would enable them to place at least one Christian tract in the hands of every accessible individual of the present generation of

heathen ; in extending liberal aid to the system of colporteur operations in Europe ; and giving at least one small volume of the society's publications to every accessible family in the United States, particularly at the West, who are either unable or unwilling to pay for it? These, with many other topics of minor interest, came before the meeting, and were discussed with great ability and effect. From the printed account of the proceedings, and reports of speeches, we judge that the result of the meeting cannot fail to realize the most sanguine expectations of the committee. The application of the colporteur system to this country will be viewed with universal approbation by evangelical Christians. There can be no better method of carrying the Gospel to the Catholic and other destitute population of the West. No wiser appropriation of funds can be made, than to send at once a hundred pious laymen into the western states, to sell and give away as they are able, the publications of the society, and to embrace every opportunity of prayer and religious conversation with the families which they visit.

THE AMERICAN HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

The conductors of this noble institution have been, and still are, pressed far beyond their means, by the growing conviction of the Christian public, that fourfold more ought

to be done to plant churches, with an educated ministry, in all the new states of our country. This conviction has yet failed to do its proper work, by opening the hearts of Christians to contribute the necessary funds, while it has directed the attention of a greater number of ministers to that field, than the society has had means to send out. We look with confidence for speedy and decisive expressions of unprecedented liberality to this cause.

THE STATE OF THE CHURCHES.

The past year is not distinguished by any striking degree of prosperity in our churches. Some colleges, and some other institutions of learning ; some cities and some villages, few compared with the whole number over the wide face of our country, have been the happy scenes of a deep and sanctifying religious interest and influence. Some new churches have been gathered ; some that had gone to decay, have been resuscitated ; many new houses of worship have been erected ; old houses have been repaired ; numerous destitute churches have received pastors ; fewer ministers have been dismissed than in some former years ; and the ministry has in general been well and cheerfully supported by the people. Union, peace, and fraternal confidence, have at no period of our history, prevailed to a greater extent among the ministers and churches of New England.

QUARTERLY CHRONICLE.

An event which promises well for the cause of religious liberty, occurred in New Orleans within the last half year. A controversy arose between the wardens of the cathedral church St. Louis, and the Ro-

man Catholic bishop, relating to the appointment of a successor to the lately deceased Abbe Monie, curé of the cathedral. The bishop appointed a successor, and the wardens declared, the appointment null and

void. And they even questioned the legality of the title of the bishop, contending that the authority to appoint to that office, rests not with the pope but the sovereignty of the country. At a subsequent election of wardens, the strength of parties was tested, and the opponents of the bishop triumphed by a majority of five hundred votes out of one thousand four hundred. Why cannot they advance another step, to the discovery that the appointment of religious teachers rests, not with any civil power, but with the churches that are to be served by them?

A project for planting Irish Catholic colonies in the western states, has been proposed by an English Catholic gentleman. His plan is set forth in a pamphlet published last summer, in London and Dublin. He proposes to form a General Emigration Society, or a sort of stock company, having in view the removal from Ireland of the surplus Catholic population, in a way to promote the pecuniary interests of the stockholders, to advance the Catholic religion in the United States, to open a new market for British manufactures, and to afford an asylum to the younger sons of the English nobility and gentry, and other gentlemen who are unable to live at home in a style becoming their rank. The society or company is to purchase, of the United States, portions of prairie land, to erect thereon suitable dwellings for the emigrants, to pay their passage to this country, and in return, the emigrants are to pledge themselves to labor for the society, not less than three years, at reduced wages, under the direction of their priests. This plan, it is supposed, will yield a large profit upon the investment, eight per cent. of which is to be paid to the stockholders, and the surplus is to be added to the capital, for the continued export of pauperism from the parent state, and for the support of

Catholic priests, the education of the poor, and the endowment of charitable institutions in the colonies. We do not think it necessary to describe, more minutely, this Quixotic scheme; but it deserves notice as an exponent of Catholic zeal, striving to take advantage of the "swarmings" of Irish population to plant the papal heresy in this land; and to beguile, into a support of its measures, every gullible class, by holding out to each some delusive bait suited to its taste. This zeal never tires. And the materials, out of which it is now hoping to weave new chaplets for the pope, are not to be despised. An annual emigration to our shores of hundreds of thousands of ignorant Catholics, will put both religion and liberty in serious peril among us. The Gospel is our sole defense. It is only by a prompt supply of our whole country with Christian books and teachers, that we can maintain the ascendancy.

Case of the Rev. Mr. McQueen.—The Presbyterian church in the United States, represented in the annual General Assembly, has been deeply agitated by the suspension from the Christian ministry of the Rev. Mr. McQueen, by the presbytery of Fayetteville, N. C., for the alledged crime of marrying a sister of his deceased wife, contrary to the last sentence of the 4th section of the 24th chapter of the Confession of Faith, which is as follows: "The man may not marry any of his wife's kindred nearer in blood than he may of his own; nor the woman of her husband's kindred nearer in blood than of her own." The abstract question of the lawfulness of such marriages was brought before the General Assembly at its last annual meeting, and decided agreeably to the Confession of Faith; thus affirming the propriety of the sentence pronounced in the case of Mr. McQueen.

But this decision is not well received by the whole church. The synod of New Jersey, one of the ablest ecclesiastical bodies in the country, at a meeting in Elizabethtown, N. J., on the 18th of October, decided by a vote of fifty-seven to twenty-six, to request the General Assembly to send down to the presbyteries an overture for the erasure from the Confession of Faith, of the sentence just quoted.

We have here, in the first place, the spectacle of one grand division of the Presbyterian church in this country, declaring in the face of the Christian world, that the marriages alluded to are incestuous, a notion so generally exploded in practice and intelligent conviction, that this formal affirmation of it has not the weight of a feather, against the reputation and Christian standing of any man. And in the second place, we see this church which lately ex-

scinded from her communion a body of Christian ministers and churches equal to herself in numbers and piety, for no better reason, to say the least, than that they were charged with being unwilling to subscribe the Confession of Faith, except *for substance of doctrine*; we see this church divided on the question, whether an article of her Confession of Faith is agreeable to Scripture. Some presuming this article to be in harmony with the Bible, are committed to the desperate measure of excommunicating from the church all Christians, and deposing from the ministry all clergymen who are married to sisters of their deceased wives; while others perceiving the article to be unscriptural, have come out boldly in defense of Christian truth. Hereafter they must profess to receive the Confession of Faith *only for substance of doctrine*.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

CONGRESS.

THE last and short session of the twenty seventh Congress is already passing away. The annual message from the President, and the accompanying reports from the heads of departments are before the public. The report from the Secretary of the Treasury, which is made directly to Congress, instead of passing through the hands of the President, has not been received at the date at which we are writing. Our limits will not allow us now to enter on any extended comments on these documents. It may be remarked generally, that in all the departments there appears to have been, under the present administration, some reformation of abuses, and a laudable reduction of unnecessary expenditures. The reports

from the War and Navy Departments in particular, are able papers, scholarlike and statesmanlike—far superior to the message of the President.

Several subjects of much intrinsic or factitious interest to the country are likely to be discussed, and some of them to be acted upon, during the present session. One is already disposed of. Mr. Adams, as the great champion of free thought and free utterance, began his labors for the session, by moving to repeal the famous *twenty first rule* of the House of Representatives. The motion was defeated by a small majority; so that for this session, as for several years past, all memorials relating, in any way, to slavery, are to be denied a hearing.

The *Bankrupt law* is in danger of being repealed before these remarks shall have issued from the press. By the constitution of the United States, it is one of the duties of Congress to provide a uniform system of bankruptcy. No state can, under any circumstances, release a bankrupt from his obligations. Twice, since the

formation of the Federal government, has Congress attempted to perform its duty in this respect. The first bankrupt law was repealed, before it had been in operation long enough for a fair experiment. The second is now to share the same fate. Whatever mischief it was capable of doing by its retrospective operation, dissolving the obligation of contracts which were made when no such law was in existence—is already done. Whatever good it was capable of performing as an established element of the commercial law of the country, by discouraging extravagant credit, or by enabling creditors, in any part of the country, to compel a dishonest and defaulting debtor in any other part of the country to surrender his property—commercial men have hardly begun to realize. Thus we are to have a new instance of that instability of legislation, so unpropitious to industry and so disastrous to morals, which afflicts the country.

The Postmaster General recommends in his report the *reduction of postage*, and in order to this he recommends—not the abolition, but the regulation of the franking privilege. This will end in nothing. The franking privilege cannot be regulated. The entire abolition of that privilege, at least in the form in which it now exists, is indispensable to any thorough reformation. Such reduction of postage as may be effected while franking is retained, will be of little account.

The President recommends a revision of the *tariff of duties on imports*, which has just gone into operation. The same thing we perceive is urged by some of the leading journals of the tariff party. We cannot but express our regret that the framers of this new tariff—if we may call that *new*, which so soon waxes old and is ready to vanish away—should have proceeded with so resolute a defiance of whatever is simple and well established in political economy, as to be compelled in less than half a year to attempt the emendation of their own work.

It is not probable that any thing will give rise to more debate, or will occupy more time, than the proposal to refund to *General Jackson* the amount of a *fine*, imposed on him by a legal tribunal in New Orleans, for a contempt of court, soon after the close of the last war.

This proposal, though endorsed by the chief magistrate of the United States, may be pronounced the latest political humbug, and seems to our view a little meaner on the part of those who have got it up, than any other that we can at this moment recollect. Few things are more honorable to General Jackson, or to the country which he has served so long, than the readiness with which when his strong passions, not unprovoked, had brought him as a military commander in the flush and pride of victory, into conflict with the law and its ministers, he forced his iron will into submission to the sentence of the court. It is to his honor that during the eight years of his own administration, and during the four years of the administration of his successor, (who gloried in being considered his representative—a sort of '*legate a latere*' from the '*holy see*' of the Hermitage,) no movement of this kind was made by him, or by any of the numerous friends who were ready to do any thing that might be deemed agreeable to him. Though we have never been admirers of all the measures of General Jackson's administration, we have always been ready to yield him due honor; and we are sorry that so bright a leaf is to be plucked from the laurels on that old white head, by men who only want to conjure with his name.

The *Napoleonesque* projections, if we may so call them, of the Secretary of the Navy, will probably receive but little attention at present. The *increase of our naval force* has become a favorite idea with southern statesmen, especially since the abolition of slavery in the British West Indies. Should a general emancipation take place by any accident, in Cuba, we should hear more than ever about the immense importance of our commerce, particularly in the Gulf of Mexico, and should be told more frequently and fiercely than ever, that we have nothing to do with slavery in the southern states, except to maintain armies and navies for its support. But just now, while the government cannot borrow money for its current expenses, economy is too popular, to permit any avoidable enlargement of a branch of the public service so necessarily and immensely expensive as the Navy.



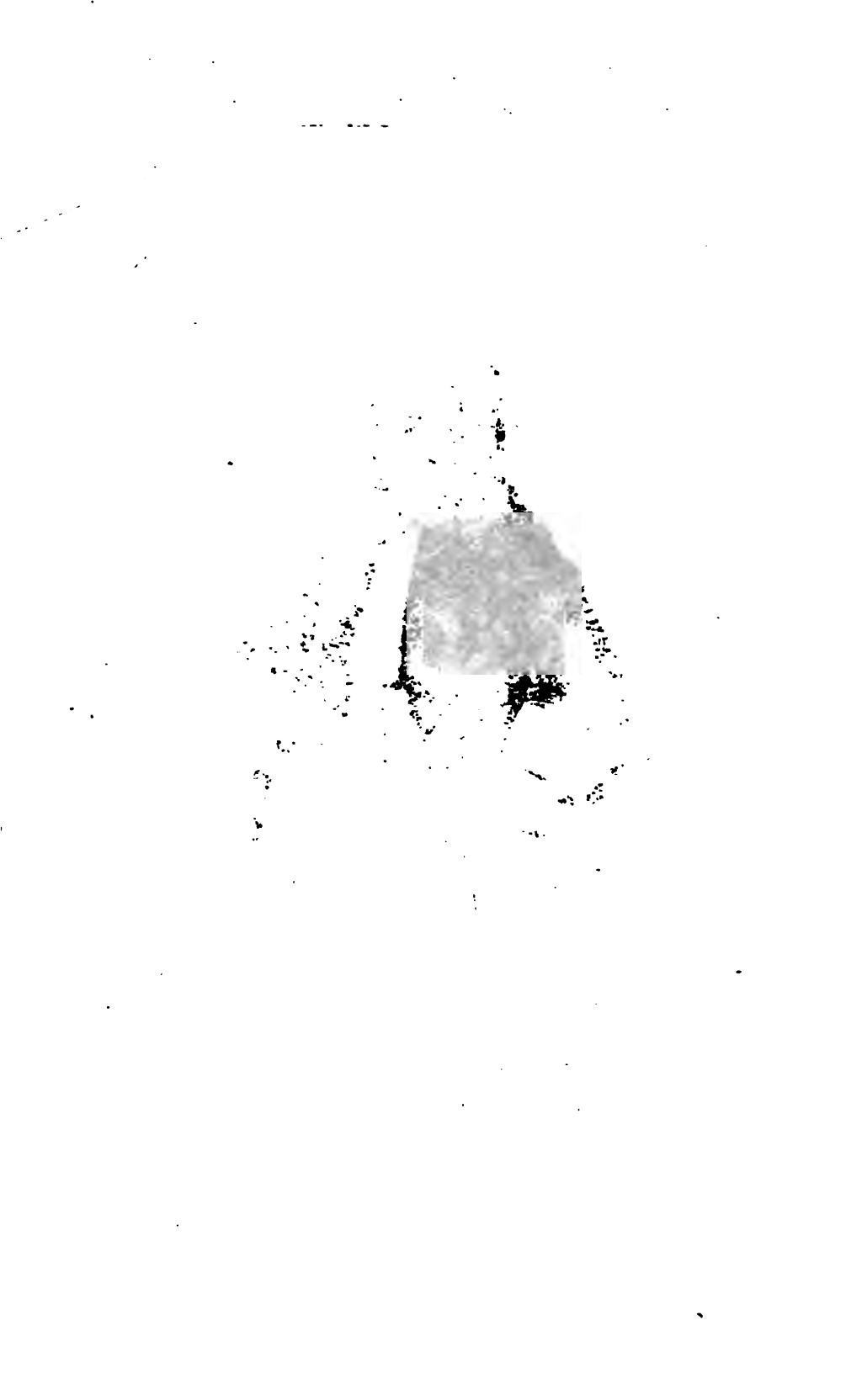
Painted by E. Seeman.

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ELIHU YALE.

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TASTE AND FASHION.

IN the advance of human society towards a finished state, there are two distinct emancipations to be achieved; that which liberates Truth and Reason from the constraints of force, and that which liberates Beauty and Taste from the fetters of fashion. In our modern doctrines of intellectual and religious liberty, we see the first named stage already passed. The other we shall reach in due time. And, when it comes, it will be a more magnificent revolution than many have begun to suspect. As the first opens a daylight of knowledge and science on the world, so the other will add a charm to every thing on which the daylight falls, revealing new forms of beauty in the outward life, new manners and sentiments; banishing, on the one hand, what is rude and unbecoming, and reducing, on the other, the high-born conventionalisms and misnamed elegancies, which have heretofore disfigured society. The last and finishing stage of human advancement, as any reflecting person may see, must be accomplished by the discipline of Taste—it must be that stage in which Beauty descends from heaven to be the clothing of spiritual intelligence and the grace of Christian piety. Zeal and be-

nevolence must learn to put on beauty, and society must be charmed to coalescence in that simple justness of feeling, and grace of conduct, which free our outward state of all its annoyances, and fill it with pleasing ornament.

Hitherto Taste and Beauty, we have said, are under the slavery of Fashion. And yet it is remarkable, that a great part of mankind do actually suppose Taste and Fashion to be very nearly the same thing. This, in fact, *is* the slavery of Fashion, that it is able so to tyrannize over the intelligent perceptions of men, as even to extirpate the distinct idea of Taste, and take the whole empire to itself. Idolatry is not more opposite to religion, or tyranny to government, or falsehood to truth, than Fashion to Taste, and yet a large part of mankind are scarcely able to distinguish between them, or believe that there is any distinction. Taste, they even think, *is* Fashion, and what is fashionable is of course tasteful. Sorely too do they pay for their error. It is one that disfigures their mind; afflicts, drudges and degrades their life; and lays them under the power of an oppression more uncomfortable and real than any that modern liberty has risen upon, and cloven down with arms.

Here then is a great idea to be realized—the emancipation of Taste—to enforce a recognition of its distinctness, in all high points, from fashion; and the right it has, in its own nature, to have an undivided sway. Let it not be supposed that we are about to forget all discretion, in a useless and hopeless crusade against existing fashions. We shall not throw ourselves under the wheels of this idol. We fully accord the wisdom of Johnson, when he declares that “few enterprises are so hopeless as a contest against fashion.” We seek no sudden remedy. We would only endeavor, as far as it lies in us, to produce a just opinion of the merits of fashion, and also a just opinion of the merits of taste; such as will incline us more towards the latter, and give us a growing disrelish of the former, as undignified and pernicious. The good we expect to realize, is not by raising a rebellion, but by cutting off the king’s resources.

Fashion is like sin; no merely expulsive effort can destroy it. It can be expelled only by a higher love. When the eloquent old monk Connecte went through England, preaching down the steeple head-dresses, the ladies were even persuaded to go out of the churches and make a bonfire of their capitals. And so strong was the feeling excited against these absurdities, that the people would even stone them down in the street. What was the result? “The women,” says Paradin, “that, like snails in a fright, had drawn in their horns, shot them out again as soon as the danger was over.” They had tried themselves to give up the obnoxious ornament, and the people had tried to have them, but it could not be done. So vain is the endeavor to preach out fashion, without preaching in taste. If the good old monk had been able in a day, to preach into the minds of the English women a cultivated intellect, a refined criticism, a true

modesty, all that we include in mental beauty, he need not have said a word about the head-dresses.

To prevent misunderstanding, we may as well say too, that it is not merely with fashion, as bearing rule in dress, that we are to be concerned. Fashion extends its power not only to dress and the modes of society, but it exerts a pernicious sway over architecture, furniture, gardening, music, the domestic relations, literature, opinions, moral feeling, religious prejudices—every thing in fact, which belongs to the creative and voluntary power of man. We are to speak of fashion as a *POWER*, and not of its particular manifestations, any farther than these are necessary to characterize it. The most convenient illustrations of fashion are found in the article of dress, and such we shall not scruple to use. Our opinion on this particular head, is not that we are to spurn all conformity to the current modes of dress and forms of society. The conformity, however, should only be slow and partial, or with such variations as to show that taste is consulted, and that the submission yielded is yielded not to fashion, but as a courtesy due to society. There must be current modes of dress and intercourse. It is not more necessary that our coins should be stamped, to show for what they are to pass, than that we ourselves should be. But the difficulty is, that where the current stamp is given by the arbitrary appointment of fashion, it signifies nothing; the lowest and most truly vulgar in character, can receive the stamp as well, and wear it as confidently as the most elevated. Let the current style be adjusted by taste, and then the wearer will signify plainly enough who he is, and show himself into the grade where he belongs. The individual characteristics of society will appear too with a picturesque and lively effect, and yet there will be as little

room for oddity and absurdity as now, and probably less; for the mutual taste will be ever drawing towards certain forms of inherent beauty and convenience.

We come now to the question, What is fashion? What is taste? Let us endeavor to search out the root of our distinction.

In its higher and more sovereign manifestations, fashion is rooted in a desire of caste. Accordingly, in those countries where caste is made an article of religion, and can not therefore be encroached upon, the modes of dress and ceremonies of social life undergo no change, for none is here necessary to keep imitation at a distance. But, in the western countries of the old world, the liberty enjoyed so far endangers caste, that the only way to keep distance, is to lead off in a perpetual round of change in the dress, equipage, and social forms of life. Some new fashion is started, in a quarter entitled to lead. The example is then followed by others in the higher circle, not in the way of imitation, but rather in the way of pride, and under a sort of tacit agreement in the circle, to keep distance and preserve caste. But the new style soon grows common, descending upon a second class called the vulgar, by the circle just named; for a feeling of caste also strays down to these, and they are ambitious to be as like as possible, to what is forever on the stretch to be unlike them. Or, perhaps, the new style becomes so associated with elegance, that they are constrained to suffer it as a model of taste. By this time the fashion has, of course, gone by in the circle where it began.

Truth obliges us to add that what we call fashion in our country, is almost wholly of the second circle. We originate no fashion, unless it be in matters where some kind of false taste is stereotyped and prop-

agated by an over zealous admiration. Accordingly, the term *fashion* carries a sense of imitation with it, on this side of the Atlantic, which is far less prominent on the other. Fashionable people are, with us, a caste-like people for the most part, such as covet the air and show of caste, whatever may become of the substance. They watch the modes of noble dandyism and royalty, on the other side of the water, hasting to receive the very things which the originators invent to put them at a distance, and wearing them, not to give their assent to the insult, as we might think, but with the highest satisfaction or even pride!

Such is the general history of fashion. When you come to ask where the legislature of fashion is, or who it is that originates a given fashion, it will be more difficult to answer. It may be in the French court, or in the lady patronesses of Almacks, or in some new Brummel, who is just now raging as the dog-star of fashion in London. According to Montaigne, the French fashions, at least in his day, were controlled with absolute sway by the court. "Whatever," he says, "is done at court, passes for a rule throughout the rest of France. Let the courtiers but discontinue those tun-bellied doublets, that make us look like I know not what, those long effeminate locks of hair, and you will see them all presently vanished and cried down."

If we go on farther, to ask what it is that leads the originator of a fashion to adopt this rather than some other, no certain answer can be given. Sometimes, though seldom, it is a real effort of taste. Sometimes it is the mere caprice of a tailor, or a milliner; or this tailor or milliner may have been bribed by some great manufacturer to start the style in question, and give him a market for a particular kind of goods. Or the object may be to

compliment some prince. Henry VIII, for example, being exceedingly corpulent, suddenly saw himself surrounded by corpulent ministers, and a corpulent people—the whole male nation was stuffed from the shoulders downwards; and so far was the extravagance carried, that an act of Parliament was passed, forbidding the use of stuffing, under certain specified names. An amusing story is related of the manner in which the law was evaded, which shows, at the same time, to what a pitch of absurdity the fashion was carried. A certain person was arrested, who proved that he had used no one of the cloths named in the law, by showing that he used, instead, a pair of sheets, two table-cloths, ten napkins, four shirts, a brush, a glass, a comb, night-caps, &c. &c. Sometimes a fashion originates in the effort to hide some deformity. Thus the long bag-wigs are said to have been invented to relieve the hunch back of the Duke of Brunswick. The huge sleeves lately worn by the ladies, were an excellent disguise for a bad arm, and were probably invented for that object.

On the whole, we can do no better, as regards the origin of fashions, than to say that they are chosen without any regard to the inherent beauty of nature's forms, and sacrifice, if it so happen, all comfort. They are the work of caste, which goes dodging through so many modes of absurdity, to escape imitation and maintain exclusive position.

Having thus distinguished the radical idea of fashion, we will next inquire what we are to understand by taste.

It is much to be regretted that we have, in English, no better word than a mere figure derived from the palate, to signify one of the highest and most divine attributes of the mind. The term *aesthetic*, which the Germans have borrowed from

the Greek, has the same relation to all the senses, which *taste* has to the palate; and they mean, by the *aesthetic* faculty, that which distinguishes all beauty. It is the critical power—the power of forms—and is to the clothing of truth, what the reason is to the discovery or elimination of truth. By our very feeble and flat word *taste*, we mean, or ought to mean, the same thing. It is that which distinguishes the glorious and fair in all earthly things, and especially their divinely constituted relation to truth and the life of mind.

The highest known example of taste is that of the Almighty, when he invents the forms, colors and proportions, of this visible creation. His conceptions were all original. He did not copy from the sight of previous worlds, but he had all beauty, all the colors and forms of things in his own creative fancy, saw them as distinctly, loved them as much, before he gave them outward reality as after.

"Then deep retired
In his unfathomed essence viewed the forms,
The forms eternal of created things;
The radiant sun, the moon's nocturnal lamp,
The mountains, woods and streams, the rolling globe,
And wisdom's mien celestial. From the first
Of days, on them his love divine he fixed,
His admiration, till, in time complete,
What he admired and loved, his vital smile
Unfolded into being. Hence the breath
Of life informing each organic frame,
Hence the green earth and wild resounding
waves,
Hence light and shade, alternate warmth and
cold,
And clear autumnal skies and vernal show-
ers,
And all the fair variety of things."

The whole fabric of creation is an exertion of taste, and we refer to this high example because we know of no other which is sufficient to evolve our idea. Taste, in man, is every way resembled to this power of form displayed in creation, except that it is a capacity slowly cultivated and matured, and not inherently complete like the divine. It is a power which goes to school,

as we may say, to nature, and by exercise on the forms of natural beauty, is waked into action. But, when awake, it is as truly original as the taste of God, and is one of the highest points of resemblance to him in our nature. It is not coupled with creative force, that is, the power of executing its conceptions by a mere fiat. But the forms it invents, in architecture, dress, furniture, gardening and ceremony, are all original, and are the offspring of the soul's great liberty.

Such being the nature of taste, we make no question that it is one of the highest offices of life to start this power of beauty into full maturity of action. Hence it is, in fact, may we not believe, that so many things needful to our existence here, are left to be fashioned by art. The heavens, the colors, the seasons, the rivers, lakes, mountains, and general surfaces of the earth, have their form given them by nature. But nature builds us no house or temple, spins no dress. She writes no poetry, composes no music, presents us with no forms of intercourse. Having given out forms enough to beget activity in human taste, she scants her work that we may go on and exert a creative fancy for ourselves.

The wild forests are cleared away, the green slopes are dressed and laid out smiling in the sun, the hills and valleys are adorned with beautiful structures, the skins of wild beasts are laid aside for robes of silk or wool. In a word, architecture, gardening, music, dress, chaste and elegant manners—all inventions of human taste—are added to the rudimentary beauty of the world, and it shines forth, as having undergone a second creation at the hand of man. And herein is man to be distinguished from the animals. They can not dress. Their outward form is given them and they must wear it. If they build, it is by a set pattern of instinct, not in the study of pro-

portions and varieties. But man is to choose, in a great degree, his own outward appearance, and be, in his person and his condition, what the beauty of his soul permits. Taste is God's legacy to him in life, which legacy he can not surrender, without losing the creative freedom and dignity of his soul.

We perceive already that fashion, in so far as it prevails, proposes to dispense with taste. It is man, or a circle of human conspirators, affecting superiority over the laws of natural beauty, and enacting modes and standards of their own. There is a very striking analogy between the relation of Fashion to Taste and that of idolatry to religion. The laws of taste are the laws of God and nature. But fashion, by a certain sort of impiety, exalts itself above all that is called God, in this respect. The forms of inherent beauty are too permanent. It must therefore invent something new, however monstrous, something unknown to the common world. Out of the ugly and the uncomfortable, in despite of all proportion, it makes up new successions of deformed gods, and sets them up to be worshiped. It is scarcely possible to review the absurd fashions which have prevailed in the world, without associating, as you pass on, the grinning, and ugly monsters that figure in the prolific herds of heathen deities. Witness into how many burlesque forms the human person is continually tortured. Now, as in the days of Henry VIII., it is a mere clumsy rotundity. Now, the connection of the upper and lower portions of the body is straitened and attenuated, even down to the point of metaphysical delicacy. A statuary, in the mean time, would as soon think of adorning his figures with wens or hunch-backs, as of thus violating the fair proportions of nature. In the reign of Mary, a proclamation was issued limiting the

breadth of the square-toed shoes to six inches. The name given to this fashion was a good comment on its supposed elegance. It was called the *bear's foot* fashion, and the ladies and gentlemen were so ambitious of this model, that nothing but the civil power could restrain them from out-bearing the bears themselves. At another time, Parliament interfered and limited the sharp-toed shoe so as not to exceed the foot by more than two inches. It had before been extended ten or twelve inches beyond the foot, and the point turned up like a sleigh-runner and suspended by a chain to the knee. In the reign of Charles I, the boots in fashion had a flaring ruff-lace top, which stood out from the leg so as to compel the wearer to set his feet asunder at a very ungraceful distance, and, if he walked, to get his legs by each other as best he could. At another time, it was the fashion to wear a boot on one leg and a stocking on the other; then again, to wear stockings of different colors. At a certain period, patches stuck on the face were considered a great ornament by the ladies. In addition to the dozen small and great overlarding their cheeks, they were specially fond of displaying a coach and six pasted on their forehead. At a certain time, the female head-dress was a cone or steeple, a full half yard in height, from the top of which a long scarf of lawn fell quite down to the feet behind or streamed in the wind, as on a flag-staff. Some of our readers may recollect the time, when the ladies turned their hair back, over a cushion, so large that their faces were seen peeping out from under a huge dropsical looking mass, still called, however, a head.

Now these are a few of the absurdities of fashion. We bring them into review for no other object, than simply to show how far fashion is able to violate the laws of inherent

beauty and convenience. Taste, on the other hand, consults beauty, proportion, comfort. She is a disciple of nature, not a masker disguising nature. One studies the inherent elegance and uses of things, requiring a disciplined eye, and a soul alive to forms, colors, and proportions. The other only invents new cuts and metamorphoses, which she may do without refinement, either of eye or of feeling. One is the statuary, drawing out of the block the divine form of man, perfect in proportion, feature and expression; the other is a toy-shop window, filled with little stout gentlemen, having heads like peas resting on their shoulders, and long gaunt gentlemen, with necks outreaching the crane, and a general collection of nondescript images of the same class. It is, in fact, a gallery of deformities.

And here we must lay open a truth, in regard to fashion, which many never suspect. The uninitiated, looking on at a distance, are dazzled by the splendor and the high pretensions of the caste, and think that these must certainly be the most accomplished and exquisite people in the world. Whereas the whole fabric is only a cover to vulgarity. The reason of this fact is easily explained, and the proof easily made out. That class of persons, who constitute the highest circle of fashion, are generally persons of noble or royal blood, or such as have unbounded estates. To become distinguished by true elevation, and a high discipline of character, would be too laborious for them. Easy acquisitions and shallow accomplishments, together with a certain elevation of feeling which belongs to mere pride and assumption, constitute the whole furniture of their character. When you go beyond certain outward graces, which give them a high bearing, they are really unculti-

vated, if not truly vulgar persons. But having the advantages of wealth, and in many cases of titled names, they are able, by a kind of usurpation, to seize a position at the head of society. The high-toned exclusiveness of their position, keeps the wise men and the men of character and genius at a distance. Their want of true cultivation, their shallowness and insipidity are not often sounded therefore, and they pass for what they assume to be. Accordingly, it need not surprise us to hear it affirmed by those who well understand the import of fashionable life, that a certain refined vulgarity, coupled with sufficient impudence and presumption, and backed by a sufficient estate, or, in fault of this, by personal favor in some quarter, is all that is necessary to success in the walks of fashion. And in our own country it is every day proved, that a mere tawdry splendor, or mock pretense of wealth, will suffice to open the way into what are called the fashionable circles.

In the reign of George IV, or during his regency, was displayed one of the most amazing triumphs of fashion ever exhibited. We allude to the case of young Brummel, commonly called Beau Brummel. He had neither birth, education, fortune, nor wit, nothing but unparalleled impudence connected with a most exquisite art of dress. By this, assisted by some favorable accidents, he attracted notice, and drew himself almost immediately, into the highest circle of fashion. There, by his dress and his effrontery as a critic of fashion, he established an almost absolute reign. Noblemen of the highest blood, thought it honor enough to have his arm in the street. The Prince Regent received him as an acquaintance. At length, he conceived the daring project of showing that he could ride over the throne. At a dinner with the Prince, while they

were at the wine, and when the Prince was speaking, he broke in, with the most self-possessed air possible, saying:—"Wales, ring the bell." The bell was rung, indeed, and the servant was ordered to show Brummel to his carriage. But he was nowise disconcerted. Shortly after, at a ball where the Prince Regent was present, and when all were talking of his disgrace, Brummel, still strong in the sublimity of his impudence, entered the room. Every eye was turned upon him, and especially upon his cravat. It was a wonder, a new and perfect thing! From that moment, the universal study must be to produce the new cravat. It is related that the Prince, who was present, and was himself a man of extreme fashion, vented his vexation in an oath, for he saw at a glance, that a new fashion was here, which must be a law both to the nation and himself. And, that he might get beforehand as far as possible, he is said to have sent one of his privy counselors to Brummel, offering him any terms he would make, to disclose the manner in which his neckcloth was prepared. "Go tell your master," was the reply, "that you have seen his master." When he left the country shortly after, this paper was found on his table—*starch is the man*. Starched cravats came into immediate use all over Europe.

Now this case of Brummel is certainly an extreme case. But it is conceded by all who know the circles of high fashion in Europe, that vulgarity is no bar to fashion; but, when united with a proper degree of impudence and refinement of dress, is rather a qualification.

To illustrate the same point, and also to advance our subject in other respects, we will here introduce the case of Chesterfield.

Lord Chesterfield was not a simple fashionist, neither was he a simple gentleman. He was not a fashionist, because fashion was not an

end with him. He cultivated manners and society only as means to an end, and principally with a view to his advancement as a courtier and a politician. He was not a simple gentleman, because his rules of manners are, for the most part, rooted in unqualified selfishness; and a true gentleman, if we are right, is one whose manners are the expression of generous affections and refined sentiments. He united also, in his ambition to gain the fashionable, too many of the characteristics of fashion, to be considered a simple gentleman. He burnt out the fires of his youth in gallantries, broke down his patrimony by gambling, married a wife to repair it, lived next door to her after the marriage, sought to ruin the morals of his son, that he might improve his manners. He commended shallow accomplishments; expressed such views of female character, as belong only to a vulgar mind; taught meanness as the necessary art of courtiers. These are all traits of the fashionist, not of the gentleman. Two or three of the points last mentioned, we will verify from his letters.

"Showish and shining qualities," he says, "always get the better of others, though ever so solid. If you would be a great man in the world when old, shine and be showish in it when young." We might understand less by this language, if we did not find him every where praising to his son mere smatterings of knowledge. How shallow, and withal how miserably refuted by his own short-lived sway, and the indifferent figure he made in his decline! Of women he says: "Women are only children of a larger growth; they have an entertaining tattle, and sometimes wit, but for solid reasoning, good sense, I never knew in my life one that had it, or that reasoned or acted consequentially for four and twenty hours together. A man of sense only tri-

fles with them, humors and flatters them, but he neither consults them about, nor trusts them with serious matters. No flattery is either too high or too low for them; they will greedily swallow the highest, and gratefully accept the lowest." Elsewhere he advises how to flatter them skillfully. To prepare his son for success at court, he tells him that there is a chain of persons or grades, which connects the prince or minister with the page of the back stairs and the meanest persons in the household. "You must therefore not break a link of that chain, by which you climb up to the prince." That is, you must begin with paying your court to pages and chambermaids, and creep up, by the back stairs, into favor! Indeed he says this, in the next sentence, as decently as he can. "You must renounce courts, if you will not connive at knaves, and tolerate fools." The meanness of a soul, that could breathe such sentiments into the ear of a son, requires no proof. For ourselves, we are ready to maintain, and will, without scruple, declare, in the face of all the homage paid to Chesterfield as a gentleman, that no person ever had such an opinion of woman, or gave such advice to a son, without some streak of vulgarity in his character. He is either something more or something less than a gentleman. Nor should we wonder that this same son, who was somewhat inclined to the more solid acquisitions, and less to showishness, grew up to be only a boor of quality, and after he became a public man, actually licked his plate at a dinner entertainment. He must have been disgusted, and set against the very idea of politeness, by the degraded counsel of his father, and by the slimy attempt, more than once made, to liberalize his manners at the expense of his virtue.

The crudity and real vulgarity of high fashion, too, are finely exhibited in the stiff and half barbarous

tastes of fashionable people. Where the whole mental attention is acuminated and fastened down upon mere conceits and conventionalisms, the imagination is stifled, and mental liberty destroyed. It would even be a miracle, if one who thinks with horror of the least breach of fashionable modes, should at the same time go forward in his tastes to become easy, natural, and mature. Rather judge that he will, of necessity, become a mere formal imitator, and display the same lack of genuine taste, which distinguishes a half cultivated man. He will admire to see trees always set in rows, and have their tops cut and their sides squared in the French method, or so as to "dress" like a regiment of the National Guard. No garden will be so much admired, as one that is cut into regular geometrical figures; no green slope of nature will be right, till it is set off in terraces. That formal absurdity, which Pope satirizes in the Villa of Timon, will be likely to meet his taste, and be his model of beauty.

"His gardens next, your admiration call,
On every side you look, behold the wall.
No pleasing intricacies intervene,
No artful wildness to perplex the scene,
Grove nods to grove, each alley has a brother,
And half the platform just reflects the other.
The suffering eye inverted nature sees,
Trees cut to statues, statues thick as trees,
With here a fountain never to be played,
And there a summer-house that knows no shade."

The most ridiculous efforts of taste ever exhibited, are made by fashionable people. When the common man fails in a matter of taste, he has at least made a simple effort to be tasteful, and so far deserves our respect; but here the silly barbarism perpetrated swells into consequence proud of itself, and because it thinks to astonish, moves our derision.

It is curious also to observe how prone men are, by reason of the lowness of their tastes, to find a fashion. Having no true idea of

what is elegant or beautiful, but only some vague conception of being in style, they will bow to a mere accident or blunder, and give it the current authority of a fashion. We laugh at many displays of this kind in our own country, not considering that the high fashions of Europe get their currency in the same want of true mental elevation and refinement.

Thus you will see, as you pass through our country, that our builders and citizens too seldom conceive of architecture as being any thing different from a fashion. They think nothing of fitness, variety and harmony of parts, combined expression, as holy, or domestic, or martial, or civil, or judicial, or penal. But they say, build me such a house as that of Mr. A. or B., the great man of the town or county, which said house you will see, as you pass on, has children or grandchildren along the road to the number of thousands, all stamped with the inherent ugliness of the ancestor. Or, if they mean to be somewhat original, they will say, build me a house, and put on such an ornament here and there as that on the jail, or set me on the top such a thing as that ventilator on the factory, only you shall put seats in it, and glass windows for an observatory. As you travel westward from Saratoga, you will see colonnades of square pillars rising, one after another in trim parallelipedal beauty, and holding so perfectly the family likeness, that you will think you can tell who has drunk the fashionable water all the way on to Buffalo. Just in this region, the fluted Doric has been an epidemic in the same way. Designed originally to produce its effect by long ranges of extent and massiveness of stature, you will now see day after day, as you pass, in city and country, a pair of little wooden fluters propping up a door shelter!

You will often see, too, a supe-

rior order of houses, which present as their front, a simple Greek pediment, in the Ionic, Corinthian, or Doric style, more commonly the latter. The style is sufficiently well maintained, showing that the owner or builder had an idea of style, or of something more than following the build of the neighbors' houses. But the difficulty here is, that there is no domestic character—the style has been received, after all, not by an act of taste, but too much as if it were a fashion. How can it be in taste, for a mortal husband and wife, and a half dozen mortal children, to be habited in a temple of Minerva, or how will the nerves of the poor goddess bear the smell of a kitchen, or the music of a nursery in her penetralia! A little more cultivation of feeling would show any one that when the public architecture of temples is brought into a domestic use, the style should be converted, or have its expression domesticated, by the addition of wings or irregular breaks, or some adjacent ornaments that are foreign to the style.

We have taken up a fashion, too, in the coloring of our houses, which betrays the same want of character observable in our architecture. A little snug cottage, half buried in trees and shrubbery, and designed to just peep out from among them, with a neat white-washed look, may well enough be painted white. But this is not our way; white is our fashion, and nothing is as it should be, whether church, or jail, or graveyard fence, or domestic mansion, till it is covered with the same insipid, flashy white. Some critic, looking at this matter, has said with great force, and perhaps with a little vexation too,—when I see the sunlight fall upon a house of some deep, rich color, it reminds me of a smile on a grave and thoughtful countenance; but when I see it fall upon a white house, it reminds me of the everlasting grin of a fool.

In music, there is a kind of fash-

ion courted, which displays the same want of character and true refinement. Taste, in music, requires great simplicity and truth of expression. But it would not do for the great singers to sing right out, as if they had a feeling to express—they are expected to show by some kind of bravura or bravado, their power of execution. Their performances, in this way, are often truly wonderful, and it is not every one who distinguishes between the pleasure he feels and genuine effect. Possibly the great singer is much extolled at the opera and in fashionable circles. Of course there is no farther question whether it is in character or in good taste, for every man to be trying the professional bravura. The inquiry is after fashionable music, and how to perform fashionable music; and the poor girl who could sing a ballad sweetly, or take her part beautifully in the Cotter's Saturday Night hymn, is heard thrumming consternation into her piano, with the greatest ado possible, and holding breath like a pearl diver, and trying in vain, with a voice that will, will crack, to perform the fashionable agony called music.

The insipidity of fashionable people is so well understood, as to be made a frequent subject of ridicule, by men of wit and genius. If the literary class could support the excesses of fashion, they could not relish its vapid formalities. It is to them a kind of splendid cockneyism, for which the discipline of their understanding, and the high cultivation of their tastes, has forever disqualified them. At the same time, no man who has fallen under the sway of fashion, can ever unfold a rich and dignified character. It is a frigid, formal world that he has entered, far off from nature, and equally distant from thoughtfulness. It is a world too of hypocrisy, flattery and fictitious feeling; an ex-

quisite drawing-room world of show and self-adulation, separated by walls of contempt from the great society of man and the stirring drama of life. The imagination has no room to spread her wings in so narrow a place. No beauty of feeling can get warmth to breathe in scenes so heartless. The understanding and reason have really no call for exertion, for the world they are in is so exquisite that there is nothing practical to be done there. The fashionist is such a changeling too in his spirit, that no dignified principle can get root in his character. He lives by change. If to-day he laughs with Maria at Malvolia's yellow stockings and cross garters, he will yet put them on to-morrow himself, if fashion so decree, and will even relish the new absurdity. He is on the watch, in fact, from day to day, that he may change not his dress only, but his opinion also, for his soul is on the outside of him, and a change there, changes all there is of him.

It should also be recollected that the intellectual stature is always cast in youth, and that young persons are wonderfully sensitive to the power of fashion. It is related that a certain young nobleman actually destroyed his life, by his intense study, protracted for several weeks, to produce a cravat like Beau Brummel's. When the mind of youth is fastened down by an infatuation so strong upon objects so contemptible, no further proof is needed to show that a proper manhood can never be unfolded. To grow is impossible, and there is no little danger of becoming dwarfed, instead, even below nature. Nay, it is possible that high native talents will only prepare a more intense littleness and insipidity. The severe satire of the wicked Earl Rochester is likely to be even true.

"Nature's as lame in making a true fop
As a philosopher, the very top
And dignity of folly we attain,
By studious search and labor of the brain,

By observation, counsel, and deep thought.
God never made a cockcomb with a groat;
We owe that name to industry and arts;
An eminent fool must be a fool of parts."

When reviewing in this way, the half vulgar crudity of fashionable people and the insipidity of their character, we are ready to ask, how it is possible for fashion to obtain such absolute sway in human society. It is done, we answer, by the simple force of moral audacity. It is done precisely as political sway has been obtained. The earth is given into the hand of the wicked. There is a law by which pride and assumption have ever been able, in the human state, to hold the precedence before worth and virtue. The great courts have, therefore, been the centers and head influences of profligacy to kingdoms. The prince of the power of the air is in them. Assumption is invigorated by wickedness, and is thus set on high. When impudence unites with profligacy, there is great force in the union. There is a kind of sublimity in it, a power of the air, which rides down the modesty of virtue, and answers instead of wisdom and worth.

We shall hardly be believed, when we set forth the extreme profligacy of high fashion in Europe. It forbids at the outset, any such thing as domestic life. To have a home and cherish the joys of a steadfast love, is vulgar, and sufficient of itself, to destroy all fashionable pretensions. To interpose the honorable mention of taste and philosophic wisdom as a vicarious title, is of no avail—no richness of character, no grace of manners, no elegance of living, no power of pleasing, will atone for the inherent vulgarity of a man's loving his wife, or a wife's loving her husband. Accordingly, the English courts have been obliged to violate the very idea, legally speaking, of marriage, and assist the parties in contracts of separate maintenance; and a

large share of the fashionable families are settled on this footing.

And the same law of heartlessness extends to society. There is no society in the intercourse of fashion, any more than between the men that move and countermove on a chess-board. The fashionist must not feel at all, certainly not in any way that can be mistaken for a virtuous or simply natural emotion. To indulge the gentle passion, so as to seem in earnest, would be a green and boyish thing. To acknowledge the common brotherhood of man, by any sentiment of natural sympathy—to weep for the sufferings of any person not fashionable, is strictly forbidden. Nay, the obligations of justice, due to common people, as in the payment of an honest debt for humble or menial services, it makes of no account. Many a fashionist has gone to the duel ground to vindicate his honor at the gaming table, when the needy artisan, asking for the bread which is due to his family, has been driven from his door with a contemptuous negative, five times in a week. Gambling is a vice so far identified with fashion in Europe, that a very great share of the fashionists, both male and female, are ultimately involved in ruin, and compelled to go into cheap living and virtual banishment on the Continent, while their estates may work off their incumbrances. Lying is not a practice only, but rather one of the essential accomplishments of fashion; for almost the whole intercourse of the caste is transacted in lies, or polite plausibilities that should rather be called lies, and is understood to be. Profaneness is an accomplishment for both sexes. Hard drink is about the only mel-
low influence that brings no taint of dishonor. There probably is no class of people in civilized society, who entertain a more sovereign contempt for the restraints of religious principle, and for every thing

in the nature of moral obligation. In our own country, fashion has nowhere come up to the standard of a full European maturity. But no one is ignorant that the fashionable profligacy attained to, in some of the circles in our large cities, approximates fearfully near to it.

It must be evident, were we to go no farther, that Taste and Fashion are very widely distinct from each other in their birth, and tend to results as wide apart as can be conceived. Genuine taste is refinement itself, and can not exist without a high degree of intellectual culture. There is, in fact, a high philosophic connection between the vigorous conception of beauty and the clear perception of truth. A general prejudice we know exists, that associates weakness or a degree of mental effeminacy with taste. But this is due to the extreme flatness of the word, which allows it to be applied to a low and flimsy class of exercises, that are without creative fire, and therefore, in the higher and better sense of the word, without taste. No one doubts the high intellectual character of true poetry, however beautiful. Nay, it is a distinction of true poetry, that it gives out truths that lie beyond the art of common expression, and defy the grasp of logic. Hence it is that the Scriptures are written to so great an extent in poetry. No other vehicle had power to carry so great a burden of wisdom and knowledge. There is more of genuine truth, for the same reason, in a page of Milton or Shakspeare, than in a chapter of Locke. The metaphysician will drag you along by a cold defining or refining process, through a whole chapter, and will settle at the end on one truth, which being dead when you find it, you will need to erect a monument on the spot to its memory, else it will escape you. But the poet fills your soul at once with the thronging im-

ages of truth—truths of the head, truths of the heart—all coming in visible shapes to be a spell upon you and fill you with their power.

It is also true that in every other department of taste, the beauty created is a vehicle of truth and feeling in the same way as in poetry. Taste never undertakes to shape a bauble for the bauble's sake. It has an idea which it seeks to express—it is intellectual. Take an instance as remote from poetry as can be conceived. Let the question be, What is it that constitutes a beautiful house? The half cultivated man will answer, that it is the regularity of the parts, or the pairing of the sides, or something that is no better. He will criticise the house as a mere *thing*. He will not look for expression, but for an object, thus or thus proportioned. But the true architect will look straight through the form after an idea, and will demand some sort of domestic expression—comfort, or simplicity of living, or social retirement, or splendid elegance. He will consider the climate. He will understand that this building has fires, a kitchen and scullery, bedrooms, parlors, open views and the like, and will demand an outside which expresses the fact—showing, as it were, a family seated in the poetry of comfort, or refined elegance, or wealthy magnificence. The particular items of the building he will not stay to examine, as if he were a mere joiner, but he will hasten to view it as a whole, and see if it gives him an idea. The same is true in all the fine arts, in statuary, painting, music, gardening, landscape, and, if dress could be ruled by taste, in dress—true beauty demands an idea. It is intellectual, a warm reality, an expression of reason and feeling.

It must be evident, in this view, that if the taste of mankind were called into exercise, as it should be, and made the arbiter of all the out-

ward forms of life, it would rapidly kindle the intelligence and elevate the dignity of society. The current modes of fashion dispense with thought, in some of its most genial and fructifying offices. The disciple has only to ask what *is*, and his law is discovered; whereas, if he were compelled to ask what ought to be—what is becoming in dress, suitable in manners and conduct; what is a beautiful house; what a right color; in music, what is the law of tasteful execution; in gardening, what is the capacity of the place, and how it shall get the genuine effect—were all such questions (and they are ever multiplying round us by thousands in the outward life) brought home to be settled by thought, and the effort kept up to find what forms, in all these matters, have the best capacity of expressing the best and most beautiful ideas, intelligence would be kept alive and powerfully invigorated in us. This kind of exercise too, would beget an ingenuous spirit in society, that would sort with purity, moral integrity, domestic love, and genuine refinement of every kind. This kind of exercise, in fact, is what many true Christians most especially need, to supply a very lamentable deficiency in their lives. Their perceptive powers, as to what is outwardly good and pleasing, want cultivation. They are such as would move an apostle to say—I pray that your love may abound yet more and more, in knowledge and in all judgment, [æsthetic.] that ye may approve things that are excellent. Things outwardly excellent and right, are discriminated always by an act of taste, and therefore every degree of cultivation, in the outward forms of beauty, adds strength and ornament to the moral character. Taste in fact, sorts with every thing good and dignified in human society. She learns to read the world and trace the holy signatures

of truth which God has written on his works. She catches a divine expression from all outward beauty, and becomes a qualified interpreter of symbols, otherwise unintelligent, or falsely understood. Her very power of criticism is in fact, a power both of intellectual discrimination and expression. By the altars of religion, she is ever like to choose her abode. The horns of the altars are shaped by her hand, the veil that hides the cherubim is wrought by her needle. Faith dwells in the temple she has built, and climbs up to God in the solemn proportions of her works. The temple hymn is the music of her voice, prophesying that employment which the righteous hope before the throne of God. All the relations of our mortal state she loves to acknowledge, discerns a divine beauty in them, moves us to render back to them a tribute of beauty in our conduct. She dwells about the homes, blessing the joys of domestic love. She goes forth into the great society of man with a friendly look, adding warmth and ornament to life. And if ever the day shall come when all the dwellers on earth are righteous men, when the manners are pure and lovely, when the conduct is amiable, when every relationship is filled, and every habitation a habitation of beauty, then will it be seen that taste, under the guidance of grace, has set the traces of her finishing work in every part of the scene.

There is, doubtless, some danger in the effort to make a tasteful religion, lest the spirit and power should evaporate, and pride steal into the place of humility. If we assume a right to adjust the outward dress of religion for ourselves, we have greatly to fear that our dress will turn out to be more like a shroud and a preparation for burial, than a clothing of life. But in what is there not some danger. If a tasteful religion is dangerous,

what will you say of an untasteful? —what of a religion that glories in the absence of all order and dignity. We have seen too much of this in our country. Possibly it may have gained some converts. But assuredly it has lost more than it has gained. But we have no time to argue this point. We only express our certain belief, that the world will some time or other have a religion clothed in beauty, and that this will be the day of its highest spirituality and holiest power.

There yet remains a single point of view, in which the distinction we assert has a special interest. Fashion is an eminently unrepublican influence. American fashion is a very slim and meagre affair, as yet, and we rejoice that it is so. Still, we have a great many in all ranks who are infected with the mania, and put forth efforts, more or less absurd, to be fashionable; and many, who would take it as a rank offense to dispute their pretensions to fashion. We certainly have the genuine spirit—a spirit as ambitious of caste, as can be found in any country. It has the genuine impudence and vulgarity. Its pretensions are as hollow as in the old world; the distinction it assumes as fictitious; its principles as rotten; its heart as cold.

It should be recollected too, that all our fashions take their origin abroad. France and England are ever legislating over us, in these respects, more summarily and absolutely than if we were under their parliaments. We go to them every month, to ask for the shapes in which to wear our bodies, and consent, with all humility, to be a second circle under them, receivers at second-hand of their already antiquated modes. How ridiculous too is it in us, with the limited means of our American families, to ape the style and manners of European caste. Having no laws of

entail and primogeniture, it must ever be so. Republics have no natural affinity with fashion. They sort only with plainness, simplicity, intellectual freedom, and taste.

Athens, for example, had never a fashion in our sense of the term. But the devotion of her people to works of taste was unbounded. Athens glowed with beauty. The inventive fire of her genius had no limit or constraint. Truth, religion, and the state, were all enshrined in beauty. What now if this Athenian people, the high men and fair women, had been caught with admiration of the Persian modes and fashions, and been ambitious to copy the style of that splendid court. Just so far would they have despised their own little dull republic. Miltiades might have been a Persian dandy and Plato a Babylonish Brummel; all the great souls of fire had been smothered in this abject admiration of the foreign splendor. Then how vulgar a thing to speak, walk, sit, sing, entertain like Athenians, and not like the Persians; then where were Athens—the Athens we have known? Would that our great republic, growing greater every year, and better able to respect herself, would forswear, as soon as possible, this slavery to foreign modes and fashions, and wed herself unchangeably to the better standards of beauty. No other country has a capacity to lead this great moral emancipation. We have a new world to ourselves. God has set us here to strike one blow for liberty. But there wants another.

And here let us commend to our readers a single trait of taste which is peculiar, and beautifully sorts with our institutions, viz. this, that taste is possible to all. The humblest and poorest man may look on the face of beauty with as much freedom, and love it with as high a relish, as the most favored. It is not necessary to own the beautiful in order to have perfect enjoyment

of it. Besides, the poor man's house can be as tasteful as the rich man's; for taste does not consist in the abundance of the things that it possesseth, but in the use which is made of what it has. Here is a very great and oppressive mistake. How often do our poor Christian fathers and mothers declaim against taste and fashion, as criminal vanities, supposing them to be actually the same thing. Therefore, knowing the impossibility to them of ton and high show, they never conceive the universal possibility of taste and beauty. How happy for them had they sufficient cultivation to conceive another kind of good which lies within their reach, viz. neatness, order, pretty inventions in furniture and ornament, modesty and becomingness in dress, good manners, elegance of feeling, refinement of intercourse, literary cultivation. These things are perfectly within their reach. Every common man's house or cottage, might be more than a palace,—a little abode of tastefulness and refined happiness. Now, under the pretext of a hatred to show, it is a mere den, not unlikely, of disorder and vulgarity—as destitute of virtue as of ornament, and as destitute of happiness as of either.

The same mistake, though in a different way, produces mischiefs equally deplorable in the middle and higher ranks of society. The distinctness of taste and fashion is not apprehended, or but insufficiently apprehended. Consequently, no alternative is left, but either to stay content with obscurity, or to stretch away after the set style of fashion. How this upstartism has turned the heads and overturned the fortunes of thousands, is well known.

The daughter, who has never been taught to make a tasteful home, and deem it her best ornament, annoys her father with her silly importunities, and compels him to go beyond his means, and beyond the

true dignity of reason, to gratify her propensity to fashion. The sons, never trained to conceive it the highest of all accomplishments to be gentlemen, or to desire that elegant discipline of character, by which they may shine in the walks of literature and public action, must yet be something, and what can they be so well as exquisites of ton and fashion? To conceive the idea of a gentleman, requires no small cultivation of mind, but this requires none. Their family, which had begun to rise in wealth, or was nearly risen, is laughed at, and not seldom crushed by the fashionable extravagance. Then follows a sad chapter of history. There is no capacity to rise, none to adorn or enjoy a humbler estate, no family affections have survived the dissipation, to aid them in bearing their adversity—the only alternative is to suffer a total wreck of character and happiness. And if no such consequences followed, we still must pity the miserable poverty of understanding, the very essential vulgarity of character displayed by so many persons of only moderate wealth, in their ambition to copy the style, and shine in the equipage of fashion. This class of persons have all sufficient means, using proper economy, to provide houses and grounds and libraries, and surround themselves with all that is beautiful, and enjoy a life of elegant ease. But alas! they have no capacity to conceive or relish a style of life so truly refined, so proper to their estate.

Would now that we could bring this subject near to all our countrymen, and fill their minds with the beautiful spectacle our country ought to exhibit. We would show them the inherent repugnance of fashion to our state of equal society. We would declare to them the universal possibility of taste, and show them how it would soften our asperities, if all classes were thus engaged to add ornament and grace to life. To the poor man we would reveal by what method he can certainly command the respect of the rich, and multiply a thousand-fold the innocent joys of life. Upon the Christian, rich or poor, we would urge the great honor he will bring to his profession, by showing how it adds an outward grace of ornament to his dwelling and his person. We would speak of the inherent dignity of living within our means. To all we would say, dare to be republicans. And as you love your country, study in all things the severe simplicity of taste. Live towards this mark, and reason towards it, and, if you please, sharpen your argument with ridicule. Look, what a spectacle this great nation will exhibit, when it is occupied as a realm of taste—when the neat cottages sprinkled over the hills, and blended with the elegant mansions of the rich—when the graceful dress of our people, their fine truthful manners, the genial glow of their society, their high-toned liberty and tasteful piety, combine to show the dignity of our institutions.

HUME, VOLTAIRE, AND ROUSSEAU.

THESE very talented men were the most active and successful advocates of infidelity during the last century; and a concise, impartial, and authentic account of their lives, and their assaults upon Christianity, is deemed worthy of a place in this journal.

HUME.

DAVID HUME, Esq., was born at Edinburgh, April 26th, 1711, and was of a good family, but not opulent. His father died while he was an infant, and his education devolved on his mother. After the usual preparation, his friends wished him to pursue the study of law; but he was displeased with that pursuit, preferring poets and orators before the dry and thorny jurists. He next tried merchandise, but found that also irksome. In 1734 he removed to France, in order to pursue his favorite studies with less expense. At Rheims and at La Fleche in Anjou, he spent three years very agreeably. Returning to London, in 1737, he the next year published his *Treatise of Human Nature*; which, he says, "fell *dead-born* from the press," or attracted no notice. In 1742 he published the first part of his *Essays*, which was favorably received. In 1745 he spent a year in the family of the Marquis of Annandale; afterwards, during two years, he was private secretary to General St. Clair, on the coast of France, and at the courts of Vienna and Turin. While at Turin he re-wrote his *Treatise of Human Nature*, and had it published at London in 1749, with the new title, an *Inquiry concerning Human Understanding*. But it was not much better received than before. The same year, he retired to the family estate in Scotland, and there composed the second part of his *Essays*, which he

entitled *Political Discourses*. His works now began to receive attention, and to afford him a good income. In 1751 he removed to Edinburgh, and the next year he published his *Political Discourses*. He also published the same year, at London, his *Inquiry concerning the Principles of Morals*, which he esteemed "incomparably the best of all his works," but which was little noticed by the public. In 1752, he became librarian to the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh, and commenced writing his *History of England*, which was published 1754-1761. It was but indifferently received, in consequence of its partiality to the Stuart dynasty, and some other defects. He also published during this period, his *Natural History of Religion*, and some smaller pieces. In 1763, he went to France as secretary of embassy to the Earl of Hertford; was much caressed at Paris, was *Chargé d'Affaires* at that court in 1765; and returned to Edinburgh in 1766. The next year he was made under-secretary under General Conway; but in 1769 he returned again to Edinburgh, with a fortune of £1000 a year. In 1775, he was attacked with a bowel-complaint; and, after languishing a year and a half, he expired on the 25th of August, 1776. According to his autobiography and the eulogy of Dr. Adam Smith, he was aware of his approaching dissolution, and met the event with stoic indifference. Amusing himself a few days before his death with reading Lucian's *Dialogues*, and, with jests, about passing the Styx, he described the dialogue he might hold with Charon, the infernal ferryman. After his death were published his *Dialogue on Natural Religion*, and his *Essay on Suicide*; the former in 1778, and the latter in 1783.

Mr. Hume was a decided *infidel*, or a disbeliever in revealed religion; and he held that the evidence for natural religion has no scientific basis, but is derived merely from our instinctive apprehensions. In moral and mental philosophy, he held to what he calls *mitigated skepticism*; that is, he believed it impossible to prove, by metaphysical or speculative reasoning, the existence of a material world around us, of a God, a providence, a future state of rewards and punishments, &c. He did not *deny* the truth of these important facts; but he held that the truth of them rests upon probable grounds only, or upon moral evidence, and not upon evidence which is scientific and demonstrative. In his *Inquiry concerning Human Understanding*, (sec. xii, p. 173, 174,) he says: "It seems to me, that the only objects of the abstract sciences or of demonstration, are quantity and number; and that all attempts to extend this more perfect species of knowledge beyond these bounds, are mere sophistry and illusion."—"All other inquiries of man regard only matter of fact and existence; and these are evidently incapable of demonstration."—"The existence therefore of any being, can only be proved by arguments from its cause or its effect; and these arguments are founded entirely on experience."—"It is only experience which teaches us the nature and bounds of cause and effect, and enables us to infer the existence of one object from another. Such is the foundation of *moral reasoning*, which forms the greater part of human knowledge, and is the source of all human action and behavior." In another place, (sec. i, p. 10,) he says: "Here lies the justest and most plausible objection against a considerable part of metaphysics, that they are *not properly a science*."

Mr. Hume has been taxed with denying, altogether, the connection

between cause and effect, and consequently, the validity of all our reasoning from such connection. But this is a false charge. He only denied the solidity of all *metaphysical proofs* of such connection, not the *reality* of the connection. In the work above cited, (sec. iv, p. 38,) he declares expressly: "None but a fool or madman will ever pretend to dispute the authority of *experience*, or to reject that great guide of human life." And in closing his argument on the subject, he says, (sec. v, p. 50,) "What then is the conclusion of the whole matter? A simple one; though it must be confessed, pretty remote from the common theories of philosophy. All belief of matter of fact or real existence, is derived merely from some object present to the memory or senses, and a *customary conjunction* between that and some other object."—"This belief is the *necessary result* of placing the mind in such circumstances. It is an operation of the soul, when we are so situated, as *unavoidable*, as to feel the passion of love when we receive benefits, or hatred when we meet with injuries. All these operations are a species of *natural instincts*, which no reasoning or process of thought and understanding is able either to *PRODUCE*, or to *PREVENT*." Mr. Hume's skepticism, therefore, did not call in question the conclusions we derive from experience and common sense, but merely the validity of all metaphysical or philosophical reasoning in regard to matters of fact and real existence in the natural and the spiritual worlds. In the work already named, (sec. xi, p. 144, &c.) where he introduces a disputant defending Epicurus's idea, (viz. that we have no evidence of a particular providence, or of a future state of rewards and punishments,) he makes the person say, that by reasoning from effects to their cause, we may indeed prove the existence of an intelligent Cre-

ator of the world; but we can not ascribe to him any attributes or perfections beyond what he has visibly displayed, for we can only infer a first cause adequate to produce the world before us. And on this ground, we can not infer that God has any other and ulterior designs in regard to men, than what we now see. To this reasoning of his friend, Mr. Hume makes the objection, that when we see an unfinished building surrounded with materials, we infer that the building is to be completed, and is to become a very different thing from what it now is; and why may we not argue in a similar manner with regard to the world, as being God's unfinished building? The friend replies: We can not do so, for this reason, that *men* are a class of beings with whom we are acquainted, so that we can judge from their incipient acts, what they are about to do; but that *God* is a solitary being in the universe, whom we know only from his works, and therefore we can never argue from his known character or attributes, what he is about to do, because we do not know him to possess any other attributes than he has already displayed. To this, Mr. Hume rejoins, that he doubts whether God is so unlike to all other rational beings, men, for example, as to forbid our reasoning from analogy, that, as a rational being, he must have such and such designs. He moreover says, that his friend's principles are injurious to society, because the belief of a future state of retribution has a salutary influence on human conduct; so that, allowing Epicureans to be good reasoners, they can not be regarded as good citizens and politicians.

In regard to natural theology, Mr. Hume's *mitigated skepticism* consisted in denying the validity and certainty of all philosophical reasoning in this department of knowledge, and generally throughout the range of metaphysical dis-

cussions, because we have no certain and scientific knowledge of causation, or of the necessary connection between cause and effect.

But in regard to revealed religion, or the religion of the Bible, Mr. Hume was not a mere skeptic; he was a decided infidel or disbeliever in supernatural revelation. In his Inquiry, so often quoted, (sec. x, of Miracles, p. 118,) he tells us, that he flattered himself he had discovered an argument, which would forever silence all reasoning from *miracles* in support of any religion. The argument is this. *Experience* is our only guide in judging of all matters of fact. We give credit to testimony, because we have found it generally to accord with facts; and we estimate the credibility of alleged facts, by their accordance or disagreement with the experience of mankind. The incredibility of a fact, may be such as to invalidate any testimony. And in all cases of doubt or uncertainty, we weigh the probabilities on both sides, strike a balance, and then yield assent strong or weak, according to the preponderating evidence. After these preliminary remarks, he proceeds thus, (p. 122, 123,) "Let us suppose, that the fact which the witnesses affirm, instead of being only marvellous, is really miraculous; and suppose also, that the testimony, considered apart and in itself, amounts to an entire proof; in that case there is proof against proof, of which the strongest must prevail, but with a diminution of its force, in proportion to that of its antagonist. A *miracle* is a violation of the laws of nature; and as a firm and unalterable experience has established these laws, the proof against a miracle, from the very nature of the fact, is as entire as any argument from experience can possibly be imagined."—"The plain consequence is, (and it is a general maxim worthy of our attention,) that no testimony is sufficient to estab-

lish a *miracle*, unless the testimony be of such a kind, that its falsehood would be more miraculous, than the fact which it endeavors to establish: and even in that case, there is a mutual destruction of arguments, and the superior only gives us an assurance suitable to that degree of force which remains after deducting the inferior."

The fallacy of this argument appears to consist in confounding two things which have not the least connection. The argument supposes the uniform experience of mankind respecting the mere *course of nature*, to be a uniform experience against the occurrence of *miracles*. Whereas the objects of experience, in the two cases, are altogether different. In the one case, the experience relates to the mere course of nature, or to those events which occur under and in obedience to the laws of nature; but in the other case, it relates to *supernatural* events, to occurrences altogether *out of the course of nature*, events produced immediately by the almighty power of God; for it is in this sense, and in this sense only, that "a miracle is a *violation of the laws of nature*." Now it is admitted on all sides, that the experience of the world, so far as it has gone, has ever found *nature* to be uniform in her operations, or to work according to permanent and unchangeable laws. But what has this to do with *miracles*? The regular operations of nature, and the supernatural works of God, are totally distinct things; and, of course, human experience in regard to the former, has no bearing whatever on the credibility or incredibility of the latter. The vaunted argument, in reality, amounts only to this:

A miracle in the *course of nature*, is contrary to all human experience. And therefore, a miracle *out of the course of nature*, is contrary to all human experience.

Such reasoning is what logicians call *sophisma a dicto secundum quid ad dictum simpliciter*; or, assuming that what is true, in some special cases, must be true in all possible cases, or be simply and universally true.

That this is a fair statement of Mr. Hume's sophistical argument, will perhaps appear more evident, if we repeat it in his own words, with the necessary explanations of ambiguous terms, thus: "A miracle is a violation of the laws of nature, (or an event entirely out of the course of nature, and not produced by her laws,) and as a fixed and unalterable experience has established (the uniformity of) these laws, (throughout the course of nature,) the proof against a miracle, from the very nature of the fact, (that a miracle is out of the course of nature,) is as entire, as any argument from experience can possibly be imagined."

But, although this appears to be the true import of Mr. Hume's argument, provided we give any consistent meaning to his language, yet when read cursorily and superficially, the argument seems to be simply this: "The uniform experience of the world, is directly opposed to all occurrence of miracles; and therefore, their occurrence is utterly incredible." To this form of the argument the obvious reply is, that the voice of history contradicts this broad assertion respecting the experience of the world. For history, both sacred and profane, testifies that vast numbers of persons, in different ages and countries, have witnessed, or at least, have believed that they witnessed the occurrence of miracles; and it must first be proved, that *all* these persons were deceived, that not a single one of them ever witnessed what they all say they witnessed. Until this is proved satisfactorily, the broad assertion, that the experience of the world is opposed to

all occurrence of miracles, is an unwarrantable assumption; it is a manifest *petitio principii*, a direct begging of the question.

Mr. Hume himself could not but feel the necessity of rebutting the abundant testimony of history as to the occurrence of miracles. He therefore goes on to say, (p. 124,) "In the foregoing reasoning we have supposed, that the testimony upon which a miracle is founded may possibly amount to an entire proof, and that the falsehood of that testimony would be a real prodigy. But it is easy to show, that we have been a great deal too liberal in our concessions, and that there never was a miraculous event established on so full an evidence. For, I. There is not to be found in all history, any miracle attested by a sufficient number of men, of such unquestioned good sense, education, and learning, as to secure us against all delusion in themselves; of such undoubted integrity, as to place them beyond all suspicion of any design to deceive others; of such credit and reputation in the eyes of mankind, as to have a great deal to lose in case of being detected in any falsehood; and at the same time, attesting facts, performed in a public manner, and in so celebrated a part of the world, as to render the detection unavoidable: all which circumstances are requisite to give a full assurance in the testimony of men." II. Most people too readily give credit to miracles. III. Miracles are found to be most abundant among ignorant and barbarous nations. IV. There is conflicting testimony on this subject; for all the popular religions claim to have the support of miracles, and it is impossible that God should have set his seal to religions so diverse.—These are only the common arguments of infidel writers against miracles; and they are all critically examined and answered by those writers who have undertaken to

substantiate the miracles of the Bible; e. g. Sherlock, West, L'atle-ton, Campbell, Leland, Paley, &c. The 1st of Mr. Hume's objections, is denied altogether. The 2d only shows, that we should guard against deception, and should examine well the witnesses. The 3d is of no force against the miracles of the Bible, unless it can be shown that the Egyptian sages, the whole Jewish nation, all the early Christians, and great numbers of learned Greeks and Romans, were too ignorant and barbarous to give us credible testimony respecting things which they saw with their own eyes. The 4th is no argument against the miracles of the Holy Scriptures, unless the existence of counterfeits proves that there can be no genuine coin.

After this attempt to fortify his main argument, Mr. Hume arrives at the following conclusion, (p. 135, 136,) "Upon the whole, then, it appears, that no testimony for any kind of miracle has ever amounted to a *probability*, much less to a proof; and that, even supposing it amounted to a proof, it would be opposed by another proof, derived from the very nature of the fact which it endeavored to establish," and of sufficient force to annihilate it. "And therefore we may establish it as a maxim, that no human testimony can have such force as to prove a miracle, *and make it a just foundation for any system of religion*. I beg the limitations here made may be remarked, when I say, that a miracle can never be proved, *so as to be the foundation of a system of religion*. For I own, that otherwise, there may possibly be miracles, or violations of the usual course of nature, of such a kind as to admit of proof from human testimony; though, perhaps, it will be impossible to find any such in all the records of history." So then, after all, human testimony may be good evidence of the actual occurrence of miracles, provided

those miracles are not appealed to, in support of any system of religion! What inconsistency! According to Mr. Hume, a miracle, *from the very nature of the fact it involves*, can not be proved by human testimony; and yet he allows, that it can be thus proved, provided it does not go to confirm the truth of any religion! But what is there in the nature of religious miracles, to make them exceptions to the general rule of all miracles? Why, nothing at all: the ground for making them exceptions, is of quite another sort, and is wholly foreign from *their nature*, as being miraculous facts. It arises from the stupidity and credulity of men! For Mr. Hume says, (p. 137,) "Men, in all ages, have been so much imposed on by ridiculous stories of this kind, that this very circumstance would be a full proof of a cheat, and sufficient, with all men of sense, not only to make them reject the fact, but even reject it without farther examination." Mr. Hume was aware of the fact, that on this point most men judge very differently from him. They think it far more probable, that God should work miracles in confirmation of a religion which he approves, than for any other object whatever. And to obviate this formidable objection to his views, Mr. Hume finds it necessary to assert, that a miracle in support of religion, can not be rendered a whit more probable, by any arguments drawn from the character and designs of the Almighty, "since it is impossible for us to know the *attributes* or *actions* of such a Being, otherwise than from the *experience* which we have of *his productions in the usual course of nature*." According to this mode of reasoning, (which Mr. Hume himself declared to be unsatisfactory, when it was used by his Epicurean friend to disprove a future state,) we must never believe, that God *can* or *will* work a miracle for any

purpose, until we have experience of their occurrence among "his productions in the usual course of nature;" that is, until miracles cease to be *miracles*, and become a part of the usual course of nature.

Complacently reviewing his mode of reasoning against miracles, Mr. Hume observes, (p. 138, 139,) "I am the better pleased with the method of reasoning here delivered, as I think it may serve to confound those dangerous friends or disguised enemies of the Christian religion, who have undertaken to defend it by the principles of human reason. Our most holy religion is founded on *faith*, not on reason; and it is a sure method of exposing it to put it to such a trial as it is, by no means, fitted to endure." He then sketches a frightful picture both of the miracles and the historic narrations in the Pentateuch; and closes the essay thus, (p. 139, 140,) "What we have said of miracles may be applied, without any variation, to *prophecies*; and indeed, all prophecies are real miracles, and as such only, can be admitted as proofs of any revelation. If it did not exceed the capacity of human nature to foretell future events, it would be absurd to employ any prophecy as an argument for a divine mission or authority from heaven. So that, upon the whole, we may conclude, that the Christian religion not only was at first attended with miracles, but even at this day can not be believed by any reasonable person without one. Mere reason is insufficient to convince us of its veracity; and whoever is moved by *faith* to assent to it, is conscious of a continued miracle in his own person, which subverts all the principles of his understanding, and gives him a determination to believe what is most contrary to custom and experience." Such is the vain attempt at wit, which crowns the ardent sophistry of Mr. Hume's famous Essay on Miracles.

Notwithstanding the disingenuousness and the bitterness of his hostility to Christianity, Mr. Hume, it is said, sustained a fair moral character. His principles, however, tended to the subversion of the foundations of morality. For he held that *necessity* governs all human conduct; and he maintains that all men admit the fact, though all are not aware that they do so. *Necessity*, he tells us, is nothing but "*constant conjunction of similar objects*." And as men of the same character, if placed in the same circumstances, always act in the same manner, there is here the same *necessity* which we observe in the material world, namely, constant conjunction of similar things. "Thus it appears, not only that the conjunction between motives and voluntary actions is as regular and uniform as that between the cause and effect in any part of nature, but also, that this regular conjunction has been universally acknowledged among mankind, and has never been the subject of dispute, either in philosophy or common life." (See his *Inquiry*, &c. sec. viii, p. 94.) This *necessity*, he maintains, is not inconsistent with human *liberty*, (ibid. p. 100.) "For, what is meant by liberty, when applied to voluntary actions? We can not surely mean, that actions have so little connection with motives, inclinations, and circumstances, that one does not follow with a certain degree of uniformity from the other, and that one affords no inference by which we can conclude the existence of the other. For these are plain and acknowledged matters of fact. By *liberty*, then, we can only mean a power of acting or not acting, according to the determinations of the will." . . . "Now this hypothetical liberty is universally allowed to belong to every one who is not a prisoner and in chains. Here then is no subject of dispute." The doctrine of necessity, he thinks, does not destroy morality, but rather es-

tablishes it. Because it shows, that vicious conduct is the natural and necessary fruit of a bad temper and disposition in the perpetrator. To the objection that his doctrine makes the author of nature the real author of all the evil committed; whence it must follow that he delights in vicious conduct, and also, that he alone is responsible for it, Mr. Hume replies, in answer to the first consequence, that God ordained evil as being the necessary means of the greatest good; and in answer to the second, that he can find no satisfactory reply, and can therefore only say, that the doctrine of God's prescience brings along with it the same insolvable difficulty.

In his *Inquiry concerning the Principles of Morals*, which Mr. Hume esteemed to be his best work, he makes *virtue* to be *whatever is either useful or agreeable*, to the person himself, or to others. He admits that there is a distinction in nature between what is virtuous and what is vicious; and he makes it the province of *reason* in part, and in part the province of *feeling* or the moral sense, to perceive the distinction. His moral system includes nothing that is of a religious nature; that is, it leaves entirely out of view all our relations, duties, and obligations to the Divine Being. At the same time, it classes many natural endowments, both intellectual and corporeal, among our moral qualities. In his treatise, entitled the *Natural History of Religion*, he says: "The whole frame of nature bespeaks an intelligent Author; and no rational inquirer can, after serious reflection, suspend his belief a moment, with regard to the primary principles of genuine *theism* and religion." Although he regards the origin of religion among mankind as involved in obscurity, yet he ventures to assert, that "*polytheism* was the primary religion of man." This hypothesis he endeavors to prove from history; nearly all the world were

polytheists until about seventeen hundred years ago, and from reason; men would naturally, as they began to look abroad, first conceive of a different God for every thing they saw, then, reasoning further, they would make all things depend on *one* God. Afterwards, to lighten the cares of the Deity, and to add to his grandeur, they would suppose him to have many ministers or demigods; and thus they would come back to a species of polytheism.

Not long before his death, and in full view of that event, Mr. Hume composed a concise history of his own life, which he calls a funeral oration of himself. This autobiography, together with a letter of Dr. Adam Smith, eulogistic of his character, and describing the closing scenes of his life, may be found prefixed to Mr. Hume's History of England. The philosophical skepticism of Mr. Hume was vigorously assailed by *Dr. Thomas Reid*, (in his *Enquiry into the Human Mind*, Edinburgh, 1764, 8vo; in his *Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man*, Edinburgh, 1785, 4to; and in his *Essays on the Active Powers*, Edinburgh, 1788, 4to;) by *Dr. James Beattie*, (in his *Essay on the Nature and Immutability of Truth*, Edinburgh, 1770, 8vo;) and by the *Rev. James Oswald*, (in his *Appeal to Common Sense in behalf of Religion*, Edinburgh, 1766-72, 2 vols. 8vo.) His assaults on Christianity, especially in regard to miracles, were repelled by *Dr. William Adams*, (in an Essay in answer to Mr. Hume's Essay on Miracles, London, 1752;) by *Dr. John Leland*, (in his *View of Deistical Writers*, Vol. I, Letters 16-21;) and especially, by *Dr. George Campbell*, (in his *Dissertation on Miracles*, 3d edition, Edinburgh, 1797, 2 vols. 8vo.)

VOLTAIRE.

FRANCIS-MARY AROUET DE VOLTAIRE, the great apostle of infidelity

in France, was born at Chatenai, near Paris, A.D. 1694, and was educated by Jesuits in the college of Louis le Grand. He displayed great precocity of genius, and such a propensity to treat sacred things with ridicule, that one of his preceptors early predicted "that he would one day become the corypheus of deism." Dissatisfied with the law, a profession for which his father intended him, he gave his whole attention to poetry; and being early admitted into a society of wits and epicures about the court of Louis XIV, his devotion to the muses became invincible. His first compositions were licentious tales and letters, both in verse and prose, addressed to persons of pleasure. Early in life he began to scoff at religion; and he continued to do so, with increasing recklessness and acrimony, as long as he lived. His epistle to Mme. G. in the year 1716 or 1717—his tragedy of *Cedipus* in 1718, and his epistle to *Urania* about the same time, show him to have been a witty libertine, with no reverence whatever for religion. A satire on Louis XIV, caused him to be sent to the Bastille in 1717; but the next year, he was released by the prince regent. In 1725, he quarreled with the Chevalier de Rohan, and sent him a challenge. For this offense he was again lodged in the Bastille; but was soon released on condition of leaving the kingdom. He therefore retired to England, in 1726; where he was treated with much attention, notwithstanding the licentiousness of his conversation, and where he completed and published his celebrated poem entitled *La Henriade*. Here also he renewed his intimacy with Lord Bolingbroke, which commenced several years before at Paris. He is likewise said to have been on familiar terms with the other English infidels, Collins, Woolston, Morgan and Chubb; and it is apparent that the writings of these deists, especially those of Boling-

broke, afforded him most of the arguments with which he afterwards assailed Christianity. In England, he acquired more knowledge of philosophy, and of the principles of civil liberty.

When permitted to return to France, in 1728, he was full of the praises of English liberty, English licentiousness, and English infidelity. At this period, notwithstanding the sale of his books afforded him a handsome income, his avarice led him to engage eagerly in commercial speculation, by which he became very rich. At the same time he devoted himself much to literary pursuits, and especially to dramatic composition. He soon attained the highest rank as a dramatist, and as a brilliant prose writer. His infidel biographer, Condorcet, says that Voltaire at this time "felt himself called to overthrow prejudices of every kind, to which his country was enslaved. And he conceived that it was possible to succeed in the enterprise, by a happy mixture of audacity and suppleness; by sometimes yielding to the pressure of the times, and then profiting by favorable occasions, or producing them, by employing by turns address, argument, wit, the charms of poetry, and the influence of the theater; and in fine, by rendering argument so simple as to be popular, so plausible as not to shock ordinary minds, and so pungent as to become fashionable. This project inflamed the soul of Voltaire, and roused all his energies. He vowed to devote his whole life to it, and he kept his word." It was in fulfillment of such a vow or purpose, that he published his twenty-five *Lettres Philosophiques*, or, *Lettres sur les Anglois*; which were condemned to the flames in 1734, by the parliament of Paris. At that time Voltaire had to conceal himself awhile; but his pen was not idle, nor his pernicious designs abandoned. He however found it necessary to proceed more cautiously. Hav-

ing made his peace with the court, he was appointed gentleman of the chamber in ordinary, and historiographer of France. During the next ten years, he produced some historical works, and several other of his least exceptionable writings. Being a private correspondent of Frederic II. of Prussia, he was sent with dispatches to that monarch in 1740; and in the year 1746, he had the address to secure an election into the French Academy.

In this full tide of prosperity, Voltaire, always ambitious and restless, and more admired than beloved, became discontented in his own country; and therefore, in 1750, he accepted an invitation from the King of Prussia to come and reside at his court. There he spent three years, with the rank of a royal chamberlain, and a salary of 20,000 livres. Two hours in each day he was employed with the King, correcting his compositions and instructing him in philosophy. Unfortunately, however, he took too great liberties at this court, and falling into contention with his countryman, Maupertuis, who was at the head of the Berlin Academy, he was obliged to leave Prussia in disgrace. He now wished to return to Paris; but the publication of a very licentious poem, entitled *La Pucelle d'Orleans*, having rendered him odious there to many, he spent one year at Colwar, and then took residence in the Genevan territory. Here he mingled in the controversies among the citizens, became dissatisfied, and removed to the neighboring castle of Ferney, in the Pays de Gex, within the boundaries of France. In this retired spot, he invited colonists to settle around him, formed a considerable town, built a church, and lived like a petty sovereign among his vassals. From this retreat, he kept up an active correspondence with the wits and freethinkers of all Europe; and Ferney was much visited by strangers, paying their *devoirs* to the

monarch of taste and fashionable literature, and the high-priest of infidelity. His chief efforts were directed to the overthrow of Christianity. For this end he not only inundated Europe with his own infidel publications, but he took upon him to direct all the operations of the enemies of revelation. Says Condorcet, his biographer, "A multitude of works, in which he employed, by turns, eloquence, argument, and especially ridicule, were spread over all Europe. His zeal against religion seemed to increase his activity and his energy. 'I am weary (said he one day) of hearing you repeat, that twelve men were able to establish Christianity; and I intend to prove to you, that only *one* is necessary to destroy it.' Freethinkers multiplied at his voice, in all the classes of society, and in all countries; and these persons, having learned their own numbers and strength, ventured to show themselves openly. A league was formed, throughout Europe, of which he was the soul."

The following extracts from his private correspondence, will indicate the spirit that actuated him. To D'Alembert he wrote in 1757, "Only five or six philosophers, who are agreed, are necessary to overthrow the Colossus." The next year, he wrote, "If you would keep yourselves *united*, you would give law. All the *Cacouacs* [a cant name for *assailants of Christianity*] should compose *one pack*." Herault said to him one day, "You will never destroy the Christian religion." He replied, "That is yet to be seen." In a letter to a friend, he said, "After this deluge of *jibes* and *sarcasms*, I wish to see some serious work, (yet one that will be popular,) which shall fully vindicate the philosophers, and confound *the infamous*"—[*l'inf....* a cant term, much used by Voltaire, to denote the *Christian religion*.] "I would have the philosophers form a body of initiated." "I would have

you *crush the infamous*. This is the great point." In 1761, he says, "Let the real philosophers make up *one fraternity*, like the Free Masons; let them hold meetings; let them sustain each other; let them be faithful to the fraternity: and then I will burn myself for them. This secret academy would be more efficient than the academy of Athens, or than all those of Paris. But now every one thinks only of himself, and forgets that first of duties, which is, to annihilate *the infamous*. Confound the infamous to the utmost of your power." In 1763, he writes, "I am always afraid you will not be zealous enough. You bury your talents. You are contented with despising a *monster*, which you ought to abhor and to destroy. Why can you not crush it in four pages, and yet be so modest, as to leave it ignorant by whose hand it is slain? *Strike: but conceal the hand*. Do me some day this slight pleasure. Comfort my old age." To Damilaville he wrote, in 1761, "Rush, one and all, skillfully, upon the infamous. What interests me, is the propagation of the faith, the truth—the progress of philosophy, and the abasement of the infamous." To Saurin he writes, the same year, "The brethren united must crush the *rascals*. I always come to this, *delenda est Carthago*." To Damilaville, in 1762, he writes, "Engage all my brethren to pursue the infamous, with the living voice, and with writings, without allowing it a moment's rest." Similar demands he makes upon the Count D'Argental, Helvetius, Marmontel, and others.

At length, after twenty-eight years' absence from Paris, Voltaire wished to show himself again in that capital. Accordingly, in the month of February, 1778, he arrived there, and was received in the most flattering manner. Crowds assembled under his windows to do him honor, and his friends were in constant attendance, and paying him the most

studied compliments. He went to the theater to receive public adulation. There one of his own plays was acted, and was applauded much beyond its merits; and there his bust was crowned with a poet's wreath, by one of the actresses, amidst the plaudits of the whole theater. At the close of the play he was conducted in triumph to his lodgings, amidst acclamations from every quarter. But the excitement and the fatigue were too great for his feeble frame. He was seized with a violent hemoptysis: the Abbé Gauthier, chaplain of the Incurables, was called in; and on the 2d of March, Voltaire signed a formal declaration, that he had confessed himself to the Abbé, and that he wished to die in the Catholic religion; adding also, that if he had formerly scandalized the church, he now asked the forgiveness both of God and the church. Condorcet says, "This novelty scandalized enlightened people, more than it edified the devout." After languishing for several weeks, near the end of April he suddenly became worse, and the curate of St. Sulpice was sent for, but was not admitted into his chamber. The curate sent him several notes, but received only evasive answers. Voltaire was surrounded by his infidel friends, who prevented all access to him; and in their arms he died—with the firmness and intrepidity of a philosopher, say some; but according to others, amidst the ravings of hopeless despair. The latter statement rests very much on the testimony of the Maréchal de Richelieu and the physician Tronchin, who say, that they retired from his chamber absolutely frightened at his ravings. His friends wished to procure him a Christian burial, which both the curate of St. Sulpice and the Cordeliers refused. But at length the Abbé Mignot, a nephew of Voltaire, conveyed his remains to Scellieres in Champagne, and buried them privately in his own abbey;

whence they were removed, in 1791, by order of the National Assembly, and deposited in the Pantheon, or church of St. Genevieve, at Paris. During his lifetime, a statue had been erected to him, by a general contribution among his friends.

His works, dramatic, epic, historic, philosophic and epistolary, are very numerous, and most of them are well spiced with infidelity, full of wit and brilliant coruscations of thought, but not distinguished for either profound or even plausible reasoning. They were collected, after his death, in two principal editions. The most correct is said to be that of Geneva, in 30 vols. 4to; but the most copious is that of Basle, in 71 vols. 8vo. Four biographies of him have been published by his friends, neither of which is fully satisfactory. Those of the Marquis de Villette and of Condorcet, are said to offend by the violence of their language, and those of the Marquis de Luchet and of Duvernet, by their continued strain of labored panegyric.

ROUSSEAU.

JOHN JAMES ROUSSEAU, the son of a watchmaker of Geneva, like his celebrated countrywoman, Maria Huber, discarded the peculiar doctrines of Christianity, but was at the same time a decided *theist*. He was not however, like Miss Huber, distinguished for the purity and religious consistency of his life. His character was a strange compound of almost indescribable excellences and very glaring defects. His imagination was vivid, his passions strong, his sensibility extreme, and his intellectual powers of a high order, while his mind was so ill balanced, that he often seemed to lack common sense. His life was of as variegated a tissue as his character.

His birth, which was in 1712, cost the life of his mother; and his sickly infancy was nurtured most indulgently by his fond father and

very kind aunt. Early taught to read, he, when seven years old, read novels to his father in the workshop, and sometimes sat up the whole night with him to enjoy such reading. After devouring all the novels they could obtain, they read Plutarch's *Lives*, Tacitus, &c. At the age of nine, he was sent to study Latin with a country clergyman, who treated him with much indulgence. At the age of fourteen, the spoiled child was put apprentice to an engraver, who was a severe master. The next year he ran away, wandered in Savoy, and was taken into the family of a Madam Warens of Annecy, who had abandoned her family in the Pays de Vaud, turned Catholic, and now enjoyed a small pension from the King of Sardinia. This lady gave young Rousseau some advantages for education, and treated him as a son till she made him her lover. After various unsuccessful attempts to establish him in some useful business, music seemed to suit his fancy best, and he spent several years as a teacher of music. In 1742, he became secretary to the French ambassador at Venice; but, falling out with his employer, he was dismissed at the end of a year and a half, and returned to Paris with a more extended knowledge of men and things. For a time, he was clerk to a farmer general of the revenue; but being weary of this employment, he resorted to the transcribing of music for a support. Soon after his return from Venice, he took an illiterate but kind-hearted girl, named Therese le Vasseur, for his mistress and housekeeper. By her he had five children, all of whom he sent to the foundling hospital, without retaining any means of knowing what became of them. After twenty-five years, he married this woman, who was a faithful and affectionate wife. In 1748, he was attacked with the gravel, a complaint which attended him all his

subsequent life, and caused him great bodily sufferings.

Rousseau first acquired reputation as an author, in 1750, by his prize essay in answer to the question proposed by the Academy of Dijon, Whether the advancement of science and the arts has contributed to corrupt, or to improve, the moral condition of men. Rousseau maintained the former; and he depicted in glowing colors the purity, the simplicity, and the happiness of savage life. His own judgment of the merits of this performance, he afterwards stated thus, "It is full of fire and energy, but absolutely destitute of both method and logic. Of all my writings, it is the most feeble in argument, and the most defective in harmony of style." Nevertheless, in that age of extravagant opinions, it procured him great applause. In 1752, he produced a comedy, and likewise a musical drama of considerable merit; and not long after, he wrote his celebrated letter on French music, in which he maintained that the French have no good vocal music, and can not have, on account of the defects in their language. This letter gave great offense to the French dilettanti; and in 1754, Rousseau retired for a time to Geneva, where he renounced the Romish religion, and was readmitted to citizenship in his native city. He next went into Savoy, and there he composed his essay on the Inequality among Mankind; in which he traces almost all human ills to the artificial restraints of civilized life, and describes savage life as tending to the perfection of man's nature. Returning to France, he took up a solitary residence at Montmorency, and nearly broke off all intimacy with the French infidel philosophers. In 1758, he wrote his letter to D'Alembert against theaters, demonstrating that Geneva was far better without any theater, than it would be with one. This letter is supposed to

have completed the alienation of Voltaire from him, who could never forgive a man that had depreciated theaters. In 1760, he published his popular but dangerous novel, entitled, *Lettres de Deux Amans*, or as it is usually called, *Julie, ou la Nouvelle Heloise*; and soon after, his *Contrât Social, ou Principes du Droit Politique*, in which he makes the consent of the governed the only foundation of all legitimate civil government, and asserts the right of the people to sit in judgment on their rulers, and to call them to account when they please. This last work was in high estimation among the French revolutionists; and it has been called their catechism, and the Pharos of their legislation.

We now come to the most famous of all his works, which was entitled, *Emile, ou de l'Education*, and was published in 1762. His fundamental principle, in regard to education, is, that the youthful mind should be suffered to develop itself spontaneously, or without being pre-occupied and constrained by any artificial means. In particular, he would have no religious creed inculcated upon the young, until they are able to understand and judge for themselves. His own religious faith is very fully stated in the *Profession de Foi du Vicaire Savoyard*, in the 4th book of this work. He there declares himself a sincere and devout believer in all the principles of natural religion; but as to revealed religion, he is full of doubts and uncertainty. He can see clear and unequivocal marks of divinity in the Bible; and at the same time, unanswerable arguments against its inspiration. The whole is an inexplicable mystery to him, and he can form no satisfactory opinion about it.

He expresses himself in the following manner. "In regard to revelation, if I were a better reasoner, or were better instructed, perhaps

I might discern its truth, and its utility to such as have the happiness to believe in it; but while I see proofs in favor of it which I can not answer, I also see objections to it which I can not resolve. There are so many solid reasons both for it and against it, that, being unable to come to a decision, I neither reject it nor admit it: I only reject the obligation to believe it, because this supposed obligation would be incompatible with the justice of God, who, far from removing the obstacles to salvation by such a requisition, would multiply them and render them insurmountable to the majority of mankind. Nevertheless, I remain in respectful doubt on this point. I have not the presumption to suppose myself infallible: other persons may be able to decide, what appears to me undecided; I reason only for myself, and not for them; I neither blame them, nor imitate them: their judgment may be better than mine, but it is not my fault that their judgment is not mine. I confess also, that the sanctity of the Gospel is an argument which speaks to my heart, and I should regret to find any good answer to it. Look at the books of the philosophers with all their pomp: how little they appear by the side of this! Can it be, that a book at once so sublime and so simple, should be the work of men? Can it be, that the person whose history it relates, was a mere man? Is such the manner of an enthusiast or an ambitious sectarian? What sweetness, what purity in his deportment! what touching kindness in his instructions! what sublimity in his maxims! what profound wisdom in his discourses! what promptness, what ingenuity, and what pertinence in his replies! what entire command of his passions! Where is the man—where the sage, who can act, suffer, and die, without weakness and without ostentation?" Then comparing the Socrates of Plato with Jesus Christ,

and affirming the immeasurable superiority of the latter, he proceeds, "Yes, if the life and the death of Socrates are those of a sage, the life and the death of Jesus are those of a God. Shall we say that the evangelical history is a pleasing fiction? My friend, men never produce such fictions; and the facts related of Socrates, concerning which no one has any doubt, are less attested than those of Jesus Christ. In effect, this is only pushing the difficulty out of sight, without destroying it; for it would be more inconceivable that several men should agree to fabricate such a book, than that a single person should have furnished the subject of it. Never did Jewish writers hit upon such a style and such morality; and the Gospel bears marks of truth so great, so obvious, so perfectly inimitable, that its inventor would be a more astonishing character than its hero. After all, this same Gospel is full of incredible things, things repugnant to reason, things which it is impossible for any considerate man to conceive of, or to believe. What is to be done amidst so many contradictions? Be always modest and circumspect, my child: respect in silence, that, which can neither be rejected nor comprehended; and be humble before that great Being who alone knows what is true. Such is the involuntary skepticism in which I abide. Yet this skepticism is not painful to me, because it does not extend to points essential in practice, and I am well satisfied on all the principles of religious duties. I serve God in the simplicity of my heart; and I seek to know only what concerns my conduct. As to dogmas which have no influence on actions and morals, about which so many disquiet themselves, I give myself no trouble about them. I regard all the various religions as so many salutary institutions prescribing a uniform manner of honoring God in each country by a

public worship, and which may all have their reasons in the climate, the government, the genius of the people, or in some other local cause which renders one preferable to another, according to times and places. I believe them all good, if men serve God agreeably to them. The worship which is essential, is that of the heart. God never rejects any homage, provided it is sincere, under whatever form it may be offered." (See Rousseau's *Emile*, book iv, tome ii, pp. 229—233, ed. Paris, 1822, in 3 vols. 12mo.)

Under what circumstances the ill balanced mind of Rousseau was led to adopt this singular creed, he has himself informed us in his posthumous work, entitled *Reveries of a Solitary Wanderer*, which is a sort of journal of the latter part of his life. He there says, (*Promenade III.*) "I lived among the modern philosophers, who bear little resemblance to the ancient. They, instead of clearing up my doubts and removing my indecisions, unsettled all the certainties which I thought I had gained on points the most important to be known. For those impious dogmatists and hot-brained missionaries of atheism were enraged if any one dared to think differently from them on any point whatever. I often defended myself but too feebly, either from a dislike of disputes, or a want of talents for conducting them; yet I never adopted their sickening doctrines; and this resistance to men so intolerant, and who had also their private ends, was not the least of the causes which drew forth their animosity. They could never persuade me. Their arguments stumbled, but never convinced me; when I could find no good answer, I yet felt that there must be one. I taxed myself not so much with error as with ignorance, and my heart answered them better than my head. At length I said, shall I be always the sport of sophists who can out-talk me, while

I am by no means sure that themselves believe the very opinions which they preach and labor to make others adopt? Their passions which shape their doctrines, and their interest to make this and that opinion current, render it impossible to discover their real sentiments. Can any man expect good faith from the leaders of a party? I acknowledge that I did not always remove, to my own satisfaction, all the difficulties which embarrassed me, and with which the philosophers were so often filling my ears. But being at length resolved to come to a decision on subjects of which human reason is so little the master, and finding impenetrable mysteries and insolvable objections on all sides, I adopted on each question that opinion which appeared to me the best founded and the most worthy of credit, without poring over objections which I could not solve, but which are rebutted by other objections in the opposing system no less strong. The result of my painful researches was pretty much what I have described in the Profession de Foi du Vicaire Savoyard."

This beautifully written creed, the result of Rousseau's maturest deliberations, and which he seems to have thought the most free from objections, and of course the most worthy of universal acceptance, was at once rejected by all parties. The philosophers could not approve of it, because it was too religious; the friends of revelation rejected it, because it conceded too much to the arguments of infidels; and devout believers in Christianity were shocked to find nothing in it but natural religion. Hence the book was condemned by all parties; and the parliament of Paris ordered the arrest of the author, that they might treat him with the utmost rigor of the law. But he made his escape out of the kingdom, wending his way towards Switzerland. The Genevans refused to open their gates to him. Bern would not long harbor

him, and he took refuge in Neufchatel. There he attended the Protestant church, and partook of its sacraments, until his enemies in France and Geneva found means to excite the populace against him. Though protected by the King of Prussia, who was sovereign of the country, he found his situation unsafe in Neufchatel, and again he sought refuge in Bern; but he was driven from that canton by force in the winter of 1765. He then fled to Strasburg, and thence to Paris, where he met with the celebrated David Hume, who conducted him safely to England. In this latter country he composed his Confessions, or autobiography, embracing all the minute events of his life prior to the year 1765. He however soon became dissatisfied with England, and having fallen out with his friend Hume, he returned to Paris in 1767, and from that time onward he received protection from various individuals in France. After several years spent in comparative tranquillity, he died suddenly at Ermenonville, the country seat of the Marquis de Girardin, in the year 1778, aged sixty six. His remains were removed from Ermenonville in 1791, by order of the National Assembly of France, and were deposited with those of Voltaire in the Pantheon at Paris.

The works of this fascinating writer, which have been published collectively, in ten, in twenty seven, in thirty three, and in thirty eight volumes, according to the different editions, were much read during the latter half of the eighteenth century; and they probably contributed more than the writings of any other man to spread among the higher classes of society all over Europe that species of adulterated Christianity which overlooks the peculiar doctrines of the Gospel, and accounts all religious creeds as of little importance, and considers morality, with some deference for the Deity, as all that is essential in religion.

LYING.

WHAT a happy world would this be, if every one spoke truth with his neighbor! Iniquity could have no concealment—guilt no protection—suspicion, distrust, no existence! But it can not be. We must live in a lying world. Lies are the first outbreaks of human depravity, and out they will flow while such is the character of man. But the evil may be mitigated by diffusing throughout the community definite views of the law of veracity. Multitudes are ignorant of what a lie is. They can not tell whether all falsehoods are lies, nor whether all lies are sinful. They have less distinct and correct views of the nature and boundaries of the law of veracity than of any other part of the moral code. Whether they are bound under all circumstances to speak the truth; and if not, when it is right and when wrong to speak falsehood, are questions on which they have no settled convictions. We trust it will be some service to society if we can succeed in relieving this department of morals from confusion and uncertainty. Our plan will be to state—

1. What lying is not.
 2. What lying is.
 3. What the moral nature of lying is.
 4. Certain practical lessons.
- I. We shall carefully distinguish a lie from things that are often confounded with it.

An untruth is not necessarily a lie. All lies are falsehoods, but all falsehoods are not lies. We do not say of a work of acknowledged fiction, that it is a collection of lies, although many, possibly all its statements, may be untrue. Such, probably, are some of the parables of our Savior, which were not founded on any actual events, but invented by him for the purposes of instruc-

tion. They are free from an essential element of lies, an intention to deceive. We may also state that to be true which is contrary to fact, without lying, for we may ourselves be deceived by the false statements of others.

Nor are all intentional deceptions lies. Every lie is an attempt to deceive, but every attempt to deceive is not a lie. Repairing and painting an old house, that it may appear to be new, is an act of deception, but not a lie. If the owner has no intention, other than to make his residence more pleasant and respectable, the deception is entirely harmless and innocent. The same may be said of innumerable acts of deception. Stratagems of war are not lies. When a person pursued by an enemy flies in a direction contrary to that which he intends to take, and when out of sight changes his course in order to elude pursuit, he deceives his pursuer, but does not lie to him. Nor is his conduct reprehensible. We have a case in point, as the lawyers say, in the Bible, Josh. viii, 2, where God instructed Joshua to take the city of Ai, not by a lie, but an ambush which effectually deceived the inhabitants.

Nor is it a correct definition to say, that a lie is an attempt to deceive with a bad intention. Deceptions are often practiced with criminal intentions, in violation not of the ninth commandment, but of other precepts of the Decalogue. Getting a ship insured which we have secret information is lost, is a criminal deception, a fraudulent act, but not a lie. It is a violation both of the eighth and of the tenth commandments. To train a damaged or refractory horse for market with the design of deceiving buyers, and to place goods in a shop in a posi-

tion to conceal their defects of quality or color, and tempt customers to buy them at an exorbitant price, are acts of the same character, deceptions, not lies, breaches of the eighth rather than the ninth commandment.

Nor are all lies breaches of promise. A breach of promise is a lie, but a lie is not necessarily a breach of promise. When a person denies his age, or declares himself to be rich when he is poor, he lies, but breaks no promise. The supposition that whenever we make a declaration we virtually promise to speak the truth, is adopted to establish this definition; but the fact is, that the lie in the case of a false declaration consists in that declaration, and not in breaking an engagement to make a true declaration.

II. We shall state what a lie is.

A lie is an attempt to deceive a person by the use of language.

By language we mean words, spoken, written, or printed, and their substitutes, as the signs used by the deaf and dumb. When one is asked the way to a certain place, if, instead of speaking, he points with his finger to a particular road, he uses the language of signs, a substitute for words, and if he points intentionally in a wrong direction, he tells a lie. Attempts to deceive by other means than language are not lies. When a physician deceives a patient, by mingling an offensive medicine in his food, he is not guilty of lying. It was not a lie in Dr. Samuel Johnson to have a secret chamber, unknown to his servant, to which he retired whenever he wished to avoid interruption by company. It was an honorable expedient of a conscientious man, wishing not to offend his friends by refusing to see them, and not to wound the moral sense of his servant by teaching him the fashionable falsehood, "my master is not at home."

The following considerations are offered in evidence of the correctness of this definition.

The prohibition of lying in the Decalogue is a prohibition of false testimony against others, *an act which can be done by the use of language only*. Attempts to injure a neighbor by other modes of deception, are not forbidden by this but by other precepts. The clerk who embezzles the property of his employer, is guilty of breaking the eighth commandment, Thou shalt not steal, but he is not guilty of lying. He deceives his employer culpably, but not by a false declaration.

In perfect keeping with the terms of the ninth commandment, we find that the Bible (except where "lying" is used figuratively) *invariably speaks of language as if it were the sole instrument of lying, and assigns other names to other modes of unlawful deception*. They "go astray as soon as they be born, *speaking lies*." "Lying *lips* are an abomination to the Lord." "Keep thy tongue from evil, and thy *lips* that they speak no guile." "Putting away lying, *speak every man truth with his neighbor*." These allusions to language as the instrument of lying, might be explained by the fact that language is the *main* instrument, were there any intimations that we can lie in any other way. But there are none. This is hardly consistent with the notion that lies may be uttered and are constantly uttered by other means. The Bible also recognizes a distinction between *dealing falsely* and *lying*. Lev. xix, 11, it is said: "Ye shall not steal, neither deal falsely, neither lie one to another." Perhaps these several expressions are not used with the precision of a modern code of laws, yet neither are they used with the looseness of popular discourse.

The Bible speaks of lying as invariably sinful, but this is true only of attempts to deceive by language. It is not wrong to conceal, by dress or other means, personal deformities which would give pain to us,

and to others if known, and a knowledge of which can be of service to no one. A deception accomplished in this way, without language, may be wrong, and is wrong when it springs from a bad motive. Whoever should conceal personal deformities for the sake of gaining the hand of another in marriage, would be blameworthy in proportion to the wrong which he is conscious of intending to inflict on the other party. But the deception itself does not necessarily involve a bad motive. On the other hand, lying is invariably spoken of in the Scriptures as wrong. No exceptions are noticed. All lying is to be put away. Every man is to speak truth with his neighbor. With this description our definition is in entire harmony. While it is lawful to deceive others by various ways and means, it will appear in the sequel, that to deceive men by the use of language is never right, and is constantly mentioned with reprobation by the sacred writers.

There is a palpable and radical distinction between deceiving others by language and deceiving them by other means. A physician may properly deceive an unmanageable patient by giving him a medicine covertly. But can he honestly deceive him by declaring that the cup which contains the medicine does not contain it? Suppose he is called to a man who he knows is strongly prejudiced against calomel, and who, as he believes, needs that article to subdue his disease. He may innocently administer the medicine secretly in his ordinary food; it may even be his duty to do it; while it would be wrong to carry on the deception by saying that the medicine thus prepared contains no calomel, or that he has no intention of giving him any. Every one perceives there is a difference in these modes of deception. In both cases the good of the patient is intended. The motive of the deception, what-

ever may be the means of effecting it, is the recovery of the patient. But yet in one case the physician keeps within the bounds of rectitude, in the other he oversteps them. The difference, we apprehend, lies in the fact, that deception by language is a breach of veracity, which other deceptions are not. In one case the author of the deception falsifies his word, in the other he does not. In one case he impairs confidence in himself as a man of truth, and weakens his own respect and that of others for the law of veracity; in the other his patient can only be vexed with him—perhaps he will soon be pleased.

We may see this more clearly in the light of several other examples.

To resume a former illustration, a person escaping from his enemies, if he knows a place of security at the north, may direct his course to the south, for the sake of covering his intention, and effecting his escape by deceiving his pursuers. But if on the way he meets a person whom he dares not trust, and tells him he is going to another place than that which he has in view, he resorts for safety to a mode of deception, which if it is lawful, differs entirely from a mere stratagem.

Take another example. A woman in infirm health urges her husband to go with her to the Springs. He is perhaps extremely reluctant to go. His business, or his natural aversion to traveling, may render the proposal of his wife very unwelcome to him. But still his desire to gratify her, or sense of duty to her, may very properly lead him to conceal his own feelings, and to take the excursion *apparently* with perfect willingness and pleasure. By this course he promotes his own happiness without diminishing that of his wife by manifesting his real feelings. This is gentlemanly, kind and Christian. But if instead of merely appearing to be pleased with the journey, he deceives her by say-

ing falsely that he wishes to go on his own as well as on her account, does not every one see that the character of the transaction is changed? By deceiving her through the readiness with which he assents to her wishes, and the cheerfulness of his manner, he is not guilty of falsifying his word. Could she read his heart, she would admire and love him the more, instead of losing her confidence in him. But deceiving her by a false declaration, is an act which would impair her respect for him, were it known to her; and which actually impairs his own respect for the truth.

As another example, suppose A. insults B. The anger of B. is excited, and struggles to vent itself in abusive epithets, or it may be in blows. He however restrains himself; represses his feelings; hides them in his own bosom, so that to all beholders he appears, as he means to appear, perfectly calm and meek. All are deceived. But is he guilty of a lie? He intentionally practices a deception, but his conduct is commendable. For an angry person to deny that he is angry, is a breach of faith; whereas, to deceive others by suppressing the passion, is a violation neither of the law of veracity nor of any other law.

The distinction which is here insisted on, is universally recognized by unsophisticated minds. Such acts, as picking a man's pockets, are known as lies only in the definitions of learned men. The common people call these things thefts or frauds, not lies. Dextrously thrusting one's hand into another person's pocket, without his discovering it, is an act of deception. But what if it is done merely in sport? Then it is simply a piece of impertinence. What if it is done to steal? Then it is a breach of the law, "Thou shalt not steal." So it is spoken of and treated by common men. They never think of calling it a lie.

No definition besides ours, fur-

nishes a practical criterion by which to determine whether a given act is a lie or not. We instantly see what a lie is, in the light of this definition—"an attempt to deceive by the use of language." We can not confound the act with any other. We are not at a moment's loss in deciding what our duty is—unless indeed it is sometimes right to lie, a question which belongs to another part of this essay. Every false declaration is a lie, unless notice of the falsehood is given at the time; or every false declaration with an intention to deceive is a lie. And lies may be uttered by words, spoken, written, or printed, and by any other language, and by language only. As to other modes of deception, they are not forbidden by the divine law, although they may not be resorted to for unlawful ends.

Now if we compare this definition of lying with others, we shall find a reason for our preference in the doubt and perplexity in which they leave the mind as to the precise bounds of obligation. "Falsehood," says Milton, "is incurred when any one from a dishonest motive either perverts the truth, or utters what is false, to one to whom it is his duty to speak the truth." This definition recognizes language as the sole instrument of lying; but besides being in direct contradiction to the precept, "putting away lying, speak every man truth with his neighbor," that is, with every other person, it embarrasses the mind with two difficult inquiries, what motive to lie is honest and what dishonest; and who has a right, and who has not, to know the truth. Thus too, if we adopt the common definition, "a lie is an attempt to deceive," we are at once embarrassed by the manifest lawfulness of many deceptions. We find that we have not even a general rule of duty on the subject. The definition most frequently found in the dictionaries—"a lie is a criminal falsehood"—approximates closely to

ours; yet it has the fault of needing itself to be defined.

It is certainly important to discover, if possible, a criterion of lying, which will guide honest minds, and the dishonest also, to an instantaneous recognition of the divine law. This is found in our definition, and in no other: a fact which does not indeed prove ours to be correct, but which recommends it to a general adoption, if it is plain on examination that all that, and that only is embraced in it, which the Scriptures denominate lying.

The truth of our definition is perhaps confirmed by the fact, that all *those cases of voluntary deception, which are manifestly lawful, are effected without any false declarations.* Not that cases of deception by language have never been declared useful and right. Few wicked actions have wanted apologists. But we speak of the general sense of mankind.

III. The next step in our plan is, to show the moral nature of lying. In our opinion the law of veracity forbids under all circumstances, an attempt to deceive others by the use of language. Lying within our definition is invariably wrong. The intention to deceive, which is one element of lying, is not necessarily wrong; but the intention to deceive by falsehood, is wrong—so intrinsically wrong that no benevolent motive of the act, can essentially change its character.

As a general proposition it will not be denied that lying is unlawful. We shall, therefore, direct our argument to evince the unlawfulness of those cases which have the fairest claim to be considered exceptions to the law of veracity.

1. We can not lie with ever so benevolent motives, or under ever so urgent a necessity, without pain and self-reproach. No conscience in which moral sensibility has not been destroyed, can look quietly and approvingly on attempts to accomplish the most laudable ends by falsehood.

Whatever our philosophy may be, it seems to us that human experience decides, that lying is in all cases an act of violence to the moral constitution of man.

2. That a lie is invariably sinful, is probable from the absence of any criterion by which to distinguish a radical difference in the moral quality of lies. If lies may be innocently uttered for one's country, why not for one's family? If we may lie to save our lives, why not to save our reputation or property? And then why is it not right to lie for the sake of acquiring property, if it can be done without injury to others? In the absence of any guide, where shall we stop?

3. The universal obligation of the law of veracity is fully asserted in the Scriptures. We have already cited several passages which in an unqualified manner inculcate the duty of veracity. They allow no exceptions. "Ye are of your father the devil," says Christ to the Jews. "When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own; for he is a liar and the father of it." "All liars shall have their part in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone."

4. The example of our Savior confirms our argument. He often deceived others, but never by a falsehood. He sometimes refused to speak; but when he spoke, he adhered inflexibly to the truth, not regarding the danger and difficulty in which it would involve him. Nor can it be doubted, that had he on any occasion, for any purpose, attempted to deceive men by a false declaration, the whole world would have pronounced him an impostor.

5. Any particular advantage which may result from lying is outweighed by the general evil. Were we to lose our sense of obligation to speak the truth, and our disposition to believe the declarations of others, it would be impossible to conduct the affairs of life. We could no longer have the benefit of the past expe-

rience of others, and each would be dependent for knowledge on his own limited observation and experience. These consequences of annulling the law of veracity are not, it is true, to be expected from any single act of lying, nor from many such acts. Yet every lie has this tendency, and in no particular instance can it be certain, or even probable, that the general evil will not exceed the particular advantage of a lie. We are also to bear in mind the magnitude of the evil of infecting the public mind with the doctrine, that lies may innocently be told for good ends, or to persons who have no right to know the truth. Let this be understood to be the rule of duty on the subject, and what confidence would remain on earth? How could we tell at what rate a person addressing us estimates our right to know the truth, or what ideas he has of the utility of deceiving us? Let this opinion prevail, (and if it is true it ought to prevail,) then who could be deceived by a falsehood? In the very cases, in which the necessity of lying is claimed to be so urgent that it ceases to be wrong and becomes a virtue, a lie could have no influence. It is our view of the extent of the law of veracity, which enables any to practice the deceptions that they plead for. Were their views received, there would be an end of the possible utility of lying; a fact which, it seems to us, is a sufficient refutation of their opinion.

The fact, that the moral quality of an action lies in the intention of the agent, and not in the external form of the act, leads some to deny the propriety of asserting the invariable sinfulness of transgressing any precept of the Decalogue. These commandments, they say, are all subject to exceptions; and as an example, they cite the law of the Sabbath. The whole divine law is summed up in benevolence—and since it is sometimes benevolent to

act in direct opposition to the letter of the general rules of duty laid down in the Decalogue, so it is not invariably wrong to worship idols, to steal, to commit adultery, to bear false witness. The motive is to be considered. There all the right and wrong lie. It would be idle to deny that the moral quality of actions lies in the intention. There is no act forbidden in the Bible, which may not be innocently committed by a maniac. But the question before us is, whether a moral agent can attempt to deceive another by a falsehood, with an intention wholly virtuous. It is for the objector to show that one constant element of the intention, namely, to deceive another by falsehood, is not essentially wrong. Other elements of the intention may be laudable—the relief of want, the vindication of right, the promotion of religion—but none of these can sanctify his intention to accomplish these objects by a falsification of his word.

IV. This part of our plan embraces "certain practical lessons."

It would certainly be uncivil in us to suggest that any of our readers may be personally benefited by these hints, which still may enable them to form a juster estimate of the conduct of others, and to correct the loose sentiments of the community.

Whoever values his happiness, respectability, and good influence, should remember how absolutely they are suspended on his own regard for the law of veracity. No liar can respect himself, or feel worthy of the respect of others. Nor can he long retain the confidence of his acquaintance. A single lie often requires other lies to conceal it, each of which is apt to increase the embarrassment, and at length to leave the reputation under a cloud, if not in ruins. The liar is always trembling with the fear of exposure. His mind is in constant alarm; and at length when he

is detected, which happens sooner or later to all habitual liars, he is despised by society, shunned by his friends, scorned by his enemies, and stung by remorse, until abandoning the hope of regaining his standing in the community, he sinks under the contempt, hatred, and neglect of the world. Other stains on one's good name may be erased; this is indelible. Who believes in a liar's professions of reformation? Who for this world is more hopelessly a ruined man?

This ruinous habit is most frequently the effect of lying for the gratification of others. Flattery, exaggerated praise, extravagant compliments, false apologies for neglected courtesies, false professions of friendship, are only less criminal than grosser falsehoods. "White lies," as they are called, first corrupted the character of every habitual liar, first seared his conscience, and made him what he is. The first lies, little lies, lies for amusement, are the forerunners of confirmed, unshrinking mendacity. But if they could have no such effect on the character, they would not be innocent. In some respects the habit of lying in common conversation, or *romancing* for the entertainment of our company, is worse than lying in a more deliberate way. Certainly, nothing is more painful than to receive the impression, that the conversation of a friend is, perhaps true—perhaps not.

The habit of lying in historical romances is still more reprehensible. The apology of this class of writers is, that there is a general understanding that all which is said is not true. But this is not enough. The reader is not advised that any particular statements are false. Error and truth are mingled without any pretense at accuracy, or means of distinguishing them; a kind of writing opposed to all certainty, and storing the mind of the reader with false notions of men and things.

The same plea is offered in justification of the falsehoods of advocates in defending their clients in courts of justice. There is a general understanding that they will not scruple to throw dust in the eyes of the court, by every possible distortion and exaggeration of the evidence. But this is no excuse for their conduct. They profess entire sincerity, and wish to be believed when they utter absolute falsehoods. This disregard of truth, it seems to us, is altogether unnecessary for an able defense of clients, and the faithful practice of the profession of law; but if it is necessary, it would rather prove the essential immorality of the profession than invalidate the law of veracity. For what can be the tendency of deception in a court of law, except to defeat the ends of justice?

Lying to the sick, is nearly allied to these "liberties" of the gentlemen of the bar. The good of the client is the apology in one case; the good of the patient in the other. Nothing is more common than to tell the most deliberate falsehoods to the sick, when in the opinion of the attendant physician, the truth would be hurtful to him. He is assured that he will recover, and even that he is convalescing, when in fact he is considered in extreme danger; that his friends are well, when perhaps they are dead or dying. No one will deny these to be lies, but the excuse is, that if the sick person knew his critical situation, he would wish to be deceived; or if not, that it is for his good. No doubt the communicating of painful intelligence to a patient, which might endanger his life, should if possible be avoided. Yet in our view, it is the highest prudence to answer all his questions sincerely. Had we a young friend about to enter the medical profession, we would impress on his mind how vitally it concerns his success, that his patients should be able to repose im-

PLICIT confidence in all his statements. Nothing is more painful than the suspicion, that our medical attendant is insincere, that we can not rely on his word. Nor is this all. Whoever suspects, that when he or his friends are in extreme danger, his physician will deny the fact, for fear the truth will injure him, loses the cheering effect of encouragement when the symptoms are all favorable; for how can he distinguish the truth from falsehood? And let it not be forgotten, that if the sick are kept in ignorance of their true state, they are more liable to injure themselves by voluntary imprudence, to suffer from groundless apprehension or suspense, and to neglect their spiritual interests, it may be in the last hours of their probation.

Lying to the insane is a practice no less reprehensible. It is not required either for their benefit or the safety of their attendants. Experience shows that a bold, decided, ingenuous treatment, is the best means of controlling even the wildest maniac. M. Pinel, physician to the Female Lunatic Asylum, Salpetriere, in Paris, remarks, "that insane persons, like children, lose all confidence and all respect, if you fail in your words toward them, and they immediately set themselves to work, to deceive and circumvent you." This is corroborated by the testimony of the best physicians of the insane, both in this country and in Europe.

Lying to enemies is so common a breach of veracity, so mean and so degrading, that we need no apology for speaking of it in unmeasured terms of reprobation. Every just war can be conducted to an honorable issue, by open warfare and innocent stratagems. But if we must be conquered, or falsify our word to the enemy, let us be conquered. It must be confessed that nations are not apt to break a truce, or any other engagement with their

equals, or with those whose vengeance they fear to encounter. It is the strong that break their treaties with the weak—the United States with feeble Indian tribes—the brave officers of the "star-spangled banner," that entice to their camps the sons of the forest, with false promises of safety!

Another species of lying deserves a distinct place in these hints. We have in mind the "easy man," who is always of the same opinion with his company. He has opinions of his own, but never defends, and seldom utters them in the presence of others. He hears what he considers pernicious errors, or what he knows to be the most unjust opinions of men and things, without contradicting them, and with plain indications of assent and approbation. His whole study seems to be to shape his remarks to please his auditors, and if by chance he is so unfortunate as to express an unpopular opinion, he quickly retracts or modifies it. He can not be said to be without guile, but *guile*. He is afraid to appear what he is. Although possibly not conscious of deliberate falsehoods, he is painfully conscious of insincerity—of walking in the garb of a false profession. The "artful man" belongs to the same family, an habitual liar; but he lies because he is a knave, not because he is a coward. He is bold in the utterance of his real opinions, and not less bold in uttering falsehood. He may be a zealot in religion—a fiery sectarian—who scruples not to wage his partisan warfare by false interpretations of Scripture, by exaggerated statements, by defamations of better men. Perhaps he is an equally unscrupulous politician, eager for the spoils, a fawning sycophant to the meanest of his own party, a mendacious libeler of his opponents. Who shall compute the number of lies uttered from the press—from the rostrum—from a more sacred

place, by designing men? Who shall add to this list the multitude which are uttered in the heat of party zeal, by men who are less moved by personal considerations than by a benevolent regard for mankind, whose interests they imagine are suspended on the success of their sect or party? What a humiliating reflection it is, that even this "better sort" of men, are not willing that human interests should suffer, rather than pollute their lips with lies!

The lies of children deserve more attention. It is the only point where our moralizing promises to be fruitful. Lying is commonly the first vice of our nature—requiring the earliest checks, the earliest parental discipline. But wherever it gains a fatal ascendancy, it is rather the fault of the parents than of the child. They should study the best directions for training up a child in habits of veracity.

Teach them the truth by example. Fulfill your promises to them with the most scrupulous exactness. Speak the truth to them on all occasions, whether talking in earnest or in jest; and if by any unforeseen occurrence it becomes impracticable to fulfill an engagement, do not fail to give them such explanations as shall effectually remove the suspicion that your regard for truth is feeble. Never let your personal inconvenience or mere expense prevent you from keeping a promise. Let them have no cause to doubt your sacred regard for the truth.

Teach them by precept. Assure them in the most serious manner, that lies are offensive to God, and that they are punished by him; that they are productive of great evil to men; that every body despises and abhors

the liar; that little lies, prevarications, insincere compliments, false excuses and apologies, and all false declarations designed to deceive others, are all wrong and pernicious.

Teach them by punishment. Let no lie pass without an expression of your displeasure. When reprimands are ineffectual, resort to severer discipline; and when one mode of chastisement is insufficient to awaken a sense of guilt and a purpose of reformation, resort to others, until the propensity to lie is effectually subdued.

Encourage them by reward. When they promptly tell the truth, though alarmed at the prospect of punishment, remit a part of the penalty, as an expression of your approbation of their sincerity; and by all other suitable expedients, teach them the advantage of telling the truth on all occasions, however much pain it may cost them for the time, or to whatever danger it may seem to expose them.

Guard against driving them to falsehood by manifesting anger when you suspect them of a fault. Parents should not call their children to account for misconduct until they are perfect masters of their own passions; certainly not when they are about to elicit the facts of the case by appealing to the veracity of the supposed offender. The manifestation of strong excitement at such a time, will generally so terrify a child, that he will lie, as the only possible refuge from the storm of wrath that he perceives is hanging over him. The parent should keep cool—should inquire calmly into the facts—should seriously, yet kindly represent the wickedness of lying; and he will have the victory.

DOCTRINE OF INSTRUCTION.

Two opinions are prevalent with respect to the duties of representatives in legislative assemblies. One is, that they are bound to carry out the will of their constituents, so far at least as not to break any oath which they may take on entering upon office. The other is, that they are bound to do that, which after due deliberation seems to them likely to promote the general welfare, whether they follow the will of their constituents in so doing or not. These opinions, it is plain, relate to something which is to bind the conscience of the representative, and to be the law of his conduct while acting for those in whose place he stands. As laws of action, then, the two opinions are opposite, and must drive one another from the throne of the soul. If the representative is bound to do the will of his constituents, and if this obligation must guide his vote; he ought not to ask himself when he gives his vote whether this or that measure will promote the general welfare; for in this way he brings up before his mind foreign considerations, which may tempt him aside from the path of duty. Nay, in his deliberations before voting, he has nothing to do with the question of the general welfare; unless we suppose that he deliberates to move the will of his constituents, and through them to move himself. And on the other hand, if his aim in discussing and voting be to promote the common good; he ought not to heed the wishes of his constituents except so far as they are conformed to right reason. Or at least, if it be morally certain that what he regards as the best measure will not be carried or will soon be given up; his part is to gain all that for the public good, which can be gained from men's obstinacy or ignorance.

Again, as in all other cases we are bound to decide questions of duty according to the best evidence within our reach, and though that evidence may be slight, are still bound to make up our minds in accordance with it; so the representative must be guided by the light before him, though that light be feeble. It is of no use to say that he is instructed in one case and not in another. The only effect of instructions is to make it *plainer* to him how his constituents wish him to act. If these wishes should be the rule of his conduct as a representative, he has in such cases no doubt what he must do, and is relieved from every uncomfortable apprehension that he is going wrong. But is he allowed, because no express orders have been sent him, to follow his own judgment, or to make the public good the rule of his vote? No, certainly, if his supreme law must be his constituents' good pleasure. The only difference between one case and another lies in the degree of assurance which he possesses, that he has found what that good pleasure is. When, indeed, after due inquiries, he is in a state of suspense concerning that point, he may perhaps take it for granted that the best measures will be approved by his fellow citizens at home. But he ought, if this theory be true, to anticipate such cases, and sound their minds as far as possible.

We have still further to observe, that these rules of duty must be applicable to all representatives employed in legislation who deliberate and vote; whatever the body be which they represent. Men sometimes talk as if the United States Senate was peculiar in this respect. But no reason can be given why one legislative body should be bound to obey one of the rules of duty pro-

posed above, and another the other. Can such a reason be found in any peculiarity in the mode of election? Suppose the choice is made by an intervening body, as for instance the state legislature. That surely does not destroy or even modify the relation between the senator and the state. He is still the representative of the state, employed to debate and decree in its stead; and his relation to the state is no more affected by the manner of choosing him, than is a governor's when he happens to be elected by the legislative houses. Nor can the reason for a difference be found in the greater power and importance of one representative body than of another. If the will of the constituents must be the law, it is impossible to draw a line between different bodies or between measures of unlike importance brought before the same body. All cases must be subject to the same sweeping rule. The senator of New York, and the representative "of some town in the western climes," only "to those who dwell therein well known"—the extremes in regard to legislative dignity and importance—are here on one level.

Nor will the nature of the government change the duties of the representative. It is often asserted to be peculiarly a democratic thing that the representative should feel himself to be the servant of the people, and should execute their will in all respects. But there seems to be no reason why it should not be thought to be just as much an aristocratic thing for the representative to obey his constituents, in a country where political power is confided to a small part of the people. In the one case, the will of the grown up males, say of from a quarter to a seventh of the community, is obeyed; and in the other, the will of some smaller fraction. Nay, if this be the end of legislation, such obedience may be said to be more fitting in the aristocratic than in the

democratic body. For in a government of the former kind, the present and the ultimate will of the constituents will more regularly coincide, and will better agree also with their interests—we do not say with the interests of the entire population, but with that of the aristocratic voters—than in a democracy, where the ignorant as well as the intelligent are called to cast their votes. It is therefore, to say the least, easier in the former case for the representative to ascertain the wishes of those whom he must on the supposition obey; and he may be more sure for the most part, that while he is at the seat of government those wishes continue steady in one direction.

Nor is the question of duty affected by the degree of light and intelligence on the part of the constituents. If it is, it must be so because their greater insight into public affairs enables them to know better what will promote their true interests. All the light that they can ever obtain will not increase the certainty to themselves or to others of what their will is: a child may know and make known to others what it wants as well as a philosopher. If I am bound to obey the enlightened will of others and not the unenlightened, I am so bound, clearly, not because it is their will, but because their will decides in favor of that which is for the best. And if so, their will is of worth only so far as it is an index of the best course; an evidence of the judgment of enlightened minds concerning what ought to be done: and accordingly it is to be placed by the side of other evidence before my mind affecting the same question, being, as it may happen, the most important or the least important evidence within my reach. They, then, who would establish any such distinction between one sort of constituents and another, must abandon the doctrine of instruction.

Once more ; the question of duty is not affected by an express or tacit permission, given to the representative, to follow in certain cases or always his own independent convictions as to the utility of measures proposed in the legislature. For if he may do so because he has received such permission, the reason why he may, lies in the permission, that is, in the will of those who granted it ; so that the ground of duty remains the same in every instance. Moreover, an intelligent man will be apt to suspect that the duty of the representative must be the result of his relations, which are invariable. If this be so, as we shall hereafter see that it is, the constituents can not alter his duties without altering his relations, and thus making him either not a legislative representative, or one only in a new and qualified sense.

What has been said thus far goes to show that the last and highest rule for the representative is in all cases the same ; unchanged by express instructions, by the importance of his office or of the measures before him ; unaffected by the form of government ; and not capable of being altered by his constituents. So long as his relations continue uniform, and he remains a representative in a legislative body, with power to deliberate and to establish something by his vote ; so long must he in all cases alike—where a constitutional oath at least is not in his way—either be guided solely in the last instance by the will of his electors, or solely by his own persuasions in regard to the public good.

Which then of these unlike, and it may be divergent, paths must he take ? An answer to this question is often found in the mischiefs to which servile obedience on the part of the representative is thought to lead. But it is plain that this answer does not go deep enough ; nor will it of itself, until after long experience, convince those, who have

been led, by something which they call principle, to the other opinion. Another answer must be drawn from the invariable nature of legislative representation. And this will be best seen by determining what would be the duties of the constituents, if they could meet together for the purposes of legislation, and how far the representative steps into their place.

With respect to the first of these points, there can be but little difference of opinion. If the citizens of any state or country were assembled together for public purposes, as in ancient Athens, the aim of each ought to be, not to secure his own private good simply, but the good of the whole body. The means employed would be deliberation, by which the best course is found out ; and voting, by which a choice between measures is expressed. In each mind judgment, conscience, and the power of choice, should be active ; judgment in weighing the reasons for whatever is proposed ; conscience in keeping unworthy considerations from affecting its decisions ; and the power of choice in giving the vote as judgment and conscience had decided. And in thus exhibiting the offices of the citizen, we are far from intending to exhaust the subject of his duties as a legislator, or to make precise divisions of the faculties of the mind. All we seek is to furnish a statement, at once so true and simple, as to meet with general acceptance.

Now, then, does the representative take the place of his fellow citizens in such a sense, that his judgment, conscience, and power of choice, take the place of theirs ; or is he merely their creature to carry out their will ? The answer must be gathered from his functions and his powers. If, on the one hand, they are such that he can not exercise his judgment, then it is certain that he is not entirely in the place of his constituents. And the

same thing is equally certain if he might use his judgment in ascertaining what were the best measures, but had no power to give them a legal form. If for instance men were sent to the legislature to talk merely; no one would suppose that they took the place in legislation which the citizens might have occupied before, or would now occupy, but for this expedient to save them the trouble. Or if men were sent to vote merely without deliberation; it would be evident that they were delegated to give the finishing stroke to measures already settled, without having any voice or will of their own. And if we may so argue from the absence of these functions, we may with equal certainty from their presence. If a man is a member of an assembly where discussion of public matters goes on from day to day, and where at the end of the discussion a vote is cast; it needs no arguing to show, that by the very nature of the body, the discussion is intended to affect the vote; or, in other words, the vote to express the result of the discussion upon the judgments of the members. So far then as his functions are concerned, he is precisely in the place which his constituents would take if they met together. If they would be members of a deliberative body, so is he; if they would discuss public measures or hear them discussed, he does the same; if they would vote, so can he with the same unrestricted power. Hence, then, it seems to be certain, that if they would be bound in conscience to prefer those propositions which should seem to them most conducive to the public good, he also must choose those which seem so to him. In other words, he is not sent—we argue it from the essential nature of legislative bodies, as they have hitherto existed—to execute the will of the community, but to perform those duties which they can not perform, by reason of their inability to

assemble for deliberation in one place.

Let it be remembered also, that the representative system is not a new wheel added to the old machinery, but a new machine altogether. The people, under their ground-law or constitution, have withdrawn from the habit of deliberation in common, if they ever had it, and from the right to pass laws in any other way than through their representatives; reserving, it may be, to themselves, or to part of themselves only, the right to give advice or to petition for redress of grievances. If any number of citizens, even reaching to the whole body, should meet and ordain something; this would be mere advice, unless a change of constitution had preceded; and could not have the force of law upon the conscience of a judge, a magistrate, or any private man. The people have then restricted themselves in the discharge of a duty which they or others must perform—law making; and they leave these others to do that which is necessary to the performance of this duty—to deliberate and decide upon the usefulness of measures. The conclusion then is certain, that this duty, which by its nature is one demanding the exercise of judgment and conscience, must be done by others or not done at all.

It would be difficult for those who take the opposite view, to find a subject of discussion, or a reason for it, in a house of representatives. If the last duty of such a body is to obey the will of their constituents, and if, as we have seen, this is alike a duty when certainly known through instructions, and when less surely inferred from some other source; then, with the exception of constitutional questions, the matter properly in debate for the purpose of moving the minds of fellow members, is simply whether this or that measure is approved by those whose creatures they are. This is the only consideration which ought to affect their

judgment and their vote. A very singular spectacle in truth, such a legislature would present. The only point at issue, between a member from Connecticut and one from Tennessee, is regarding the wishes of each other's constituents. Each knows the views and desires of his own state or district infinitely better than the other; and yet each must stoutly contend that on this point, where politicians have almost an unerring instinct, the other is under a mistake; and that he himself, though living a thousand miles off, is better informed with regard to the wishes of a community, than the other, who by the supposition has his office only that he may convey those wishes to Congress. Truly a silent vote is the only fit one for a body such as this. A "gag law" ought to be carried out physically upon their persons; and the "one hour" of speaking by rule should be shortened sixty minutes.

And it may be fairly doubted, whether even on constitutional questions, there can be an opening for debate in such an assembly. For although its members may be bound by oath "to support the constitution," still they may reasonably ask themselves whether these words intend the constitution as they, or as their constituents understand it. If their main duty is the one supposed, and if the constitution was formed by those who supposed so; it may be presumed that the private judgment of the representatives was not thought of, and that they were considered as mere instruments, like ministers of a sovereign, appointed to express the constitutional interpretations, as well as to carry out the measures of their masters. The oath can have two meanings, and that meaning is to be preferred which takes away the burden of deciding constitutional points from the representative, because on the supposition, he is freed under the constitution from following his own judgment

in all other cases where he acts officially.

Our course of argument, if true, overthrows the doctrine of instruction in all its forms. The extreme of this doctrine alone wears the look of principle, and will be adopted by right-minded men who are led astray by wrong theories. Its more common shape is that of a mongrel between the two theories which we have been considering. A man must obey explicit instructions, it is said; but when they are not given, may presume that he is allowed to follow the dictates of his own reason. It was with reference to this view that we observed, that the mode by which the popular will is discovered makes no difference, provided it is the ground of duty. We now add the more general and fundamental remark, that if a man takes the place of his constituents, he is bound in all cases to do what they would be bound to do,—to act according to his best judgment as to the public good; and that thus the doctrine of instruction in all its aspects must be thrown to the winds.

In this way we can hope to have good legislators, men who will see the right and pursue it; but the other theory looks like a device to throw conscience overboard, and to free bad lawgivers and corrupt constituencies from all sense of guilt. It is a scheme to transfer responsibility from those who are qualified to feel it, who have had all sides of a measure held up before them during a debate, to those who can not and should not feel responsible. The two parties are placed in a position something like that of the two thieves in the fable. The representative knows what is for the best, but is not bound to vote for it; the constituents have not the same means of judging, and yet bear all the weight of obligation. A great deal of human guilt would be prevented by a like ingenious process applied in other cases.

If our principles are sound, a representative may not pledge himself beforehand to a particular course, nor promise to obey instructions, nor actually obey them when given, unless they are intrinsically right. We do not say,—and we beg those who may read what we write in a captious spirit to notice this,—that instructions may not be given and ought not to be respected. If they are regarded only in the light of advice and of an expression of opinion, they may be useful. If they are looked on as mere wishes, they are not to be thrown away; for it is one part of legislation, though a minor one, to gratify the wishes of particular sections, when they interfere with no greater good. But assuredly an honest man ought never to promise to vote in one way, when the result of deliberation may be to convince him that the very opposite is the right one. Still less ought he to bind himself in a general way to obey his constituents, for he thus multiplies the probabilities that he will give a wrong vote, and admits a most hurtful principle. It becomes all good men to resist the spread of the doctrine of instruction, which was formerly confined to our southern states, but which has of late begun to travel northward during these times of shifting majorities and of party bitterness, owing to the facility with which it enables each newly victorious party to obliterate the traces of its fallen rival. We admired the course of a distinguished lawyer of New York, when held up for the state senate a year and a half ago. He was called upon to pledge himself to vote, if elected, in favor of the system pursued by the public school society, and against that which the Catholics desired. He replied that his present opinion accorded with the proposed pledge, but that as he would be, if chosen, a member of a deliberative body, where he might hear reasons that would alter his persuasion, he could

take no pledge whatever. He was we believe dropped for this answer; being too good now to serve a party that heard him nominated with applause.

Gentlemen who hold to the duty of obeying instructions, often resign rather than perform it. But upon their principles such conduct is very strange and inconsistent. Why should they resign? Ought they to avoid doing what they own to be right, because it is unpleasant? Can there be any thing dishonorable in doing one's duty, in acting on principles which one has received long since, and perhaps used much to the annoyance of an antagonist? Such a representative too, should bethink himself of the wide range of the services he may render to his constituents: he has a larger sphere to act in, than a man has who feels that he must look at the public good in his vote. He can represent all parties and all combinations of opinion as they happen to be uppermost. He can be the "jack on both sides," and stay with the strongest until its game is out; and all this in obedience to a principle that binds his conscience. Happy man, in whom the love of office and duty thus harmoniously unite, and permit him, in the course of "one revolving moon" perhaps, to say aye and no upon any proposition whatsoever. But we fear that those who resign rather than obey, have an obscure feeling that they thus avoid a degrading situation, or entertain a suspicion that they can not obey without losing the respect of upright men. They now begin to be sensible that a man of far-reaching views and long experience is not wanted where any one who can vote would do just as well; and that a man of great talent is meanly employed in doing that to which a man of no talent is equal. If so, we respect them for their honorable feeling, and we receive with thankfulness the light their conduct throws on the subject before us; but

we also maintain that they are most inconsistent and most unjustifiable in declining to do an admitted duty.

The tendency of the doctrine of instruction must now appear to be, even in its most qualified forms, that of degrading a legislative assembly. It is not easy to see why men of ability should wish to sit in a body upon which eloquence and argument are wasted ; where they can not expect to persuade and ought not themselves to be persuaded. Upright men, again, will not be returned, if they hold the principle for which we have been contending. There remain then only the second rate politicians, with a part of the weaker sort of honest men, to compose a house, the proceedings of which may affect the civil interests of millions and the relations of a country to the world beside. And is this the place from which intelligence or uprightness ought to be driven? Such a body would not probably long have the power to do great good or evil. There is an inconsistency between its capacity and the constitutional powers left to it, which would make itself felt. Or penalties might reasonably come in to prevent disobedience to instructions ; for surely the judge is no more justly impeached and punished for a breach of his main duty, to decide according to law, than the representative would be for violating his chief obligation to express by his vote the popular will for the present time. And, with this, clear specific instructions must be written out to guide the whole course of the representative. He certainly would have a right to demand them, lest he might be punished for mistakes as if they were misdemeanors. Freighted with documents which revealed to him his duty, his great aim would be to make himself master of their contents ; and if doubts or new cases arose, the constituents must again be consulted and relieve him from his embarrassment. If he venture to sug-

gest views which they oppose, or argue with them in his communications, they will suspect him of a disobedient spirit, and perhaps remove him to put a more pliant man in his place. Thus the few honest men that might remain in such an assembly would leave it, and be succeeded by those who would not dare to rebuke or give advice, who would sit quiet spectators of the mistakes of their employers, anxious only to avoid their wrath. It would be idle to speculate upon the ultimate effect on political institutions, when this principle had had its perfect work : the probability is that a new wheel would be added to the machine, rendering it only more complex ; that a body constituting itself the people's representatives, would meet in caucus to decide what measures the people should approve and what condemn ; and that thus, in the place of one body gathered in the center with the ability to compare and adjust the interests of the whole nation, would arise in every quarter knots of local politicians, who, if honest, could not have looked beyond the bounds of their own horizons.

And how widely do the two theories separate from one another, when viewed with reference to a whole country. To the man who feels bound to pursue the public good, it is no matter who elects him ; he feels that his duties have a permanent form. It is the same to him, whether he is chosen by a district or by a general ticket, or whether the whole union should choose all its representatives in a body. In all cases, he regards himself as the representative of the whole nation ; appointed indeed to take care of the interests of a certain section, but still bound—as the section itself is bound—to make those interests yield to more important ones, when they are inconsistent. He perceives that in his person and that of his fellow representatives, the country virtually meets together ;

that there is no other place where the interests of all can be compared and adjusted ; and that to make so sacred a body, created to promote the common good, powerless it may be in that respect, and only powerful to carry out the selfish plans of a petty district, is to poison legislation at its source. This being his temper, his ear is not closed to any suggestions that may come from any quarter, east, west, or south ; and as his pledge is not given to oppose the best measures, he can view every proposition with candor and accept of it freely. The people too, feeling that this is the aim of legislation, will select men who can best secure the public weal, men who have looked abroad over the whole of the country, who understand every interest, and most clearly those of their constituents. They will be confident that such men will not deceive them, nor basely sacrifice their substantial welfare. And they will soon find out that the good of all the parts is so linked together, that their representative, who seeks that good and secures it, will secure their own.

But upon the other theory, unless the interests of all the districts shall be seen obviously to coincide, there can be no broad or generous legislation. Until the selfish interests of the parts, by some magical system of balances, shall turn into the good of the whole ; until then will a country under such lawgivers, fail of prosperity and true progress. A kind of feudal principle will prevail over the principles of free republics, to keep the parts in a state of isolation, and split that into fragments whose excellence consists in being undivided. The nearest approach to an enlarged system possible under such a theory, is that of *log-rolling*, as it is significantly called ; which has tended to burden some of the United States with useless public works, ruinous expenses, and disgrace ; or the still worse

system of parties as at present carried out in practice ; under which the majority who choose the representative, are his only constituents ; the party arrange the measures for the state or country ; the members of the party in the district are dragged into those measures by force ; and the representative himself is like the men in some armies, who are chained together to fight for their masters.

Nor is it of any use to say, that by the doctrine of instruction you obtain representatives who will not be faithless to the interests of their constituents. For whether they are pledged or not, the fact still continues the same, that they *can* vote on which side they please, and under the influence of any kind of motives. The impulse to follow the wishes of one's constituents, is surely stronger in ordinary cases than any other ; and many a man, who has discarded the doctrines of obedience to them, has obeyed them in practice even against the convictions of his own judgment. The possibility now remains on the one hand, that men professing to have the highest interests of the whole country in view, will act from base motives, when they disregard the interests of their constituents ; and on the other, that men who promise to mind their constituents in all things, will desert their cause for the sake of filthy lucre or of office. If what we have said above is true respecting the kind of representatives which the two theories in question would bring into legislative assemblies, there can not be much doubt on which side the greater evil would lie.

The principle which we have been advocating, but not the opposite one, can be reconciled with the provisions of the Constitution. This instrument does not indeed, in express words, set forth the relation which it regards the representative as holding. Our argument from it can only

reach the point of showing, that the practice of obedience to constituents tends to results certainly not looked for by the constitution, and is opposed to its spirit, so far as can be argued from the analogies of other provisions. We will give the considerations which have occurred to us, without much regard to order. It is expressly provided, that the members of neither house shall be questioned in any other place for any speech or debate. (Art. I, sect. 6.) But if so plain a thing as obedience to the express will of constituents is a duty, resulting from the only true theory of government, the opposite is a crime and ought to be punished as such by statutes, and not, as now, simply by the loss of public favor. Such a course tends too, to change the term of office allowed under the constitution. And this it does the more effectually, because the same reason which requires obedience from the representative during his office, will more imperatively call on him to lay down his office if the people of his district should so wish. And hence, every oscillation of the majority, every change of a few voices, which in these days, like the clouds, are banked up and scattered by alternate blasts of wind, must require a resignation and a new election. The constitution again allows the two houses to place themselves in a situation where they can neither consult or guess at the will of the people, by permitting secret sessions and the suppression of such parts of their journals, as in their judgments may require secrecy. (Art. I, sect. 5.) Why should it increase or even make insurmountable, the difficulty of finding out that, upon which the duties of legislators depend? It gives Congress also the power to "provide for the general welfare of the United States," (Art. I, 8,) within certain limits, which it attempts distinctly to mark out. May it not be fairly

argued, that they who receive such a power become obligated to use it; that, as it requires the highest judgment and oftentimes a disregard of local interests, they are bound to act accordingly? And which is most consistent with the spirit of an instrument which was framed for union and for the general welfare, to keep that welfare in view as the most important thing in every vote, or to keep it in view only when the selfish wishes of the parts do not oppose? Our position again receives some support, from the discretionary and advisory power of the President. This officer being chosen by a majority of the people, is bound according to the principles of the doctrine of instruction, so far as his relations to legislation are concerned,* equally with the representatives, to obey the voice of the people in every measure. But when he is required "to recommend to the consideration of Congress such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient," it is no doubt presumed, that he will afterwards also judge concerning the necessity and expediency of measures, when they are presented to him for his sanction; that is, that he will accept or reject them, as he shall think the public good demands. (Art. I, sect. 7.) And so much weight is given to his objections, that he has the questionable power of impeding legislation by his veto; nay, in most cases, of preventing it altogether.

We believe that this principle is distinctly recognized in the constitutions of some of the states, but we have no leisure to enquire whether this is really the case. It is rather amusing, that when one party in one of the houses of the legislature

* Though the President has no legislative power according to the constitution, (Art. I, sect. 1,) there can be no law without him; and that, as a judging, reflecting person, (Art. I, sect. 7,) not as a formality.

of Georgia was lately endeavoring to instruct one of the state senators in Congress out of his seat, and the minority seceded so as to prevent a quorum, the seceding members were charged with a breach of their oath, which required them on all questions and measures, so to give their vote and conduct themselves, as should in their judgment appear most conducive to the interest and prosperity of the state. A very proper oath, and one which originated in a clear perception of the principles which ought to govern the representative. But if the oath was founded in reason and was taken merely to confirm a previous duty, was not their senator also in a very similar relation, and had he not like duties? Nay, does not every consideration subordinate to the main one of the principle, which is the same in both cases, press with far greater weight on the senator in Congress, than on the representative in the state legislature? And yet—such is the effect of politicians giving in to false principles—these very men, who call a representative at home perjured for not voting as his judgment dictates, call the representative in the senate of the United States all but a knave, for doing just the contrary.

We will add but one thought more, and that is, that the doctrine of instruction tends to prevent one of the chief good results of the representative system. The main uses of this system which now occur to us, are the following: 1. It tends to equalize the parts of a country, and to enlarge the borders of freedom. When the assembly was composed of all the citizens, those on the outskirts could not attend to their civil duties with the same regularity as the inhabitants of the center. Hence, a central power would arise, into whose hands the management of the state would fall, while the borderers would suffer a loss of their civil rights. But the

system of representation renders perfect equality possible, over an unlimited extent of country. It is also, almost essential to free institutions, when they are brought into contact with despotism. For as long as free states could not grow beyond the limits of vicinity to some capital, while despotism could enclose any bounds whatsoever, the contest between the two principles was unequal. 2. It tends to check the occasional excesses of freedom, and to promote that control of reason in government, without which government becomes an evil. A volume of illustrations of this remark, might be drawn from the history of unrepresented democracies. But it is presumed that they will not be needed by those who know by what means great crowds are often swayed, and with what speed feeling passes from man to man, increasing as it goes, until it may rise to phrenzy. Of this, Athens, the freest among the ancient states, was well aware; the citizens of that 'fierce democratie,' in order to check themselves, prevented the passage of *laws*, properly so called, in the ordinary assemblies of the people; and required that every *bill* should have been previously subjected to the debates of the senate.

Now it is this last object of a representative government, which the doctrine of instruction defeats. It creeps into the legislature, carrying there every prejudice which should have died in its native soil, every partial view which the reason of the whole community, if it could have been collected together, would have discarded. The fortress which reason—the reason of a people—built for itself, is seized upon by discordant passions. Every agitation of the mass is perpetuated, and they who were withdrawn from home that they might deliberate in quiet, are put into a great whispering gallery, where the multitude of

noises deafen the ear and drive reason from its seat.

And as if this were not enough, this doctrine gives birth to a class of politicians, who, incompetent to represent the reason of a country, strive to gain favor by feeding every wish of a people or a party, without regard to the highest good. This, if the scene were transferred to the breast of a single man, if in him the gratification of desire unregulated by reason carried the day, we should call criminal and ruinous. What is there to alter its character, when it takes place throughout a country. The habit once begun, grows fast, and is not soon laid aside. Arbitrary will becomes every

thing; it absorbs all the juices, so to speak, of the political body, until reason and conscience are obliterated and disappear. A nation under such politicians resembles the geese of Strasburg, which are kept before a fire until their livers acquire an enormous size for the sake of the epicures of Paris. And to whose benefit does this turn? To that of the politicians. For, as they are well aware, a master—calling himself a servant, perhaps—will become necessary to men who are guided by passion and ignorance, to men who think that the rule and end of government should be to have their wishes fulfilled, and not the true interests of the whole body promoted.

LANDSCAPE GARDENING AND RURAL ARCHITECTURE.*

MR. DOWNING has published two works of late, the titles of which may be found below, both of a character novel to the reading public. True our professional architects had books, full of designs, from those of Inigo Jones to that of Mr. Upjohn; and our head-mechanics have long been beholden to letter-press and printed diagrams for the perfecting of their homely 'elevations.' The reading world, however, save some few over-curious ones, seem to have regarded such works as the tools of the trade, with which they had little or nothing to do. But we have here, volumes bound for the library or the boudoir, teaching, in quite intelligible terms, of mullions, and tracery, and peaked gables, and terraces, and fountains, &c. Not intended, either, is this last volume before us,

as a closet counselor for contractors, but to render "in some degree conversant with domestic architecture, every one who lives in the country, and in a country house." *Quisque sui domi faber*—every man his own carpenter, would seem to be its motto. But perhaps we wrong Mr. Downing in supposing that he would make his readers so far acquainted with architectural details as to supersede the necessity of employing an architect; since he has politely furnished in one of his closing pages a "general list of professional terms."

But if not to make his readers their own builders, why are they taught of the 'bracketed mode' and of pilasters,—that the minaret belongs to the Saracenic and the turret to the Tudor style? Mr. D. is ready with an answer: "He wishes to inspire in the minds of his readers and countrymen, more lively perceptions of the BEAUTIFUL, in every thing that relates to their houses and grounds." He wishes

* Downing's Landscape Gardening and Rural Architecture. New York, Wiley & Putnam, 1841.

Cottage Residences, adapted to North America. By A. T. Downing. New York, Wiley & Putnam, 1842.

"to waken a quicker sense of the grace, the elegance, or the picturesqueness of fine forms that are capable of being produced in these by rural architecture and landscape gardening—a sense that will not only refine and elevate the mind, but pour into it new and infinite resources of delight."* Now we venture to say, that there are very many well-moneyed and well-mannered, and, as the world goes, well-read men, who would regard this 'inspiring of a taste for the beautiful,' as sheer nonsense; and would turn over Mr. D.'s smiling sketches with about the same notion of their elegance and propriety, that a *Fi-ho-ti* would have of the clumsy foot of a sturdy Dutch wench; in short—would rise from Mr. D.'s last book with the established convictions, that the designs were very *outlandish*; that there was about them a great deal of unnecessary ornament; and that the estimates were each an enormity. They would meet our author's beautiful quotation—'true taste is an excellent economist,' with that matter-of-fact, tingling couplet of Pope's—

"What bro't Sir Vito's ill-got wealth to waste?
Some demon whisper'd—Vito, have a taste."

Of the beautiful, the mass of American landholders, or country-house owners, have exceedingly faint conceptions; and we fancy that it will require more than Mr. Downing's books, though the estimates in the latter were reduced by a third, to render those conceptions either vivid or definite. We do not say this in disparagement of our author's labors; they were needed, and tenfold more, could so many avail to make our country 'lovely.'† But he who would reform our domestic architecture, has to contend with deep-rooted prejudices in our countrymen, strong as their avarice, and extending through every year

of their education. Beauty is an unmarketable commodity; if not contraband, certainly *contra bonos mores*. A man can not sell his Lombardy poplars, his mullioned windows, his umbrage, with his kitchen, and pantry, and garret. — And how many among us build for any other earthly purpose but to sell? Did the owners of country houses build for themselves, the case would be different. Yet even then, how many country livers are willing to pay for beauty? On the contrary, do they not take special pains to eradicate every vestige of it in their neighborhood, and is it to be supposed that one book, or two, or three, should carry them from extreme to extreme? 'Such reformations come not in a flood.'

We speak now of those who derive their support from the cultivation of the soil, and deceive ourselves as we will, with them lie the better features of the country, and with them rests ultimately the decision upon what shall be the character of our American landscape. It is not the wealthy, retired citizen here and there, or strown thickly along some rich interval of country, that are to make and measure into pleasure lawns each roadside view. Changes too are frequent, and stern, and strange; the wealthy manor of to-day, may be to-morrow divided into a dozen leased farms, belonging to as many hungry creditors. The American farmer is the one to be reached by the reformer of our rural tastes, and he is not a man to be swayed by gilded cones, or ample margin, or posts set in mosaic; least of all by nicely contrived theories, or experience, on a scale altogether beyond his reach—gate-lodges, and vases, and Chinese temples. Indeed in this view of the subject, we must express a regret that Mr. D.'s works have been just such as they are; for in general, to the owner of a two hundred or three hundred acre farm, such directions as follow are

* Cottage Residences, p. 2, Preface.

† "To make our country loved, our country ought to be lovely."—Burke.

like the mechanism of Peter Stuyvesant's watch to the 'patcher of shoes.'

"These grand principles are of the very first importance in the successful practice of this elegant art, (landscape gardening,) viz. 1. THE RECOGNITION OF ART, founded on the immutability of the true as well as the beautiful. 2. THE PRODUCTION OF A WHOLE, springing from the necessity in the mind of a unity of sensation. 3. THE IMITATION OF THE BEAUTY OF EXPRESSION, derived from a refined perception of the sentiment of nature. 4. THE PRODUCTION OF VARIETY, including under this term intricacy and harmony, founded on the ever active desire for new objects of interest."*

Upon the whole, we regard our author's efforts of more value in directing attention to the subject, than for any special instructions which they afford. For aside from the small landholder, there are but two classes to whom the precepts conveyed address themselves. The first are they, who by commercial vigilance or social connection have attained fortunes, which they desire to lavish in a show, that they have not the skill to design, or the taste to appreciate. Such leave the accomplishment of the task to the professional artist, and of course need no more the instructions of our author, than President Tyler needs to consult the pages of the Constitution while he has the services of its professed expounders. The other class consists of such as have husbanded their resources to gratify a genuine taste, cultivated by unwearied observation and study. Such have the precepts of Vitruvius and Cato, of Wren and Evelyn, of Knight and Price, at their entire command.

As we shall not again refer to the works before us, except by way of occasional illustration or commendation, we will sum up our no-

tice of them, by remarking that they are well written books, of easy and pleasant reading, and in a measure instructive, particularly the sections in the first upon trees, and the appended dissertation upon transplanting; that they are well printed, and the 'Cottage Residences' illustrated handsomely—the other quite exceptionably.

Beauty with many among us has become nearly a synonym for worthlessness. The beauty of sound, of sight, of taste, of smell, are together condemned as the objects of effeminacy. While the German has his fine-toned music, the Hollander his melody of bells and organs, the French his jet d'eau and parterre, the American from his birth enters into an open conflict with those offices of the system which supply such gratifications. He looks with an indifference amounting to contempt, upon him who courts the pleasure of either of the senses, by a more than instinctive indulgence. That great maxim of utility has so inwrought itself into the mind of the nation, that they see it only in its gross and palpable forms, overlooking those indirect methods by which it might minister to the soul and the sense. Indeed it would seem that the mass of landholders and commercial workers, had forgotten the intimacy of the mind with the body, in their life transactions; confining the accomplishment of that soul which is to be, to a few old books, and stale maxims, and frequently told prayers; never minding that it is a thing of finer tone and more lasting impressions than even a man's revenue. There are those who look upon it as a weakness, to yield their sterner judgments up to a passing love of beautiful things, whether of art or the 'glory of a sunset sky.' As if it were not true that the instrument of vision, so admirably adapted to the acceptance of every material object, was only in harmony with its own

* *Landscape Gardening*, pp. 42, 43.

purposes when ministering to the innocent delights of that mind, which controls its motions. As if there was nothing in that first garden of Paradise, fraught with teachings to the whole race of man; that there is something godlike and ever to be striven for in beauty; and that if man can associate with his 'brow's sweat' somewhat of that elegance from which he was driven out, he restores himself, in so far, to the perfection of that physical condition in which he was formed to act. They are few who possess not some crude notion of what elegance of design is, and an inkling of that skill which gives birth to beauty; yet are the many dazzled by it, only as a babe by a gem. We have sometimes thought there was something in the peculiarity of our political condition indisposing to a correct taste in reference to the elegant arts. The shaven heads marked it in our fathers, when Cromwell wore his buff surtout in place of regal garb. And there are many now-a-days, to whom beauty of art in all its forms, seems tainted with the miasma of kingly courts, and lordly bishoprics, and princely dukedoms. An elegant church is an object of fearful suspicion, for the Popes built St. Peter's; the adornment of a city, for Nero rebuilt Rome; painting, for tyrants have been its patrons; images, for Louis the Debonnair sanctioned their use. Yet are none more ready than these same iconoclasts to admire that beauty which reveals itself in a "sevenfold chorus of hallelujahs, and harping symphonies."

Perhaps we do not give full credit to the changes in reference to works of design, that are making their way silently in the land; certain it is, that with regard to public architecture, more especially church architecture, a great change has transpired. And though the pointed window is set in a chapel of Grecian outline, yet is such a blunder a step

towards taste—ignorance assigning the beauty; just as the shipwreck upon the coast of Bohemia enlisted all the sympathies of the reader, who knew not but Bohemia lay in the Pacific. The people are beginning to realize that some things in the structure of the Gothic cathedral, may be introduced into a Protestant church, without impairing the efficacy of the word, or diminishing the awe at the Divine presence. There is something in those dimly lighted, cavernous interiors, with their clustering columns, stretching on as in the vista of a dream, strangely awe-inspiring, and as it seems to us, disposing the mind of a Christian fitly for the worship of Him who is a spirit. Milton speaks of—

"Storied windows richly dight,
Casting a dim, religious light."

And in the lines which follow, observe how keenly alive was the mind of that great man to the enchanting beauty of good music—often an exile from our churches—

"There let the pealing organ blow,
To the full voiced quire below,
In service high, and anthems clear,
As may with sweetness, thro' mine ear,
Dissolve me into ecstasies,
And bring all heaven before mine eyes."*

Beauty is no foe to reverence—much less is sublimity. The religion of Christ is none the more honored, and none the more likely to prosper, for being forced into an unnatural alliance with deformity. The Ark of Israel would have borne in equal security the covenant of God, had it been a ruder casket; yet the angel of the Most High scrupled not to rest in guardianship upon its golden cherubs.

Our public buildings for civil purposes are perhaps assimilating more the richness of the European. A distinct style of architecture is looked upon as a somewhat worthier object than a conglomerate of every

* Il Penseroso.

species. Observers are actually becoming acquainted with the massive entablature of the Doric, and a fillet of palm leaves can not longer be bound round the Corinthian shaft, nor the acanthus leaf be plaited upon the Egyptian column, with impunity. This is well. It is well for the individual enjoyment of taste; it is well for the architect, that he may possess, as he ought to do, the enlightened approbation of the public; it is well for the edifices, that they may be cherished with the more care, and regarded with feelings of a higher pride; and well too for the people, that they may have studies of grace.

We have a remark or two to make in this connection, upon the school-room, and, by way of episode, upon the school-book,—being, as they are, the first objects which are presented to the youthful mind, and such as in the majority of instances utterly confound every natural sentiment (if such there is) of beauty. The building is, in nine cases out of ten, an amorphous mass of lumber and plaster, where the boy is taught the rudiments of his tongue, from some elementary book which—whether orthodox or heterodox in its etymology, is yet, with its dim blurred printing, and uncouth binding, and thrice-worn cuts, an embodiment of ugliness; these mold his fancies, and elegance is for visionary boys to dream of. It is surprising that so little regard is paid at an age so young, to the awakening of a love for beauty, disposing as it does to order, and harmony, and regularity. And it is the more surprising, that the means of correct guidance are so obvious and accessible. The room itself, by its neatness of arrangement, and elegance of design, might impress an idea of order and fitness upon the growing mind, that would never leave it—and the child unconsciously learn a richer lesson from the inanimate objects around it, than from the labored admonitions

of a master. We rejoice to see that economy is finding its interests identical with a finished appearance; for youth will instinctively pay regard to whatever has put on a garb of beauty; and the neatly painted desk and porch will escape the unseemly cuts and bruises, which were so much in vogue in our boyish days. And with the Grecian front of the modern school-room, and the illustrated pages of the modern school-book, simple and unnoticed matters though they may have been, we date a new era in the education of American children. Such things, in our view, will do more to make our land the country of the cottage and the vine, than the fullest or most ingenious elucidation of the principles of rural arts, as taught by Price and Gilpin.

But not to lose sight of our subject, nothing will so encourage and give permanence to a love for beauty once awakened, as the arts treated of in Mr. Downing's books. Belles-lettres, painting, statuary, music, are totally out of the question, for refining the tastes of the multitude; and the reasons for this are too obvious to mention. But there are home associations connected with the adornment of country landscape and of country houses, which make it matter of interest to every one possessed of any tolerable appreciation of the beautiful. Nothing operates more strongly, as we have already intimated, against the practice of rural embellishments, than the restless inquietude of our landholding population; and nothing would so surely subdue this inquietude, as the successful practice of these same adornments. Again, the peculiar facilities afforded by the face of our country, will amply sustain an interest on this subject, once thoroughly awakened. The rich alluvial depositions along our larger streams, offering the finest soil in the world for the pursuits of agriculture and arboriculture,—the full-

ness and richness of our sylvæ,—the numerous internal lakes, with their bordering detritus of lacustrine plants,—the bold cliffs of our eastern states, harboring in their clefts, from long gone centuries, marine exuvizæ to nourish the fir and the mountain brush-wood,—the wide bending savannas of the west, rich in all that makes the land-owner prosperous—these are the features which will perpetuate a correct rural taste.

Landscape gardening in its present acception, we understand to be a thing of comparatively recent date. True, the *umbrosa vallis*, the *frigida Tempe*, have been figures of luxury in every age; and the first blessed beauty of Eden, was remembered with a regret that made it the image of lost happiness. Vine-clad Canaan was the object of long cherished hopes, not unmingled with fears, to a nation; and there were doubtless those in days of old, who “dugged a ditch and planted a hedge,” as well to beautify as protect. Still in general the unimpaired richness of the country, superseded the necessity of creating anew. Mount Olivet lay nigh unto Jerusalem, and was a garden alike to its savans and slaves. Like all other arts, too, it has had its changes, and the present “natural style” has its origin assigned by our author to quite a recent date. The rectangularities of the old English garden, now most discarded by them, are still retained by the Dutch, as suited (and they are right) to their flats, and water-roads, and national habits, which would never choose a circuitous path, could there be one direct. Mr. Downing, our present expositor, says that true taste nowadays is not to imitate nature exactly in our grounds, but to associate nature’s extremes; therein will be the “recognition of art.” Paths must be run in every possible direction; all angles discarded; trees are to be set in groups of largest outline; the

deciduous mingled with the ever-green, the glossy with the furred leaf; terrace and parapet must lead away by insensible gradations from the architectural beauty of the dwelling to the artistical* beauty of the grounds; turf must be shaven, walks swept, and hedges clipped, to show that art is busy with her broom and shears;—for it would be highly unfashionable that a walk should seem to be formed by the mere foot passengers, or, in the neighborhood of the mansion, that a tree should seem to grow because it belonged to the soil and climate.

To all this we see no objection; tasteful art is most lovable, but tasteless art is proportionately hateful; and we anticipate, under present views of the matter, the operation of much more of the latter to offend, than of the former to please. We by no means impugn Mr. D.’s taste; but we do apprehend that the very minutizæ of his details will lead to great stiffness of execution, with those who take their first and last lessons of taste from his writings. We do fear, perhaps needlessly, that this scientific grouping, this Newtonian analysis of the lights and shades upon a landscape, this making a serious matter of what we conceive to be a simple one, bodes no success to the efforts of our landholders in general. Not that taste of the highest kind is not requisite for effective arrangement of grounds; but taste is simple, and is guided by most simple laws. It is as if an expert angler should seek out some theory, by which to regulate every motion of the rod and reel and gut for a successful “cast,” when in fact, though it is the most delicate manual operation in the world, nothing would so surely destroy its efficiency. In the one case as in the

* We are not sure that we have the right apprehension of this term. It is a new word to us, though used so freely in the volumes before us.

other, time, place and circumstance are every thing. Bring the landholder back to the most entire simplicity, and his acts will almost all show forth the truest principles of the art we are considering. If he set his hedge without a chain and compass, it will run riot; if he drive his team from his door to the highway by the easiest track, avoiding rock and tree and hillock, the path will have grace; if he build without a square, his cottage will have picturesqueness; if he throw out a rude porch to protect his door from storms, it will have beauty; if he set his chimney-flues where most needed, they will break out from the roof in striking irregularity; if he cut windows where easiest done, and for the best light, they will have Gothic grotesqueness. We by no means propose the adoption of our suggestions, but only make them to show where the danger lies, and where least it is to be apprehended. The Maltese vase and China temple may appear well by a gravel path and shaven terrace, for aught we know; but a little wicket swinging upon an oak, and disclosing a foot-worn path to an embowered cottage, with white-washed walls and nicely sanded floor, would be infinitely more to our taste. A clump of alders, to shield a favorite resort from the eastern winds, is to us more beautiful (by far more rural) than tessellated panel-work inwrought with ivory. We wish that the plain farmers scattered over the country, and holding in their grasp the great features which make up the aspect of American landscape, better understood that they can retain every element of beauty around their homestead, and yet rear their crops with the same regularity and success as without. We wish they understood that they can successfully compete with their nabob neighbor, with the means God has put in their hands,—that the essentials of the art consist not in terrace, or exotic, or Corin-

thian column, or prospect arbors. This understanding, such will hardly derive from the books before us; the congruity of natural charms with the every-day life of the laborer, is not so pointedly set forth in them as we could desire.

If the books of Mr. Downing were compiled as the mere text-books of the wealthy citizen, or the farmer, whose prosperity rated at a given income, they have very well accomplished their intent; but if, as their titles imply, they were intended to beautify the cottage residences of *America*, and to make glad her landscape, then are we justified in testing as we have done, the volumes, and in declaring that they are 'found wanting.' Emulation, it may be expected, will do much; but not, by any means, so much as in the old world. Equality at the polls is a rare salvo for inequalities elsewhere. Again, the small farmer could take few lessons of heathful taste, from the grounds entered by a gate-lodge and graveled road, swept with exotics, and flanked with graven images. Such specimens of the art rural, can not be executed upon a small scale; they can never be reconciled with that superlative essential of beauty—fitness. But let the man of humble means be taught, that the simplest forms are most beautiful, and that if he will be simple he can hardly miss of it; and moreover, that beauty is worth the having; that God has purposely robed the hills in its mantle, and hung its curtain out upon the sky; that a nice perception of it will gratify the highest instincts of his nature, opening to him a new revelation, strengthening his religion; that his children will grow up with warmer affections under its daily contemplation, and love more their home, dearer by so many ties—let this be shown him, and the cottage, whether Swiss or Tudor, with its honeysuckle flowers and embowered yard, will spring up all over

the land. He will become content to live in his own home, to gather up his desires within that little circle of enjoyment, to lavish his increasing stores in new efforts for making that home a paradise; more than all, he will be content that his dwelling should be the expositor of his wealth and taste, content to be poor, if beauty adorns his poverty.

But our sympathy with those little, neglected, charming spots, along our New England highways, which break on the eye at every turn, is carrying us, we scarce know where. To be a little more definitive, we propose to occupy our few remaining pages with practical suggestions—mostly our own, partly from the books before us—for making the country home what it ought to be, both as regards its architecture and grounds. And we shall endeavor to seize upon those essentials of the art, which are as familiar and accessible to the man of humble means, as to the most affluent.

As much taste is requisite in the selection of a proper site for a dwelling, as in any one consideration about it. It must be a site convenient of access, particularly to the bustling farmer. It is desirable to secure good views of the dwelling from prominent points of observation; and as far as compatible with other objects, to open rich landscape views from the house itself. The man of limited means should rather look for a position of convenience, central to his farm, yet near the highway, and a situation of agreeable shelter, than one calculated alone to arrest attention. It is the discovery oftentimes of a cottage in some hidden nook, that breaks on the mind with a happier force, than a long kept view of the most commanding site. In however humble a spot a cottage may be placed, there may be opened in time, from the little lattice, enchanting scenes, though no more than the rude paling of a garden overrun

with wild vines, a rural gate, and foot-worn path leading under the green hemlock, and branching to the spring in the meadow. Additional resources may set the diamond pane in the oriel window, and wreath the porch with woodbine and flowering creeper. The eastern and northeastern winds, are in this climate subjects of importance to landsmen as well as seamen; and however well entrances may be guarded by double and trebled doors, there is something exceedingly like comfort in a situation sheltered by nature. The side of a gentle hill, that throws up its column of defense toward the offensive quarter, sloping southward, is a very agreeable companion in the months of November and March; and if tufted with rich foliage, is highly picturesque. The farmer in particular, will wish a spot for the sun to beam warmly in by his door, and it will rejoice his heart in the spring, to welcome the green grass at his step, while the fields are hoar-white. The hillside that shelters his homestead, will be a convenient pasture-ground, and the group that shades his herd, may be so placed, as to throw the white of his cottage into elegant relief. The agriculturist, as we have remarked, finds it a matter of convenience to be near the public road; still every position affords opportunity for a constantly developing taste. The twined columbine of the porch is thus brought more nearly into view, and the undershadowed bed of roses 'waste not their sweetness.' Economy has, in our view, more to do with choice of materials than taste. Of styles, there must of necessity be many, to offer a pleasing variety; but none strikes us so favorably for general adoption, as that termed the English cottage style. The Swiss may appear well in many situations; but the Grecian is too precise, too classical, perhaps, for an ordinary country homestead, and *a fortiori*

the Roman; the Moorish mode is much too fantastic for a sober minded man, and the Italian, beautiful as it is, seems to us adapted more to a life of luxury and ease, than to the active, bustling habits of our landholders. None of these objections obtain, when we consider the peaked roof, the crow-foot gable, the mullioned windows, and stacked chimneys of the cottage style. Yet are all these objects of very considerable beauty in themselves, as well as of no questionable economy. The style is adapted to every variety of country, glen, river bank, plain, or cliff. Its character is highly suited to agricultural pursuits. The slope of the roof disposes rapidly of falling moisture; the projecting eaves guard the sides; rural repairs are little noticed upon its varied exterior; the addition of a wing or an ell, far from destroying its unity, will the more confirm its character; the carriage of the chimneys separately to the top, while it favors their picturesque union above the ridge, ensures a constant draft. And none who have seen such a specimen of architecture, will deny its general beauty. The outlines we have given may be varied in a hundred ways, with equal effect. Dormer windows, with topping finial and crockets; bay windows, with side tracery, and diamond pane, with almost every variety of porch, may vary the outline. Much might be said of interior arrangements, but we have space only for a word. The ceiling of lime and sand has come to be so generally used, and is upon the whole so well adapted to its purposes, it were perhaps better to suggest no change. Still, an oaken ceiling laid directly upon the floor above, exposing the octagonated forms of the beams, is exceedingly durable, accords well with the exterior of a rural cottage, and better than all, offers no shelter for vermin. The fireplace, (for it has not yet gone by in the country,)

with the finishing of doors, and cupboards, and windows, gives opportunity for a most varied display of taste.

The study of cottages, both in style and disposition in finished landscape paintings, will greatly facilitate the formation of a correct taste on this subject. True, the styles may lack definitiveness, and may possibly be a little *outré*; but we have, we must confess, less regard for all the directions of the 'Academy of Design,' than has Mr. Downing. And if this new discovery of electrotype* shall succeed in placing copies of the best masters in every family, and if our system of education shall nourish a little more a regard for beauty, we shall have little fear for our 'cottage residences.'

We come now to speak of the chief charm and object of the art—the proper disposition of trees upon a landscape. Herein is a means for developing a correct taste, which is at the hands of the humblest tiller of the ground. None so poor, or so circumscribed in their limits, that they can not plant a tree. And a group of half a dozen of our native forest trees, may embrace all the delightful shades of coloring, as fully as the park of a thousand acres. For the neglect of this sylvan beauty there is no apology, but a wrong education. Points are always accessible, where the shade will not in the least injure the crops of the farm, and the timber ultimately obtained by judicious thinning, to say nothing of increased beauty, will surely repay the inconsiderable labor of transplanting. We will suppose a small cottage, such as we have recommended, situa-

* Consisting essentially of a deposition of copper from a chemical solution, by galvanic agency, upon engraved plates; by which a mold in relief is offered for subsequent deposition, that has the life of the original. The 'Etching Club' have published Thomson's Seasons, illustrated by this method.

ted near a slight elevation, upon a small farm of gently undulating surface. Immediately around, perhaps a space of the area of an acre, is a yard devoted to domestic purposes. This is serviceable for no agricultural object, and may be decorated at a very slight expense, with the richest gems of the forest. Shrubs, either exotic or indigenous, may be set around the dwelling, or if desirable, form the entire hedge of the yard. Trees of widely different character may be grouped upon this surface with very little art, to afford a most pleasing effect. The foliage will serve as a most delightful awning through the summer months, and such of it as is evergreen, may be so disposed, as to ward off the fiercest blasts of winter. Such groups can rarely affect injuriously the adjoining land, or detract from the richness of the soil; since they would be fully nourished by the fertilizing materials always abundant in a farm-yard. They can be set far enough from the roof, to secure it from harmful damp. The kind of tree for this home group, the style of building, the soil, the climate, the situation will direct. Only let there be variety, and thrift, and irregularity, and there will be beauty. The wild vines are not to be forgotten, but should mantle here and there a tree, and stretch their tendrils over window and lintel, climbing high upon the roof. The grape may shade the porch, and bind with its clasps the unhewn column; the sweet briar bloom around, and the lilac bush serve for the habitation of robin and sparrow.

The next available point of decoration will be along the approach road, if the cottage be at any distance from the highway. If this traverse mowing or cultivated land, a low hedge skirting its margin irregularly, will be all that economy will allow; but if pasture land, the hedge may be dispensed with, and the trees be multiplied into an irreg-

ular picturesque avenue, broken here and there by the intervention of shrubs, and again left wholly open. The whole border of the farm may be more or less wooded; care being taken to throw the morning shade upon the less available soil. In the instance we have supposed of an undulating surface, the pasture, which will be best disposed upon the more elevated portions, must have its perquisite of shade for cattle. A thousand circumstances will direct the proper arrangement of this. The wood-lot for the supply of fires, is a subject of much concern to landholders; but as in most instances there are vestiges of the original growth, sufficient for the purpose, it will be needless to remark upon it. One thing we will observe—wood is fast becoming more valuable for timber material, than for fuel, and by far the best timber is grown in open situations; the inference is obviously favorable to the views of the tasteful agriculturist. We have spoken of an undulating surface, because most difficult to supply with ‘wooded graces,’ in connection with strict economy. The farm of rocks and cliffs on the other hand, may be rendered as beautiful as the wealth of Cræsus could make it, by the extreme frugality, if guided by taste. There is much land on every such domain, which nothing but the hand of industry, directed by correct observation, can reach. The shelving bank, the green tuft of the ledge, the rich deposit on the jutting edge of the precipice—these points, which are generally left to the rank grass and stunted shrub, may bloom with beauty, under the hands of an intelligent proprietor. The fir, the pine, the cedar, will find a foothold, and sufficient nourishment upon many a spot unfit for pasturage; and the rich green shrub may tuft every cleft, while the wild violet and anemone spring up beneath them. The steep slopes wher-

ever situated, will appear well covered with foliage; and if the selection of growing stock be good, they will yield a greater net profit by this, than by any other culture. A river's bank, if precipitous, will be subject to the same rules. Should the banks extend into a meadow, the rich loam of the soil will doubtless be more available for strictly agricultural products. The rise however from this alluvial delta, if in any degree abrupt, will be the proper spot for planting trees. It is perhaps unnecessary to remark, that it would be better economy still to select such trees as will be valuable for their yearly avails—such as the maple, the chestnut, the hickory, and the butternut. And still farther, by making the cottage group an orchard, rendering it picturesque, by mingling the cherry with the plum, the pear with the apple, and by a thousand little devices, which it were less easy to recount, than to teach an attorney the arts of catching clients.

Vines and climbing plants under a proper disposition, become sources of great interest to a country home, while they will in no measure lessen agricultural avails. The grape, the native growth of our forests, may be reared with but little trouble, and by its verdant tendrils and purple clusters, will make beautiful a hundred unsightly objects. We have ourselves seen immense bowlders strown along a meadow, with a very little care, all richly covered with this graceful climber, and yielding abundantly their fruits with every autumn. The little arbor of the cottage, the garden paling, and many of the domestic offices, may have their trailing mantles. We might linger long upon this pleasing subject, with encomium, and our random suggestions; but we close it now, with the old Laird of Dumbiedike's advice to his son Jock, in Scott's 'Mid-Lothian' romance:—
'Jock, when ye hae naething else

to do, ye may be aye sticking in a tree; it will be growing, Jock, when ye're sleeping. My father tauld me sae forty years sin', but I naer fand time to mind him.'*

"Ground is undoubtedly the most wieldy and ponderous material that comes under the care of the landscape gardener," and as such we should choose to let it alone. Not so Mr. Downing, from whom we take the above well settled opinion. In the building of hills, and excavation of valleys, we have little faith. The character of the approach road, is worthy some attention. We have already alluded to it, and we allude to it now, only to repeat our suggestion—be simple, remembering that simplicity is not always directness. For the matter of gate-lodges, we apprehend that designs for them will be somewhat rarely called for, as yet, in our country. And were we rich enough to employ others to perform so trivial an office for us, as the opening and shutting of a gate, we should earnestly wish to hide all show of those services by the intervention of some such machinery, as Mr. Downing has favored us with the model of. A staunch old oak for gate post, and a fir tree for sentinel, are all the monitors we would desire to the grounds of a ducal palace, much less to a republican abode.

To the manor house, the slight depressions of the 'double furrow,' seem too indicative of a useful cultivation; but to our minds they have a pleasing effect, exhibiting by their trace of former cultivation, the capabilities of the soil for a thousand products useful to man, and showing forth that industry, righteously ordained by Providence,

* Sir Walter says in a note to this passage, that this *naïve* mode of recommending arboriculture, (which was actually delivered in these very words by a Highland laird on his death-bed, to his son,) had so much weight with a Scottish earl, as to lead to his planting a large tract of country.

to furrow the cheek of the laborer, as well as the subject of his toil. Upon the whole, we think the husbandman has little to fear in competition with the wealthiest, on the score of *land-beauty*. Nature has laid down her seed-fields with considerable taste, and if we may believe Murchison, and Daubeny, and De La Beche, she has had no trifle of experience. She has built up her cliffs, and rounded her sloping meadows, in unison with the highest principles of the sublime and beautiful, as laid down by the London Student at Law; nor has she forgotten 'Hogarth's line;' and Lorraine did well in copying her more ordinary phases.

Water is a rare addition to a landscape, either in the form of the rill, or the lake. But a treatment of its movements by mortal artificers, we are slow to believe a helper of its beauties. Almost every farm of the interior has its little modicum of this blessed beverage, running its own way; and it is perhaps our ignorance of the genuine effect of the artificial disposal of its treasures, that renders us insensible to its value. Certain it is, that the farmer has a greater opportunity to dispense this feature of nature's beauty to new forms of additional interest, than the lord of the wealthiest manor. For he can unite the charm of utility with many of its finest artificial phases. He can set a thick copse of evergreen and deciduous trees around the mountain spring, to keep its waters free from impurity, and to prevent the too familiar visitings of his herds. As it leaps below, from rock to rock, he can scoop a little basin from the soil, beneath some ancient oak, that his flocks may have a cool place of retreat. Thence he can guide it by most graceful sinuosities to moisten his parched meadow, and far below, taking vantage of some little dell, he can wall in its flow, and set his rustic water-wheel to execute im-

portant offices of farm economy. The pond may have its trees, and indentations of shore, and be stocked with its community of fish—all to subserve some useful end—this, with its 'argosies' of bowing necks, and wings of the domestic fowls, is to our mind a richer repaying outlay, than the finest *jet d'eau*, spitting its treasured waters from hugest cistern.

We had half a mind to pass by the subject of rural embellishments; still, there is much in the arbor, the rural seat, the grotto, the rustic bridge, to add to a finished landscape. Not so, we think, of the urn, the *jet d'eau*, the vase, the temple, the rock-work, etc. The vase, if classically elegant, and we admire none other but for sepulchral purposes, is very unfittingly bestowed upon a lawn; and if it be second rate as a work of art, as we think it must be to bear constant exposure, taste decides against it *per se*. Perhaps we are over incredulous, yet do we strongly believe, that the artist who can successfully counterfeit nature in forming rock-work, or produce anything like an agreeable impression, must be exceedingly 'prodigue de génie.'

Every proper embellishment of a landscape, appears to us to have its type in the natural scene. Thus the rustic arbor is suggested by the clustering vines upon a bending tree; the bridge is mirrored in the wildest scene, by the fallen trunk; the seat is but making a convenience of the log or the stump. But we see nothing that could suggest the urn or the statue. The man of humble means, wants no richer embellishments than nature, and a well directed ingenuity, present to his hands. And with the wealthy proprietor, the great danger is in doing too much. Nature will not be forced into a smile—at best, only a grimace. She is not to be flattered with, but only quietly humored—as a sensible woman, which she is. Trees equidistantly planted, gravel

walks describing hyperbolas and ellipses, cascades, and fountains, and sheets of water, and terrace, and campanile, will never of themselves constitute a charm for the man of refined taste. Nature most assuredly will frown, if *her* beauties are set aside to make way for *the man's*.

For ourselves—and Burke and Alison and Wilkie sustain our conclusion, (better authorities than even Repton or Loudon,)—we love a few old giant oaks upon a hillside, where infant feet have trod smooth the grass, sparing the daisy-top, better than the richest group of exotics with shaven turf. So too, we love no lawn where cattle may not browse, and no pool where they may not bathe their fevered limbs; and we appeal to Claude for the justice of our decision—Claude, whose delight it was to paint the eddies dimpling around the “lowing kine.” Does Creswick take his landscape views from the park of Belvoir Castle; or rather some out-of-the-way scene of “Brignal banks and Greta woods?” Does “the animal painter to the Queen” take his subjects from the London dairies—sleek, well fed Durhams; or from out some rough crumple-horned Alderneys? Yet the roughnesses, Mr. Davis softens in his portrait; and Mr. Creswick does not offend by painting all the slimy rushes, or the mud-covered stones, or the congregating turtles, or the big-mouthed frogs, that grow or disport on the banks of Greta river. That landscape gardening—*componere parva magnis*—is only tasteful, which teaches gently to soften nature's beauties,—not to remodel, to curry and to comb. Is it not then strange that the farmer, possessing every essential to a perfect landscape, should live on happy in his distaste,

—“like the kine

That wander 'mid the flowers which gem our meads,
Unconscious of their beauty?”

We have no more time to spend upon the subject. We have endeavored to lay hold of one or two controlling maxims of the art of making the country beautiful, and so to illustrate them that they should be plain to all. We have wished to call more attention to the subject, believing that that attention will pay for itself. Once let there be formed a correct taste, by the landholding population, and the landscape—the whole landscape, will not only smile, but the artisan will insensibly mold his views by the chastity of elegance around him. Ugliness will become, as it ought to be, the type of sloth and niggardness. The growing minds of our country, will be developed under the auspices of new and purer desires. Neatness, and order, and harmony, will be to them almost intuitive perceptions. “The unabating gladness in the serenities of nature,” will be “more than sweet” to their growing years. To the man himself, who has redeemed nature from her weeds, and wooed her to his tastes, new aspirations will succeed the pleasures which attend the contemplation of created beauty. Each season will have its dower of flowers to fling at his feet. As the spring heaves up from the frozen ground her buds and blossoming, and his fields teem with their infant harvests, and his tree-tops put on their leafy wonders, and his flocks “multiply” on the green hills,—if he wear a heart that “leaps” when he beholds these tokens of a “love that can not die,” surely he will think of Him who “turneth rivers into a wilderness, and the water-springs into dry ground.” And when winter has made the ground white, his whistling fir-tree will be, as it were, a God's voice to him, telling him that He has not all forgotten the green earth, but will bring, in their season, “seed-time and harvest.”

WESLEYAN PERFECTIONISM.*

THE errors of great men make a sad chapter in human history. Luther could not divest himself of a superstitious belief of the Divine presence in the elements of the eucharist; and adopting in the place of transubstantiation, the whim of consubstantiation, the consequence was, a division of the Protestant churches and an end to the Reformation. The whims and crudities of John Wesley, threaten even a longer life of evil working, although perhaps a less amount of evil will actually be worked out. He was a great man, excelling in piety, excelling more in practical wisdom; of good powers of discrimination and logic, but not profound, not learned in theology, not cautious in forming and expressing his opinions. What seemed to him to be on the surface of the Scriptures, or consonant with reason, or fitted to enlarge and purify the church, made up his creed. This creed is the creed of his followers, stereotyped for the faith of all living Wesleyans, and of all that shall live.

How gratifying is the contrast between this chaining of free thought by fixed formularies of faith, and the truly Christian liberty that has ever been enjoyed in the primitive churches of New England! What profound investigations, what thorough discussions, what manly professions of dissent, what honest inquiries even, can be expected in a church that binds her members to the belief of a creed, formed by fallible men, not for themselves only,

but for wiser generations after them; and hurls her ecclesiastical censures against all dissentients! The great minds that fall into such chains, are doomed to spend their energies in efforts to reconcile with Scripture and reason these mistakes of the founders of their sect. It is not so among the Congregationalists of New England, nor among the Presbyterians, who are affiliated with them. They have their great men, the fathers of their churches, and the scientific expounders of their faith. They have too, a well defined and well known system of doctrinal articles, which they highly esteem. But they receive the Bible as the infallible and only rule of faith; so that whoever among them proves from the word of God, that a commonly received article of faith is erroneous, or that the reasoning of any standard writer is inconclusive, is esteemed a public benefactor. Witness the reverence and gratitude of the churches toward such men as the elder and the younger Edwards, Dwight, Bellamy, Emmons, and others that are thought to have contributed to the correction of old theological errors. Yet even these men are not held infallible. Their opinions are fair matter of criticism. Tappan and Cheever are in no danger of ecclesiastical censures, for presuming to differ from the elder Edwards, on points of philosophy that affect the foundations of religion. Nor is this owing to indifference to the truth, but to warm attachment. Nothing is feared, but much is expected, from discussion. The conviction seems to be wrought into the very texture of the public mind, that "error may be safely tolerated where reason is left free to combat it." The prospects of truth are bright where such views prevail. Error stands no chance of being im-

* The Scripture Doctrine of Christian Perfection Stated and Defended; with a Critical and Historical Examination of the Controversy, both Ancient and Modern: also, Practical Illustrations and Advices: in a Series of Lectures. By Rev. George Peck, D. D. New York, G. Lane & P. P. Sandford, 1842.

posed on the churches, either by the sophistry of great men, or the decisions of ecclesiastical courts. Nor is truth likely to lie long concealed. Free minds are ever vigorously at work to discover it; eager, yet patient of labor and thorough investigation.

We present not this contrast to prejudice the minds of our readers against the work before us, and its excellent author. The love of truth is sufficiently strong and disinterested in some minds, to carry them to greater purity in faith and profession than the creed of their sect. But how violent and subduing is the temptation to conformity and silent acquiescence, in a church where subscription to a minute confession of faith is required and rigidly enforced! where the leading minds are never refreshed with the incense of veneration and gratitude, except for defending the received creed!

Dr. Peck undertakes in this volume to describe and defend Wesleyan perfectionism, a doctrine of his sect. He tells us what he thinks it is; represents it to be a doctrine of the Bible; and states and refutes to the best of his ability, the adverse opinions of Christendom. The work is written in a clear and vigorous style, with more candor than is common in controversial books, and with admirable comity. The plan, on the other hand, is exceedingly faulty. Instead of making the work strictly either historical, or polemical, or practical, the author has brought forth a mongrel production, not worthless, but of little worth, either as a history of perfectionism, a defence of the Wesleyan theory, or a "help" in the divine life. The other principal faults of the work, are prolixity and indefiniteness. The amount of matter introduced into the volume without any advance of thought, the omission of which would be a decided improvement, is more than a moiety of the whole. This the reader might pardon, if in the

midst of so much superfluity, he could find clear and full definitions of the principal points in controversy. We do not say that he can not ascertain from it what Wesleyan perfectionism, the main subject of the book, is; but he can not find it in any single definition, nor in any single series of propositions. He is obliged to resort to a collation and comparison of a multitude of imperfect statements—some positive, some negative—from which to infer, rather than out of which to construct, a complete definition of the doctrine.

According to Dr. Peck, if we understand him, a man is a perfect Christian if he loves God with all his heart, mind, soul and strength, and his neighbor as himself—and is free from all sinful passions, desires and appetites.

The Wesleyan theory of perfection, he tells us, "simply asserts the attainableness, in the present life, of a state of holiness truly denominated Christian perfection. This Christian perfection implies loving God with all the heart, mind, soul and strength."

In answer to the question, what is Christian perfection? Wesley says, "The loving God with all our heart, soul, mind and strength. This implies that no wrong temper, none contrary to love, remains in the soul; and that all the thoughts, words and actions are governed by pure love."

Dr. Clarke furnishes another definition to the same effect: "The whole design of God was to restore man to his image, and raise him from the ruins of his fall; in a word to make him perfect; to blot out all his sins, purify his soul, and fill him with holiness; so that no unholy temper, evil desire, or impure affection or passion, shall either lodge or have any being within him; this and this only is true religion, or Christian perfection."

Our readers will probably consider this to be a definition of absolute moral purity—a sinless character.

Not so Dr. Peck. The philosophy of Wesley puts upon this language a much more limited sense than naturally belongs to it. The perfection defined is *Christian* perfection, sometimes called *evangelical* to distinguish it from *legal* perfection—something inferior to the perfection which even a Mohammedan or a deist may have in his mind's eye—something imperfect when compared with the perfect law of God! The perfect Christian, they say, loves his Maker with all his power, and his neighbor as himself; yet less than is required of him by the perfect or Adamic law! He is free from all sinful passions, desires, and appetites, yet he is still in need of daily forgiveness for his unavoidable offenses! pp. 292-3.

To understand distinctly what this notion of "evangelical perfection" is, and what right it has to be considered a doctrine of the Bible, it is necessary to take a view of the leading tenets of the Wesleyan theology, connected, some more and some less immediately, with this feature of their system.

The starting point of Wesleyanism, is the *natural inability of man to keep the Divine law*. Human nature lost by the fall the capacities of a free moral agent. This is the uniform representation of the writers of this school. They scout the distinction between natural and moral ability and inability, and interpret those texts of Scripture which affirm the inability of man to serve God without Divine aid, to mean that he is destitute of natural power to obey the laws of his Creator.

In this condition of impotence the Gospel finds man, and imparts to him a measure of that ability to do right which was annihilated by the fall. Full ability to obey God is not imparted in advance; but barely enough to enable man to begin to seek after his entire recovery from sin. Nor when he is converted fully to Christ, has he power given

him to do his whole duty. Bishop Hedding asserts, "that the sinfulness of our nature, or original sin, may remain in the new-born soul independent of choice, and even against choice." Fletcher teaches, that "we can not help breaking the Adamic law in numberless instances, even after our full conversion." Nor at length when a Christian has attained to a state of evangelical perfection, has he power to be and to do all that the perfect law enjoins upon us. The restoration to man, by this gradual process, of a measure of his primitive power of right moral action, is held to be a work of *grace*. All the power of right action possible to man, since the fall, is derived from Christ. "The *ability*," says Dr. Peck, "to avail ourselves of these provisions (for human salvation) is a *gracious ability*."

This ability derived from Christ is only sufficient to enable man to comply with what the Wesleyans call the law of love, the evangelical law, not with the more extensive and rigid demands of the perfect law. This brings us to the main peculiarity of their scheme—the basis of their doctrine of perfection, which, therefore, needs to be well understood—namely, the *substitution in the place of the perfect law of another rule of moral obligation*—a rule corresponding exactly in its demands with the present capacities of man. The grace of the Gospel, as they teach, consists in part in the abrogation of the Adamic law, and in reducing the claims of God on man's obedience to the measure of his fallen powers. "The standard of character," says Dr. Peck, "set up in the Gospel must be such as is practicable by man, fallen as he is. Coming up to this standard is what we call Christian perfection." p. 294. "Each alike (the original law of perfect purity and the law of love) requires the exercise of *all the capabilities* of

the subjects." p. 292. He adds in substance, that allowing the same formulary, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart," 'to be used both by the angelic law and the law of love, the *whole heart* implies less in the latter case than in the former.'

Dr. Peck shrinks from a fair interpretation of the language of Wesley, and the other standard writers, on this point; and he takes Dr. Pond, a very cautious and discriminating writer, severely to task for saying, that Wesley "held to the repeal of the Adamic law, and thought it very consistent with perfection that persons should fall into great errors and faults." We will enable our readers to judge between them. Wesley says: "No man is able to perform the service which the Adamic law requires." "And no man is obliged to perform it; for Christ is the end of the Adamic as well as of the Mosaic law. By his death he hath put an end to both; he hath abolished both the one and the other, with regard to man; and the obligation to observe either the one or the other is vanished away. Nor is any man living bound to observe the Adamic more than the Mosaic law. (I mean it is not the condition either of present or future salvation.)" The justice of Dr. Pond's representation turns on the meaning of Wesley in the words in the parenthesis. Did he simply mean, that perfect obedience to the law is not now the condition of salvation? Then he does not differ from his Calvinistic brethren. They hold that man is no longer under law in this sense, but under grace. The sins of all penitent believers are freely forgiven. This however was not Wesley's meaning. For he says, in the same connection, that "the whole law under which we now are is fulfilled by love, [a love inferior to that demanded by the perfect law.] Faith working or animated by love, is all that God now re-

quires of man. He has substituted (not sincerity but) love in the room of angelic perfection." His theory seems to be this: 'Man can not possibly be saved, even by Christ, if, as a condition of salvation, he must love God and serve him, according to the perfect law. He can not become a Christian, if to be so implies loving God as he is bound by that law to love him. He has not power to love to that degree; nor to walk according to that standard. And moreover, a perfect God can not accept, pardon and glorify a sinful being, or one that falls short of entire obedience to his law. He can not, therefore, save us, unless he repeals his law, so far as we can not even by the aid of Divine grace obey it; and consents to accept of a less degree of love, and of a fitful conformity to the original law, as perfect obedience. Accordingly he has made this change. Thus he has set up a new standard of holiness, in order that man may be able to comply with the conditions of salvation.' That this was Wesley's philosophy, falsely so called, must be perfectly plain to every impartial reader of the work before us. Perfection he held to be an indispensable condition of salvation.

The Wesleyan writers themselves appear not unconscious of a difficulty attending this doctrine. Bishop Hedding asks, "what would be the fate of a soul born of the Spirit, but not fully sanctified, called to die in that state?" His answer, in effect, is, that he is not fit for heaven, but Christ would fit him. Wesley himself answers the question whether a man must be perfect in his sense, or be lost, by saying that he must be 'either perfect or pressing after perfection.' This "pressing after," we suppose, he considered necessary to secure his perfect sanctification by the Spirit, in the moment of death. In this way, the condition of salvation, or perfect

obedience to the law of love, might be fulfilled. But salvation under a stricter law, such as the Adamic, he thought, would be impossible, because obedience would be impracticable; and unless man becomes perfect according to the standard of rectitude, he can not be saved. Therefore, though Wesley could say with propriety, "I mean it (the law) is not the condition either of present or future salvation," he means more. Hence he denies disobedience to any law but the law of Christ, to be sin. "Such transgressions," he says, p. 63, "you may call sins, if you please: I do not, for the reasons above mentioned." Why not acknowledge them to be sins, since he allows them to be transgressions of the perfect law, if he did not also hold that that law was abrogated by Christ as a rule of moral obligation, as well as a condition of salvation?

The very remarkable conceit that God by the constitution of things disables all the descendants of Adam from obeying his law, and then in a measure repairs the injury by restoring to them the power of imperfect obedience, is made more remarkable still by the notions of the sect respecting the transgressions of the perfect Christian. They will not confess them to be sins in the proper sense of the term. They are, says Wesley, "no way contrary to love; nor, therefore, in the Scripture sense, sin," p. 65. Still, he elsewhere insists that these acts will not bear the rigor of Divine justice; and that they are blotted out by the atonement. Many of them, indeed, are what other Christian sects, comparing them with the perfect law, consider "great faults;" but why the Wesleyans should deny them to be sins—insist that they are unavoidable—and yet call in the atonement to cancel them, is for them to explain.

This confusion of ideas is owing to an hypothesis peculiar to the sect,

namely, that there are four distinct kinds of sin—the first two kinds real sins, the other two sins in "a certain sense," not in the Scripture sense; the first two opposed to Christian perfection, the other two perfectly consistent with it. The first is original sin, or the corruption of human nature; the second, actual sin, or voluntary transgressions; the third, unavoidable shortcomings in keeping the Adamic law; the fourth, such transgressions as are due to unavoidable errors of judgment. "The Wesleyan Methodists," says Dr. Peck, p. 251, "do not hold a perfection which excludes the infirmities of human nature, (the third and fourth kinds of sin,) and which implies perfect obedience to the Adamic law; but the perfection they hold excludes the turpitude of human nature (original sin) and implies *loving God with all the heart*," that is, it excludes all actual sin or voluntary transgressions.

It is only in the light of this singular classification of sins, that the doctrine of Wesleyan perfection can be intelligently comprehended.

"The difference," says Bishop Hedding, "between a justified soul who is not fully sanctified, and one fully sanctified, I understand to be this:—

"The first (if he does not backslide) is kept from voluntarily committing known sin; which is what is commonly meant in the New Testament by *committing sin*. But he yet finds in himself the remains of inbred corruption, or original sin; such as pride, anger, envy, a feeling of hatred to an enemy, a rejoicing at a calamity which has fallen upon an enemy, &c.

"Now, in all this the regenerate soul does not act voluntarily, his choice is against all these evils; God has given him a new heart, which hates all these evils, and resists, and overcomes them, as soon as the mind perceives them. The regenerate soul wishes these evils were not in his heart, yet he has in himself no power to destroy them. Though the Christian does not feel guilty for this depravity as he would do if he had voluntarily broken the law of God, yet he is often grieved and afflicted, and reproved at a sight of this sinfulness of his nature.

"Though the soul in this state enjoys

a degree of religion, yet it is conscious it is not what it ought to be, nor what it must be to be fit for heaven.

"It seems that the sinfulness of our nature, or original sin, may remain in the new-born soul independent of choice, and even against choice.

"The second, or the person fully sanctified, is cleansed from all these inward involuntary sins.

"He may be tempted by Satan, by men, and by his own bodily appetites, to commit sin, but his heart is free from these inward fires, which before his full sanctification were ready to fall in with temptation, and lead him into transgression. He may be tempted to be proud, to love the world, to be revengeful or angry, to hate an enemy, to wish him evil, or to rejoice at his calamity, but he feels none of these passions in his heart; the Holy Ghost has cleansed him from all these pollutions of his nature. Thus it is that, being emptied of sin, the perfect Christian is filled with the love of God, even with that perfect love which casteth out fear." pp. 79, 80.

From this passage the reader will see, that every Christian is perfect in the evangelical, or rather Wesleyan sense, except in one respect—one kind of sin, inconsistent with perfection, still clings to him, namely, original sin, a corrupt nature. From actual or voluntary sin, he is as free as an angel. And his shortcomings, although they may be greater, and his sins of ignorance more numerous, than are predicable of a perfect Christian, are of the same nature with his—mere infirmities—not sins in the 'Scripture sense.' He loves and serves God according to his present light and strength. He is not yet perfect, because original sin, against his choice, is still rankling in his bosom. When this depravity, which he has no power to destroy, shall be entirely subdued by Divine grace, his love to Christ will reign without a rival in his heart; all his actions will be dictated by that love; and he will be perfect, except that his love can never in this world equal the demands of the perfect law, nor can he ever be entirely free from sins of ignorance—of mistake. But then these shortcomings and

errors, are not sins in the Scripture sense, since he is not bound to obey the Adamic law, but only the milder law of Christ, which is perfectly fulfilled by loving God to the extent of his present power. He is perfectly holy in the light of a law adapted by Divine grace to his enfeebled capacities; but in the light of the perfect law originally given to man, he is imperfect and sinful.

Our aim thus far has been to show from the volume before us, what Wesleyan perfectionism is. A lucid description of the thing will be to many minds, a sufficient refutation of its claim to be a doctrine of the Bible. There seems to us to be little need of framing an argument against it. What hypothesis in the whole system, of which this doctrine is a constituent part, has the least support from the word of God? Not, that man lost by the fall the capacities of a free moral agent. Not, that all the ability man has to do his duty is a gracious ability. Not, that man is unable, even by the aid of Divine grace, to obey the perfect law. Not, that Christ has abrogated the perfect law, and introduced a laxer rule of moral obligation. Not, that man must be perfectly holy before his soul leaves the body, as a condition of salvation. Not, that any act of omission or of commission, absolutely unavoidable, may be a transgression of a divine law, so that it can not bear the rigor of Divine justice, and needs an atonement. Not, that a perfect Christian may transgress the Divine law by mistake, and do so without sin. Not, that a Christian can not commit a voluntary sin, without ceasing to be a Christian, falling from grace, and forfeiting his salvation. Not, that sin may remain in a Christian, independent of his choice and against choice. None of these things are asserted in the Bible. On the other hand, much may be alledged against them, both from the word

of God, and established principles of philosophy.

It will be sufficient to direct the reader's attention, to a few of the most radical of these errors.

The departures of perfect Christians from the perfect law are, according to Wesley, of two kinds—short-comings and mistakes. The *short-comings* are measured by the difference in degree between the love which man is able to exercise towards God, now in his fallen state, and the love he could have exercised if he had retained his original purity. The perfect law, he contends, requires of man all the moral excellence to which he could have attained in a state of primitive innocence. This law man can not now keep, and Christ does not require him to keep it, but graciously atones for the sin of not keeping it. The *mistakes* are of a different character in one respect—they are sins of ignorance—yet they are equally unavoidable. "I believe," says Wesley, "there is no such perfection in this life as excludes these involuntary transgressions, which I apprehend to be naturally consequent on the ignorance and mistakes inseparable from mortality." These transgressions also, he thinks are not forbidden by the law of love, and therefore he refuses to call them sins—and thus smoothes the way for Christian perfection. An antagonist, we think, would detect in this part of his scheme two errors—the first, surprising; the second, both surprising and pernicious.

These "short-comings," he would say, have no relation to law whatever. The most perfect law of which we can conceive, can not require us to love God with more than our present power of loving him. The Adamic law is the same as the angelic law; the angelic law the same as the law of love, of Christ—not requiring of Adam, of angels, of fallen men, an equal degree of love, but of each, the love of his

whole heart. With this it is satisfied. Why should it not be? What more can it desire? Whoever has dwarfed his powers by previous disobedience, must answer for that disobedience—that needs an atonement—but there can be no obligation to any law, to serve God now, beyond the present capacities of the subject.

We must be indulged here with a passing remark on a closely connected, and very weak point of Wesleyanism—the annihilation in Adam of man's free will, and its restoration in Christ. The former is called an act of justice, the latter an act of grace. But the former was not consequent on any act of ours. The Gospel does not find us in a state of natural impotence, of our own procuring. In our opinion, it does find us in a state of moral impotence, entirely consistent with our ability to do right, but calling for the interposition of Divine grace to save us from self-ruin. But in the opinion of Wesley, the Gospel finds man naturally incapacitated by the sin of Adam for the least right action. And then he calls the mending of the human constitution by the Gospel, an act of grace. This absurdity is built on another—the supposition, that man deserves for Adam's sin, to be cast off forever; that, without an atonement, he would have been born incapable of serving God, with no natural power to do right, and would have been destroyed for Adam's sin and for his own unavoidable transgressions! Whoever first believes this, may of course believe that the failures of a *perfect* Christian to keep the Divine law, are unavoidable by him, yet that they can not bear the rigor of Divine justice!

Were these "short-comings" the only faults attributed by Wesley to perfect Christians, we should say that he unwittingly believed in *legal* perfection, or entire conformity to the perfect law. But the "mistakes" which he says are consistent

with perfect love, are, many of them at least, real transgressions of the Divine law—sins of ignorance. These are sins “in the Scripture sense,” notwithstanding the ignorance. Whatever it would be wrong for a person to do if he were better informed, he can not now innocently do. Ignorance palliates, but does not wholly cancel the guilt of an unlawful action. The key to the whole difficulty, probably, is, that one would never mistake how he ought to feel and act in his various relations, if no sinful bias to a wrong decision remained in his heart. If he were perfectly holy in his affections and purposes, he would be guided infallibly to a corresponding course of action. Wesley’s doctrine of a physical depravity of the human powers, permanent as life, leading by a fatal necessity to wrong judgments of what we ought to be and do, and then to wrong conduct, is a baseless dream, not idle, but pestilent, charming myriads into a false sense of purity and safety. Wesley says, p. 274, “It (this distinction between the ‘law of faith’ or love, and the ‘law of works’) is absolutely necessary, to prevent a thousand doubts and fears, even in those who do walk in love.” Very probably it is a matchless opiate to the consciences of men, who *think* they fulfill the law of love, but *know* that they break the law of righteousness! Would not “a thousand doubts and fears” be a blessing to them?

The hypothesis of Wesley and his successors, that these “mistakes” are *unavoidable* transgressions of the Divine law, is a mere assumption of theirs, a mere *ipse dixit* which they have never attempted to prove; yet it is the corner stone of their perfectionism. Only admit that such mistakes are inconsistent with a heart of perfect love and holiness, and you instantly recognize them as so many signs of moral imperfection.

We commend to our Wesleyan brethren a reconsideration of these “mistakes.” Are they strictly unavoidable? Can not a perfect Christian discover their opposition to the Divine law? If not, why call them transgressions of the law of God? Why say that they can not bear the rigor of Divine justice? Why claim that Christ must suffer to atone for them, or man bear the penalty of eternal death? If, on the other hand, man has power to avoid them, why deny that they are sins? Why assert that a person may be perfectly holy who commits them? You are obliged to introduce the figment of a law of love in the place of the original law of perfect purity, as the standard of moral obligation, in order to give the semblance of consistency to your assertion that these transgressions are not sins. And is not this to make Christ the minister of sin? On the supposition, that the mistakes in question are unavoidable, you need no atonement for them—they are not sins—are not contrary to the most perfect law conceivable, and you are legal perfectionists, whatever you may think of the subject, or profess. On the other supposition, that they can be avoided, they are sins against the perfect law, and even against your law of love. Why then lay claim to sinless perfection? You admit, in all your standard writings, that men in a state of evangelical perfection, are continually transgressing the perfect law by mistake. Now if these mistakes are avoidable, what is it but an admission of the truth of the charge, that you hold to a perfection entirely consistent with “great errors and faults?” And if you still adhere to the absurdity, that these transgressions of the Divine law need an atonement, but yet are unavoidable—not sins in the Scripture sense—then confess, that you hold, in common with Dr. Woods and those of us who sym-

bolize with him, both to the attainableness and non-attainment in this life, of a state of legal perfection.

We ought, perhaps, in justice to ourselves, to speak of Dr. Peck's work as a contribution to the his-

tory of Christian dogmatics, lest our silence should be construed into an expression of opinion favorable to his labors in this department. We have, however, room only to say, that we find little to admire but his industry.

EARLY HISTORY OF CONNECTICUT.

THE early history of no country is so well ascertained as that of the United States; and of this history, no portion perhaps, admits of so full an illustration from original documents, as that of New England. The first colonists were careful to record all their proceedings, which appeared to them important; and even traditions, which by their descendants were thought valuable, were soon committed to writing. The historian, therefore, who treats of the events of this part of the country, has seldom occasion to indulge in surmise and conjecture. To construct a credible and satisfactory narrative, he finds in most cases, little more to do, than to institute a full and exact comparison of authentic materials within his reach. Still, undoubted mistakes occur in our histories; and it is an obvious duty of those who discover them, to suggest corrections. If an event deserves mention in history, it deserves to be reported according to the evidence in the case. It is with such views of this subject, that we have thought it proper to notice what appear to be errors in a few recent publications, in which are narrated some early transactions in the two colonies, which compose the present territory of Connecticut. We are very far from believing, that in a single case to which we shall refer, there is any thing like designed misrepresentation; on the contrary, in every instance, the character of the writer is such, as

to preclude the supposition of any thing more, than that want of care or that forgetfulness, to which all writers are more or less subject. In undertaking, however, to correct the erroneous statements of several of our authors, it should be understood, that we hold ourselves responsible for mistakes of our own; and that we would prescribe to others no law of history, to which we do not acknowledge ourselves to be in like manner amenable.

The first work, to which we would invite attention, is the "History of Connecticut;" being the one hundred and thirty third number of the "Harpers' Family Library," published in 1841.* Here it is said, (p. 73,) that "in the autumn of 1637, Mr. Davenport, with several of his friends, visited the shore of Long Island Sound, with the commercial and other advantages of which they were much pleased. They selected the place called Quinnepiack by the Indians, and by the Dutch Roeabert." Dr. Trumbull's account is, that "in the fall of 1637, Mr. Eaton, and others who were of the company, made a journey to Connecticut, to explore the lands and harbors on the sea-coast," and that "they pitched upon Quinnipiack for the place of their settlement."† For this he has the authority of

* The History of Connecticut, from the first settlement to the present time. By Theodore Dwight, Jr.

† Hist. of Connect. Vol. I, p. 96.

Winthrop's Journal. That there is any authority for the story, that Mr. Davenport and several of his friends made a similar excursion to the west, we have strong doubts.

We find likewise in this new history of Connecticut, (p. 72,) that "Messrs. Eaton and Hopkins had been successful merchants in London," and that "the former had resided three years in India, where he held the office of deputy governor." Dr. Trumbull's narrative is, that "Governor Eaton was educated an East India merchant, and was sometime deputy governor of the company trading to the East Indies."* He says nothing of Governor Eaton's residence in India, or of his having been deputy governor in that country. Indeed, at that time there was no governor of India, and as for a deputy governor, we are not aware, that to the present day, the English have any such functionary in the East. But that Governor Eaton was deputy governor of the East India company, or that he had any connection with that company, rests upon no proper evidence. Dr. Trumbull in these particulars is obviously wrong. He appears to have been led into error by misapprehending the meaning of Mather in the *Magnalia*, who in his life of Theophilus Eaton, says of him, that "being made a freeman of London, he applied himself unto the East Country trade, and was publicly chosen the deputy governor of the company, wherein he so acquitted himself as to become considerable. And afterwards going himself into the East Country, he not only became so well acquainted with the affairs of the Baltic sea, but also became so well improved in the accomplishments of a man of business, that the king of England employed him as an agent unto the king of Denmark." Dr. Trumbull evidently supposed, that

by East Country, Mather meant the East Indies; though how he should have made such a mistake, it is not easy to see. Governor Eaton, by his participation in the East Country trade, and by going himself into the East Country, became well "acquainted with the affairs of the Baltic sea," and was thought by the king of England to be qualified to act as his "agent unto the king of Denmark." How his being an East India merchant, or his having resided in the East Indies should have made him familiar with the affairs of the Baltic, or prepared him to be the English agent at the court of Denmark, is not very apparent. Mr. Savage, in his notes on Winthrop's Journal, was the first publicly to point out this error of Dr. Trumbull, and others have since done the same thing. The commerce with the countries about the Baltic sea was formerly in England, and we suppose is still, called the "East Country trade;" and this is the acception in which Mather uses this language.* There is no good reason, therefore, why this mistake of Dr. Trumbull should be perpetuated; much less, why it should be made still greater.

In this same history of Connecticut, we are told that the colonists for Quinipiack sailed from Boston on the 30th of March, 1638, and reached their place of destination in about two weeks. "On the 18th of April they spent their first Sabbath there," and "Mr. Davenport preached an appropriate sermon from the 6th chapter of Matthew, 1st verse: *Take heed that you do not your alms before men to be seen of them, otherwise ye have no reward of your Father which is in heaven.*" That the first Sabbath spent by these colonists at Quinni-

* "East Country is a name of old and still given by mercantile people to the ports of the Baltic sea; more especially those of Prussia and Livonia." Anderson's Hist. of Commerce, Vol. II, p. 197.

* Hist. of Connect. Vol. I, p. 231.

piack was the 18th of April, is agreeable to the account of Dr. Trumbull; but in this he is certainly mistaken, as the 18th of April, 1638, as is easily seen by calculation, was Wednesday. There is here evidently a typographical error, and we have 18 for 15, a mistake not difficult to be accounted for, as the resemblance between the figures 8 and 5, in manuscript, is often very great. Besides, 15 accords better with the statement, that the passage from Boston occupied about two weeks. This error is not now pointed out for the first time. But what was there appropriate in Mr. Davenport's sermon? His text certainly appears most inappropriate; as an ostentatious giving of alms was a sin, to which these forlorn pilgrims, self-banished to the ends of the earth, should seem the least of all exposed. The language of Dr. Trumbull is, "The people assembled under a large spreading oak, and Mr. Davenport preached to them from Matthew vi, 1. He insisted on the temptations of the wilderness," &c. But what connection between the temptations of the wilderness, and a text denouncing a vain display in alms-giving? There is without doubt here another typographical error, and instead of Matthew vi, 1, it should be Matthew iv, 1, and the text of the sermon was, *Then was Jesus led up of the spirit into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil.* It was not unsuitable to the occasion for the preacher to warn his audience, to resist such temptations as might assail them even in so remote and wild a solitude as Quinnipiack; or, in the language of Mr. Bancroft, to suggest, that, "like the Son of Man, they were led into the wilderness to be tempted."

In a History of the United States*

* History of the United States, or Republic of America. By Emma Willard. Second revised edition; Philadelphia, 1842.

lately published, the same errors occur, in part, with some which are new, or with which we do not recollect to have before met. Thus, it is said that "Eaton had been a deputy governor of the East India company;" and that the colonists, "the first Sunday after they arrived, met and worshiped under a large tree," &c. This day is put down as "April 18." These mistakes have been already corrected. The historian then goes on to say, "Not long after, the free planters assembled in a large barn belonging to Mr. Newman, and subscribed what, in distinction from a church union, they termed a plantation covenant. By this, each church was to be begun by seven of their best and most pious men, called 'the seven pillars' of the church, who were to be selected by twelve, chosen by the people at large for the purpose." "Under this covenant they continued until the next year, when they formed themselves into a body politic, and established a form of government."* The facts are not here correctly narrated. Nothing is known as to the time when the plantation covenant of the Quinnipiack settlers was signed, except that it was soon after their arrival. This original agreement was comprised in a few words, and served for the foundation of a government till the 4th of June, 1639. On this day the people assembled in Mr. Newman's barn, and "formed themselves into a body politic;" and what is said of the "twelve, chosen by the people," and of the "seven pillars," belongs to the second meeting, and not to the first. These transactions are fully and accurately detailed in Trumbull's History of Connecticut.

Some doubts have been expressed by several writers, whether Dr. Trumbull is correct in saying, that the place where the Narraganset chief Miantonimoh was put to death

by Uncas, chief of the Mohegans, was Sachem's plain, in the east part of the town of Norwich. Mr. Savage, in his notes on Winthrop's Journal, says, that to him "it seems much more probable," that the place where Miantonimoh was killed, was between Hartford and Windsor. His opinion seems to rest solely on the statement of Winthrop, who, after mentioning that the decision of the commissioners of the united colonies was, that Uncas might put Miantonimoh to death "so soon as he came within his own jurisdiction," in giving an account of the fact, represents it as occurring between those two towns. The jurisdiction of Uncas was on the borders of the Thames and its branches. What probability there is, that Uncas killed his prisoner so far from his own dominions, and almost under the eyes of the commissioners, is not very apparent. But the proof that Miantonimoh was put to death on Sachem's plain, in the neighborhood of the city of Norwich, is in our view conclusive, so far as such a fact can be ascertained from tradition and the attending circumstances. The tradition has been uniform, and, we believe, uncontradicted, except by Winthrop. We well remember hearing, more than half a century ago, a very intelligent female, then in advanced life, a native of Preston, and who when young lived near Sachem's plain, often tell the story of Miantonimoh, much in the same way as we find it in the history of Dr. Trumbull; and this, before that history was published. She said that Narraganset Indians were long accustomed to visit that place, and to add to or to repair the heap of stones on what they considered Miantonimoh's grave. After seeing the doubts on this subject expressed by Mr. Savage, we inquired of a gentleman in Norwich, who was well informed in the early history of that town and vicinity, what he knew of this tradition. His re-

ply was, that his father, who was born before 1700, and who had heard the subject of Miantonimoh's death often talked about by those who were old when he was a boy, always spoke of the place and circumstances of this event much as Dr. Trumbull has recorded them. Other testimonies to the same effect might be mentioned. That when the commissioners of the united colonies had decided that Uncas might kill Miantonimoh within his own jurisdiction, a plain within this jurisdiction should have been called, certainly from very early times, Sachem's plain, in commemoration of Miantonimoh's death,—that a heap of stones should have long marked what was considered the grave of the chief,—that Indians should have long visited the spot, as the place where one of their great men fell, and that there should have been no tradition of a contrary character, can be accounted for, we suppose, only by admitting the truth of the commonly received story. That Gov. Winthrop should have been misinformed, seems neither impossible nor very improbable. At least, in balancing probabilities, the preponderance is certainly against him.

In the "Commentaries on American Law," by Chancellor Kent, where the author is treating on the progress of religious liberty and toleration in the United States, we find the following statement. "In Connecticut the early settlers established, and enforced by law, a uniformity of religious belief and worship and made it requisite that every person holding a civil office, should be a church member. The severity of such a religious establishment was from time to time relaxed, until at last, by the constitution of 1818, perfect freedom of religious profession and worship, without discrimination, was ordained."* As this is so novel an account, it is much to

* Vol. II, p. 34, fourth edition, note.

be regretted that the author has made no reference to the sources from which his information is derived. From the high character of Chancellor Kent, his great accuracy, and his knowledge of the importance of good authority for facts stated, very few, we suppose, would hesitate at once to adopt this report of the progress of legislation in Connecticut respecting religion, as undoubted historical truth. Hence the importance of inquiring into its accuracy. Without saying that the Chancellor is here mistaken in several important particulars, till we are better informed of the grounds of his representation, there can be no impropriety in referring to a few facts, which are thought to have a direct bearing on this subject. In January, 1639, there having been three towns settled on Connecticut river, Hartford, Windsor and Wethersfield, all the free planters convened at Hartford, and adopted a constitution of government. In this instrument, which may be seen in the appendix of the first volume of Trumbull's *History of Connecticut*, we find no restriction on the choice of magistrates, except that it was ordained, that the governor "be always a member of some approved congregation;" but it is not said, that he must be a "church member." This is the more deserving of attention, as these first colonists of Connecticut emigrated from Massachusetts, where they had resided several years, and where no persons but church members were allowed to vote. This failure to adopt the Massachusetts qualification of voters, is strong, if not conclusive evidence, that in forming the first constitution of Connecticut, the planters had this restriction of the right of suffrage to church members directly in view, and deliberately rejected it. From the first formation of the government to the time of the charter of Charles II, which was granted in 1662, we know of no statute of the

colonial legislature, by which "a uniformity of religious belief and worship was established and enforced," or by which it was made "requisite that every person holding a civil office, should be a church member." In the royal charter, we find no provision relating to this subject. In the colony of New Haven, the Massachusetts qualification of voters was required, but it was abolished on the union of that colony with Connecticut in 1665. After the union of the two colonies, to the year 1818, at which time we are told that "perfect freedom of religious profession and worship, without discrimination, was ordained," we know of no act of the government, on which the representation above quoted from the *Commentaries* could be grounded. There was a small property qualification made requisite for voting; but no religious test, either for those who gave their votes, or for those who were candidates for office, so far as we have been able to discover, was ever imposed. How this subject was viewed in 1665, may be seen in the report of the King's commissioners, who had visited the colony of Connecticut to ascertain its condition. On the subject of religion, it is said that the people of Connecticut had "a scholar to their minister in every town or village," and that the colony "will not hinder any from enjoying the sacraments and using the common prayer book, provided that they hinder not the maintenance of the public minister." At this time the people of Connecticut were all Congregationalists, and continued so for nearly half a century later. It would seem, that when the royal commissioners visited the colony, there was no such uniformity of religious belief and worship enforced, as to exclude the church of England; much less does it appear, that there was any religious test whatever for any part of the magistracy. In this respect the colony

differed very widely from the parent country.

In 1708, there was introduced into Connecticut, what was called an established religion; that is, certain churches were "owned and acknowledged established by law;" but it was provided that nothing in the act on which this establishment was founded, should be construed "to hinder or prevent any society or church, that is or shall be allowed by the laws of this government, who soberly differ or dissent from the united churches hereby established, from exercising worship and discipline in their own way, according to their consciences." We see here no allusion to political rights. It is not said, that none but church members of the established churches shall vote, or that none but church members of the established churches shall be chosen to office. On these points the act is silent. There were, without doubt, severe laws in Connecticut respecting religion, some of which were passed under peculiar circumstances; but we can point to no statute, by which political privileges were confined to one sect.

In several of the colonies, laws existed respecting religion, much more rigid and exclusive than any in Connecticut. As an illustration of this fact it may be mentioned, that if Connecticut, in compliance with the recommendation of the commissioners of the united colonies, had a law by which Quakers who came within the colony might be imprisoned till they could "conveniently be sent out of the jurisdiction," New York had a law, at a later period, by which all Jesuits, seminary priests, &c. were ordered from the province; if they were found within its boundaries after a specified time, they were liable to perpetual imprisonment; and if they should escape from confinement, they were considered as felons, and if retaken, were to be punished with death. We might proceed with this

comparison through the Connecticut code; but further detail is unnecessary. How it happens, that Connecticut is so often represented (we do not now refer to what is said by Chancellor Kent) as affording an example of the extreme of religious intolerance in the early British American colonies, we will not now inquire. The investigation, however, of this topic might not be without its use. The disposition to give Connecticut this preëminence, early discovered itself. Douglass, an author by no means partial to puritanism, remarks in his Summary, published in 1760, "I never heard of any persecuting spirit in Connecticut; in this they are egregiously aspersed." We would here repeat our regret that Chancellor Kent has not referred to authorities. If he is right, we should like to be right also; and if he is wrong, we conclude only that even he has a portion of human infirmity, and makes occasional mistakes.

There is a passage in an oration* lately delivered in New Haven, which seems to call for a few remarks, by way of correction. Its reference, indeed, is not to an event in the early history of Connecticut, but in that of Massachusetts; but which by a species of metonymy is usually ascribed to all New England. The passage to which we refer is the following. "Not many generations have passed away since the witch mania of Europe added an unimaginable gloom to the decrepitude of old age, and made gray hairs no longer venerable tokens of sage experience, but signals of fiendish malignity and unholy associations. And still more recently in our own bright land, the same dark insanity of excited ignorance spread for a time its blighting influences, consigning to torture and to

* An Oration delivered at New Haven, before the Phi Beta Kappa Society, August 17th, 1842, by S. Henry Dickson, M. D.

death the old and the young, the parent and the child, the pastor and his flock." The allusion here is clearly to the Salem witchcraft. But is it true, that in 1692 the "witch mania" of Europe had ceased? For this seems to be implied. History certainly informs us, that witches were executed in England and Scotland, as well as on the continent of Europe, long after the tragedy at Salem. We have no wish to thrust the "witch mania" which prevailed in Massachusetts into the shade; nor would we give it any more prominence than belongs to it. The magistrates, clergymen, and others concerned in the executions at Salem, were supported in their opinions and proceedings by the highest authorities, both civil and ecclesiastical, in the parent country. Who would they look up to with more confidence as a patron and guide, than Sir Matthew Hale? But he condemned witches. And why should Cotton Mather be set down as a mere driveler, because he believed in witchcraft, when others of the same faith are looked upon as sane men, or, as the case may be, made the subjects of panegyric? Says Bishop Jewell—and who has a higher and more deserved reputation in the English church?—to Queen Elizabeth, "It may please your Grace to understand, that witches and sorcerers, within these four last years, are marvelously increased within your Grace's realm. Your Grace's subjects pine away even unto death, their color fadeth, their flesh rotteth, their speech is benumbed, their senses are bereft; I pray God, they never practice further, than upon the subject." The language of Judge Blackstone has often been quoted, and will bear to be again. "To deny," says he, "the possibility, nay actual existence of witchcraft and sorcery, is at once flatly to contradict the re-

vealed word of God in various passages both of the Old and New Testament; and the thing itself is a truth to which every nation in the world hath in its turn borne testimony, either by examples seemingly well tested, or by prohibitory laws; which at least suppose the possibility of a commerce with evil spirits." Why, then, should the executions at Salem in 1692, deserve to be singled out, as something most extraordinary in the history of human imperfection and imbecility? In a general view of similar delusions, they dwindle into insignificance. We do not add these remarks on account of Dr. Dickson, whose mistake is probably a mere slip of the pen; but because we sometimes discover a disposition to associate a belief in witchcraft, and the punishment of it as a reality, with some one class of Christians. Nothing is more certain, than that men, women and children, have been put to death for this supposed crime in most, if not all, the countries of Europe, both Catholic and Protestant. To attempt to fix a stigma on one form of faith for every fault in the treatment of witches, betrays a great lack of knowledge or something worse. Thus we have heard, since August last, a public speaker in New Haven, sneer at Cotton Mather and the colonists of Massachusetts, and laud Sir Matthew Hale, in almost the same breath; but judging from the other parts of his performance, we conclude that he knew no better; and a sin of ignorance may be winked at. We have no inclination or wish to say any more, than the truth will plainly warrant, in defense of those who have been concerned in hanging or burning witches; but we are of the opinion, that bad men and mistaken men may be abused, and that all, even the worst, should have their due.

THE PROPHECIES OF DANIEL.

THE defenders of divine revelation often show an unnecessary fear of their opponents. They shrink from grappling with those whom they suppose to be giants, and feel that 'discretion is the better part of valor.' The neologist announces his decisions in such a dogmatic tone, and, with an air so contemptuous, pours forth his prodigious stores of learning, that the modest friend of the Bible stands abashed. But this boasted erudition is often allied to a credulity which is nearly incredible. Professing himself to be wise, the neologist becomes a fool. He builds up imposing theories on the slightest basis, which no sane man would think to be worth the trouble of refuting. The great image, that looks formidable in the distance, is seen, on closer inspection, to rest on a foundation of 'miry clay.' The learning, which appeared so immense, is often nothing more than a heterogeneous conglomerate, whose looseness betokens its speedy downfall. We have only to wait a little time, and the author will furnish his own refutation. Stability is one of the least characteristic marks of a neological hypothesis. A palpable instance of this has just come to our knowledge. It is well known, that the German writers, such as Rosenmüller and De Wette, have attacked the integrity of the prophecy of Zechariah, contending that the last six chapters are so unlike the first eight, that they must have had a different and much earlier authorship. Hengstenberg, among others, replied to these attacks. Now De Wette, in the last edition of his Introduction to the Old Testament, informs us, that he has given up his skepticism, and is willing to admit the integrity of the book, though he was not convinced by the arguments of Hengstenberg,

but by those of Köster, an earlier writer!

No book of the Old Testament has been subjected to more frequent and merciless assaults than that of Daniel. Old Porphyry blew the trumpet of war. The latest blast, so far as we have heard, is from Zengerke, a rationalist professor at Königsberg. Every possible objection has been urged, internal and external, doctrinal and moral, historical and chronological. Daniel was a dreamer of dreams. His prophecy has this signal advantage over others, as it is an *oraculum post eventum*. He had the first book of the Maccabees to guide him in his pretended insight into the future. All that is true in his predictions, says Porphyry, was written after their fulfillment. All that really had respect to the future, never came to pass, so that Daniel was an historian and nothing else. These, and similar allegations of the new Platonist, are the foundation of the greater part of what has been subsequently adduced against the book, though stores of learning and powers of acute criticism, of which Porphyry knew nothing, have been marshalled by his German descendants, the great doctors of neology.

No book, in our opinion, has been more unreasonably dealt with. If we can not make this appear to the satisfaction of our readers, it will not be for want of good reasons, but from lack of skill in the advocate. Two positions must be conceded in the outset. First, there is nothing in the miracles which are recorded in the book of Daniel, which should lead us, *a priori*, to reject them, or to put them over among the myths and sagas of Greek or Norse mythology. God could as easily, if occasion demanded, keep three men from being

burned in a flaming fire, as he could support two millions of people, almost half a century, wandering about in a desert of sand, with countless flocks and herds. There is no more intrinsic difficulty in stopping the mouth of a lion, than in making a dry road through a sea. It would require no more power, so far as we can see, to deprive a king of his reason, than another king, like the presumptuous Herod, of his life. A blaspheming despot may be changed into a maniac as well as into a corpse. In other words, if we give up the miracles of Daniel as incredible stories, we must cast out at least one half of the miracles recorded in the Bible. The improbability of the former being true is no greater than that which attaches to the latter. The only question is, Does there appear to be adequate reason for the intervention of Almighty power? Are the miracles in Daniel a mere arbitrary play, as it were, of superhuman might, or were they designed to teach valuable moral lessons? The latter most decidedly. The church of God was in Babylon. It was embodied, in a sense, in Daniel and his companions. It was in imminent danger of extinction in the fiery furnace and in the lion's den. If the Guardian of the church was ever called upon, we say it with reverence, to come forth 'from the hiding of his power,' and vindicate his calumniated servants, it was on the 'plain of Dura.' Besides, the Babylonish exile was manifestly designed to cure the people of God of their tendency to idolatry. And it did this most effectually. After the return, we hear no more of polytheism. The propensity to run after false gods had been extirpated. But how? In part, we reply, by the miracles which they saw or heard of in Babylon. In the interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dreams, the omniscience of Jehovah was brought to a public trial.

Here was an opportunity to make his 'knowledge' known, such as had been rarely seen on earth. The wise men of the East were all assembled. The college of Chaldean professors, the 'Royal Institute' of Babylon, was in full session. Astrology had a chance to vindicate its celestial origin. But it was utterly foiled. A poor Jewish boy, belonging to the 'captivity,' untied a knot which baffled the collected wisdom of an empire; but not by his own skill. Most emphatically, he ascribed it to the God of the Hebrews, who alone understands the mysteries of the future. Now, could this have been without its effect on the exiled Jews? No. 'Confounded be all they who serve graven images,' was shown to be a reality, as well as an anathema. The folly of their old idolatrous habits was now proclaimed on the house-tops, in the great metropolis of paganism. Could they return to that senseless worship which had failed its devotees in the hour of their utmost need? Again, the mercy of God was not wholly confined to the Jews. Before the Redeemer's advent, he had thoughts of kindness towards the Gentiles. We observe various preintimations, foreshadowings, as it were, of this. A single ray of true light, now and then, shot athwart the gloom. In Babylon, God did not leave himself without witness. Once and again, he extorted from the hoary polytheist the confession, that Jehovah only is God, and that every human being in his wide realm, ought to serve and worship him alone. This acknowledgment was not confined to the walls of the capital. The courier bore it throughout the hundred and seven and twenty provinces. Did not these things justify the Divine interposition? Did not the most benign results follow? If a miracle be intended and fitted to teach some great religious lessons, then we may not reject the prophecies of Daniel.

They stand, in this respect, on the same ground precisely as the raising of Lazarus.

Secondly, Daniel, considered as an uninspired historian, is entitled to more credit, than cotemporary or subsequent profane writers, who did not live in Babylon. This most reasonable rule has been reversed by the neological commentators. The prophet has been put last on the catalogue of authentic writers on the Babylonian history. If the facts, which he records, correspond with those narrated by profane authors, then his testimony is to be believed. But if Diodorus Siculus, or Xenophon, communicate any thing which conflicts with the biblical account, then the Jewish historian is in fault. Any scribbler, who bears a Greek or Roman name, though he might live a thousand miles from Babylon, is confronted with one who wrote on the spot, who spoke the language of the people, and who was familiar, from his youth, with the minute details of those affairs which he professes to record. Why should *he* not be taken as the standard authority, and the testimony of other historians be received in proportion as it tallies with his? Should we listen, for a moment, to a proposal to award less authority to Thucydides in matters pertaining to Athenian history, than to Josephus, Berosus, or Livy? The whole literary world would cry out against the injustice of such a proceeding. Yet similar injustice has been committed, in numberless instances, by professedly Christian critics and interpreters. If Daniel's chronology will not conform to that of Abydenus, then the former is pronounced to be in error, and another proof is supposed to be furnished against the authenticity of the book. To such a mode of proceeding, we can not defer. On the contrary, we assume that Daniel had a more accurate knowledge of Chaldean affairs than even Xenophon or

Herodotus. If what these writers advance is apparently contradictory to his statements, then we affirm, either that he is not correctly interpreted, or they are mistaken.

We are now prepared to show, briefly, that the book of Daniel was written at the time it purports to have been, that is, by Daniel in Babylon, during the exile of his countrymen.

1. The supposition of most, if not all, of the neological writers, is, that it was written by some learned and pious Jew in the time of the Maccabees, who wished to console his countrymen under the pressure of the heavy calamities that they were called to endure. In order to give more weight to his words, he assumed the name of the venerable Hebrew exile; and, under the sanction of the old prophet's authority, the book was at length received into the sacred canon. In other words, it was a pious fraud. The writer knew that he was putting down historical facts which had just transpired, yet he palmed them off upon his countrymen as predictions, which had been uttered several hundred years before. If it be so, the book ought, of course, to be struck from the canon. It has no more right to be there, than the fable of Bel and the Dragon, and not half so much claim as the first book of the Maccabees. If the book of Daniel be a product of the Maccabean period, then it could have been introduced into the canon only through the collusion, or trickery, of the learned men among the Jews. But has this supposition even an air of plausibility? Could the Jewish learned men allow a forgery to be foisted in among their sacred books, at a time when an almost superstitious reverence was paid to these books, when the spirit of true religion was remarkably revived among the people, and when, also, they had numerous and bitter enemies among themselves, who were adhe-

rents of their Syrian oppressors, and who were ready to seize upon every pretext to vilify the patriotic Jews. Was it possible, in these circumstances, to introduce a history under the form of a prophecy, into the sacred code, and a history, too, which portrays Antiochus Epiphanes in such an unfavorable light? The abettors of the Syrian king would certainly have seized upon such a fraud, to set forth the *moral honesty* of their believing countrymen; and pagan Porphyries would not have been wanting to trumpet the deception to the world.

2. The principal doctrinal contents of Daniel are in accordance with what is found in other canonical writings, particularly the later books, while they are not in such accordance with the apocryphal Scriptures.

There is no development of the Messianic doctrine in the entire apocryphal literature. It knows nothing of a personal Messiah. The passage of 1 Maccabees 14: 41, "And that the Jews and the priests had determined that Simon should be their leader and high-priest, till an expected prophet should appear," is not an exception to this remark. The author of the book of Baruch was acquainted with the writings of the old prophets, yet he has, in part, given up the Messianic predictions, and in part, perverted them. Yet here, if any where, the hopes, which were clustering round a coming, mighty Deliverer, should have been clearly exhibited, for it is one main object of the author of the book to encourage the disheartened Jews by reciting promises from their sacred writings. The doctrine of a coming Messiah, therefore, instead of being unfolded by the Maccabean writers, was actually obscured.* On the contrary, in Daniel the Messiah appears as a personal, Divine being,

coming for the deliverance of his afflicted people; and so is he represented in Ezekiel, Jeremiah, and elsewhere. In Dan. 7: 13, 14, it is said, "I saw in the visions of night, and lo! in the clouds of heaven one came like the Son of Man, and to the Ancient of Days he went up, and stood before him, and to him [the Messiah] was given power, honor and a kingdom, and that all people, nations and tongues should serve him; his dominion is an everlasting dominion which shall not pass away, and his kingdom shall not be destroyed." In Isa. 9: 7, speaking of the Messiah, the prophet says, "Of the increase of his government and of his peace there shall be no end, on the throne of David and in his kingdom, to establish it and order it from henceforth and forever." Ezek. 34: 23, 24, "And I will appoint over them one Shepherd, who shall feed them, my servant David, who shall feed them, and be their Shepherd, and I Jehovah will be their God and my servant David shall be their Prince." In like manner, many passages might be adduced, which indicate a close resemblance between the delineations of the Messiah by Daniel and those of the earlier prophets.

The same remarks are applicable to the language employed by Daniel and the other prophets in relation to the resurrection of the dead. We say the *language* employed, for we do not now refer to the *ideas* which it expresses. In this respect, the book of Daniel is essentially different from the apocrypha. His representations accord with those of Isaiah and Hosea. They are not derived from the doctrines of the fire-worshippers of Persia, but they are the native product of the Hebrew soil. Let us quote one or two passages. Dan. xii, 2: "And many of those who sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt." Hos. xiii,

* See Tholuck's *Literarischer Anzeiger*, August, 1842.

14: "From the hand of Sheol I will free them, from death I will ransom them. I will be thy destruction, O death, I will be thy cutting off, O Sheol." *Is.* xxvi, 19: "Thy dead shall live, thy corpses shall arise. Awake and sing, ye that dwell in the dust, for the dew of plants is thy dew, and the earth shall cast forth her dead." The idea in Daniel is more fully developed than in the other prophets, but it is evidently kindred.

Zengerke has endeavored to prove, that the doctrine respecting angels in the book of Daniel, (angelology,) has a more intimate connection with the later notions of the Jews on the subject, than with the teaching of the canonical books. Hengstenberg and others, however, have shown, that there is no ground for this conclusion. The seraphim in *Isa.* vi, 2, (princes or nobles of heaven, Gesenius,) and the captain of the Lord's host, *Josh.* v, 14, are considered, by the writer last named, as indicating ranks or orders in the hosts of angels. That the idea should be more fully developed by Daniel than it is by Isaiah, or by one of the early historical writers, is no more strange than that Malachi should more clearly point to some circumstances in the coming of our Lord than is done by Hosea or Moses. The light increases as the luminary approaches the horizon.

3. There is important circumstantial evidence of the authenticity of the book. The first chapter, the first two verses and a part of the third verse of the second chapter, and the last five chapters, are written in Hebrew; the remainder is in Chaldee. The Chaldee is like that in Ezra, and is much nearer the Hebrew than the Chaldee which is found in the Targums. The fact that the book is written in two languages is not any more an argument against its authenticity, than the fact that the books now lying before us,

written partly in German and partly in Latin, is proof that the professed author is not the real author. Daniel was, undoubtedly, equally familiar with both dialects. Sometimes he found it convenient to use the one, sometimes the other. The Chaldee commences with the words of the magicians, who, doubtless, used that language only; and much of the remaining Chaldee portion of the book is a report of the words of the Chaldeans themselves. If the book is the forgery of a writer in the time of the Maccabees, would the device of employing two languages, if he were able to do so, ever have occurred to him? The supposition appears to us exceedingly improbable. The book, as now composed, bears on its face the marks of honesty, not of artifice. The authenticity of Ezra is not denied because he wrote in Hebrew and Chaldee. Why should Daniel be questioned?

Again, in Ezekiel xiv, 14, Daniel is mentioned, along with Noah and Job, as renowned for piety, and in xxviii, 3, for wisdom. Why should a mere youth, a contemporary of Ezekiel, and but a few years older, be entitled to such distinguished honor? By making Daniel one member of this venerable triumvirate, it has been argued, that Ezekiel must have had in mind some eminent individual of the same name, who lived long before, and that the Maccabean writer assumes his name; and represents him as living in Babylon in the time of the exile. Yet, the coupling of the name of the Daniel "of the captivity" with the names of Noah and Job, by Ezekiel, appears to us to be altogether natural. It is true, he was a young man, but he was old in wisdom. He had shown himself superior to the wisest men of one of the highly cultivated nations in the world. He had been publicly honored by the most powerful monarch of the age, and by him too

who had laid waste the native land of the young Hebrew, and who would, of course, have little prepossession in his favor. Of course the fame of the learned Hebrew would be speedily diffused far and wide. The high distinction which he had reached, would be peculiarly gratifying to his afflicted countrymen on the "banks of the Chebar." In his advancement, they felt a patriotic pride, and they might see in it a sign of their own 'enlargement.' His youth, instead of being a reason for silence, would only increase his celebrity. Hugo Grotius astonished Europe by preparing a valuable edition of a Latin author before he was fifteen years old. Francis Bacon had not completed his sixteenth year when he wrote against the Aristotelian philosophy. Before he was twenty years old, he had gained an European reputation by the maturity and comprehensiveness of his views. Daniel was the wise Bacon among the hoary hierophants of Nebuchadnezzar's court. We conclude, therefore, that the mention of his name by Ezekiel is a confirmation of his own history.

There are other incidental circumstances which are not unimportant. There is an *apparent* negligence in regard to some points in chronology. For example, there is an apparent contradiction between Dan. i, 5, 18, and ii, 1. According to the first passage, Daniel and his companions went through a *three* years' course of education before they were introduced into the presence of the king. According to the latter passage, the dream which Daniel interpreted, occurred in the *second* year of Nebuchadnezzar. This discrepancy has been employed as one proof that the book is not authentic. But would a pseudo-Daniel have fallen into this trap? How easy to correct such a mistake in a forged compilation! But the honest writer betrays no undue solicitude so to frame all parts of his

narrative that there shall be a perfect correspondence. In all trustworthy historians there may be instances of this apparent noble negligence. Besides, what may have been perfectly reconcilable at the period when a book was written, is now, in the lapse of time, necessarily involved in some difficulty. In the present case, however, there seems to be no insuperable obstacle to a solution. We may suppose that Nebuchadnezzar came to Jerusalem and besieged it in the third year of Jehoiakim, according to Dan. i, 1, and 2 Chron. xxxvi, 6. At this time, however, he had not actually ascended the throne, but was placed at the head of the army by his father Nabopolassar. He was named king by anticipation, just as we should now speak of king George the Fourth, when he was simply prince regent. Daniel, then, was carried to Babylon in the third year of Jehoiakim, and in the last of Nabopolassar. Thus a year or more elapsed before Nebuchadnezzar actually ascended the throne, while Daniel and his companions were in their initiatory course. This would allow sufficient time for the three years' preparation, before Daniel was called to interpret the dream in the second year of Nebuchadnezzar—the latter part of the year, as we may suppose. That Daniel's name should have slipped from the memory of a despotic monarch devoted to his pleasures, is not at all surprising. The invasion of Judea by Nebuchadnezzar in the third year of Jehoiakim, is not indeed mentioned by Jeremiah, or by the writer of the second book of Kings. But from the silence of one part of the Bible, we are not to infer that an event alluded to in another part never happened. The abode of Paul in Arabia, after his conversion, is mentioned only in the epistle to the Galatians.

4. The use which is made of the book of Daniel by the writers of the

New Testament, is decisive of its authenticity in respect to all those who believe in the inspiration of our Lord and of his apostles. Whether the passage quoted by Christ in Matt. xxiv, 15, and Mark xiii, 14, from Daniel, "When ye shall see the abomination of desolation," etc. be adduced as a prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, or merely as words pertinent to describe that event, the divine authority of Daniel is equally implied. Would our Savior call the author of what he knew to be a forgery "Daniel the prophet?" Would he place a Maccabean compilation along with the universally acknowledged divine oracles of Isaiah and Jeremiah? The origin of the sublime descriptions in Matt. xxiv, 30, xxv, 31, xxvi, 64—"and then shall appear the sign of the Son of Man," etc. is most obviously Dan. vii, 13—"and in the clouds of heaven, one like the Son of Man came," etc. "Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun, in the kingdom of their Father," Matt. xiii, 43, is copied from Dan. xii, 3—"and they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament," etc. So John, v, 29, "they that have done good," etc. has its prototype in Dan. xii, 2. And what shall we say of the Apocalypse? How shall we describe the Hebrew spirit which reigns and triumphs in this noble drama? John does not quote from the old prophets. He is no plagiarist, no servile copyer. He lives with the ancient seers. He is saturated with the same spirit. Their thoughts and language have become, as it were, a part of the essence of his own lofty mind. At the same time he does not pour out their ideas unmodified. His creative imagination makes them his own. His own spirit colors, tinges, forms anew whatever it touches. He had read Isaiah, he had pondered upon the visions of Ezekiel and Daniel. So had Milton revolved the poems of

Homer, and we had almost said, every thing else in the world of letters. Yet the *Paradise Lost* is an original creation. It is thoroughly Miltonic. So it is precisely with the Apocalypse. No one can read it without being struck with its Hebrew costume and spirit. Yet it is the product of the New Testament times, and of the mind of its author as the Spirit gave him utterance. Still, would he have associated Daniel with Isaiah and Ezekiel, if the prophecy of the former were a pious forgery? Would he sanction a religious cheat? Never. The use which he has made of it shows that he regarded it in the same light that he did the oracles of Ezekiel. Both were alike authentic and inspired.

We are now prepared to inquire, What appears to be the great object of the prophecies of Daniel? What commission was the writer appointed to execute? We answer, that his purpose seems to be, to support and encourage the Jews during the severe persecutions which they were destined to suffer, under the Syrian kings, particularly under Antiochus Epiphanes. The prophet was called to supply sources of consolation to the church of God in a period when it was menaced with total destruction. In support of this position, we adduce the following arguments. As the point is fundamental, we may be permitted to go into some detail.

1. That Daniel had the Antiochian persecution mainly in view, may be argued from the general analogy of other prophecies. It is the manifest design of the prophetic, as well as of the other Scriptures, to promote the safety and prosperity of the true worshippers of God. The prediction touches upon profane history only so far as it is connected with the interests of God's spiritual kingdom. The inspired page is not a great chart of civil history. It does not allude to the terrible de-

vastations of Timourlane or Genghis Khan. It does not attempt to trace the meteor-course of Charles XII. of Sweden, nor the bloody years when Frederic the Great battled with all Europe. We are yet to learn that the French revolution, the greatest event, both in its progress and results, which is described on the page of profane history, is alluded to in the scroll of the prophets. If such had been their commission, the world itself would scarcely contain the books which had been written. Even if they had confined their vision to those events which have had a bearing, direct or indirect, upon the church of Christ, the Bible must have been enlarged to thrice its present size. The Mohammedan delusion would demand no very brief chapter. Instead of expanding itself over such an immense surface, the prophecy seizes upon some great events, generally not very far in the future, and with which the destiny of the people of God is wrapped up; and so presents them, that in the sequel, the highest interest of the church is secured, and the faithfulness of its omniscient Protector confirmed. Thus one great object of the predictions of Isaiah and Jeremiah, was to animate and console their afflicted countrymen in the Babylonish exile. The pious Jew, torn up from his native soil, carried to a land of uncircumcised pagans, taunted by the insulting interrogatory of his oppressor, cast down with the sad reminiscence that his beloved temple and city were in ashes, needed strong consolation, something which would keep him from apostasy. This was the very use which Daniel derived from the prediction of Jeremiah. In like manner, our Lord forewarned his disciples in respect to the destruction of Jerusalem. This benevolent information was the means of saving them from the dire calamities which swept away their place and nation. John, in the Apoca-

lypse, appears to have a similar object. The church was soon to pass through the fires of persecution. Pagan Rome was about to arm herself for its extermination. Nero, whose name has become a synonym for audacious lust and infernal cruelty, was the Antiochus of the early Christian church, so that if his days had not been shortened, it should seem that even "the elect could not have been saved." May we not, therefore, conclude that Daniel would be commissioned to forewarn and forearm the Jewish church in respect to the fiery furnace which they were destined to pass through, before the advent of Christ? What supposition is more consonant with the analogy of other prophetic Scriptures?

2. The reference of the prophecy of Daniel to the oppressions experienced by the Jews from the Syrian kings, is often denied, on the ground that those oppressions were comparatively light. The events are not imposing enough to justify the strong language of the prophet. The "little horn," who was to speak great swelling words of vanity, can not be so obscure a person as Antiochus Epiphanes. It must be Leo X, or some other pontiff of mystical Babylon. Let us see, however, whether the Antiochian persecution was, in reality, so slight an affair. If it can be shown, that the only church of God then on earth, came near to entire extinction under the brutal Epiphanes, then Daniel might well utter his warning and encouraging voices.

According to the testimony of Josephus, the inhabitants of Judea suffered severely in the wars of Antiochus the Great with the kings of Egypt; with Ptolemy Philopater between the years 219 and 216 B. C., and with Ptolemy Epiphanes between 202 and 197 B. C. Their country was devastated, and to whichever side victory might incline, they were equally exposed to injury. In the

year 197 B. C. the Samaritans laid waste the lands of the Jews, seized the persons of some of them by fraud, and sold them into slavery.

In the year 175 B. C., Antiochus Epiphanes ascended the throne, while the lawful heir, Demetrius, the son of Seleucus Philopater, was absent at Rome. Though surnamed Epiphanes, the Illustrious, yet he was fitly named by his subjects Epimanes, the Insane. By the concurrent testimony of all the authorities, his character is one of the most detestable to be found in history. Not unfrequently, he was seen drunk in the streets of Antioch, when he would throw his money about, and practice various other ridiculous fooleries. At times, he appeared publicly in familiar intercourse with panders and common prostitutes. He paid little regard to the heathen gods in general, but for Jupiter Olympius he built a magnificent temple, made offerings to him at great expense, and attempted to compel all his subjects, including the Jews, to worship him. While he was on a visit to Egypt, a report was spread abroad in Palestine, that he was dead. Upon this, Jason, who had usurped the high-priesthood, but who, in his turn, had been expelled by his brother Menelaus, came with one thousand Ammonites, took possession of Jerusalem, and massacred great numbers of those who had opposed him. The first accounts of these disturbances which Antiochus received in Egypt, were greatly exaggerated. It was said, that all the Jews were in rebellion, and were rejoicing at his supposed death. He therefore returned hastily from Egypt, took Jerusalem by storm, plundered it, slew eighty thousand persons, men, women and children, took forty thousand prisoners, and sold as many into slavery. As if this were not enough, he went into the sanctuary, under the guidance of the high-priest, Menelaus, uttering blasphemous language, and

took away all the gold and silver that could be found there, including the golden table, altar and candlestick. That he might leave nothing behind, he searched the subterranean vaults, and in this manner collected eighteen hundred talents of gold. He then sacrificed swine upon the altar, boiled a piece of the flesh, and sprinkled the whole temple with the broth. He finally appointed Philip, a Phrygian, governor of Judea.

Subsequently, Antiochus, being disappointed in his designs on Egypt, through the interference of the Romans, returned from that country in disgrace, and determined to vent his rage on the innocent Jews. He accordingly despatched Apollonius, his chief collector of tribute, with twenty two thousand men to Jerusalem. He arrived in the city in the spring of 167 B. C., just two years after the conquest of the city by Antiochus. On the first Sabbath after his arrival, he sent out his soldiers with orders to cut down all the men whom they met, and to make slaves of the women and children. The streets of the holy city now flowed with blood, the houses were plundered, and the city walls were thrown down. Apollonius demolished the houses that stood near Mount Zion, and with the materials strengthened the fortifications of the castle, which he furnished with a garrison and held under his own command. This castle gave Apollonius complete control over the temple, so that the Jews could no longer visit their sanctuary to perform the public services of religion. Accordingly, the daily sacrifice ceased, and Jerusalem was deserted, for the inhabitants were compelled to flee to save their lives.

An edict was now promulgated at Antioch, and published in all the provinces of Syria, commanding the whole population of the empire to worship the gods of the king, and to acknowledge no religion but his.

Many Jews submitted to the edict for fear of punishment, and a still greater number, who had long been attached to the Grecian customs, gladly embraced this opportunity to apostatize wholly. The religious part of the people, however, fled and hid themselves in caves and rocks. An old man, by the name of Athenæus, was sent to Jerusalem to instruct the Jews in the Greek religion, and compel them to observe its rites. He dedicated the temple to Jupiter Olympius, and on the altar of Jehovah he placed a smaller altar to be used in sacrificing to the heathen god. This new altar, built by order of the desolater, Antiochus, says Jahn, is probably what Daniel alludes to, when he speaks of the "abomination that maketh desolate." Circumcision, the keeping of the Sabbath, and every observance of the land was now made a capital offense; and all the copies of the sacred books that could be found, were taken away, defaced, torn in pieces, and burned. Groves were planted and idolatrous altars were built in every city, and the people were required to offer sacrifices to the gods and eat swine's flesh every month on the birth-day of the king; and at the feast of Bacchus, they were commanded to crown themselves with ivy and walk in procession. Those who refused to obey these orders were put to death without mercy. Among other instances of cruel punishment, two women at Jerusalem, with their infant children, whom they had circumcised with their own hands, were thrown from the battlements on the south side of the temple, into the deep valley below the walls of the city. The Hebrews had never before been subjected to so fierce a persecution. Officers were sent into all the towns, with bands of soldiers, to enforce obedience to the royal edict. Many of the Jews heroically met the storm. No threats, or tortures, could force them to renounce their religion. A

certain Apelles was sent to Modin, a city west of Jerusalem, on the Mediterranean shore, to execute the orders of the king. With specious promises, he attempted to persuade Mattathias, one of the principal citizens and a priest, to comply with the royal edict, and offer sacrifice to the idol. But the aged priest indignantly repelled the proposal; and when a Jew approached the altar with the intention of sacrificing, he struck him down with his own hand. Aided by his sons and some other Jews, he then rushed upon the officer and his retinue, slew them, and tore down the idolatrous altar. He then fled into the wilderness of Judea, like David from the presence of Saul. Many of the pious Jews soon joined him. This was the beginning of the noble resistance, which, under the conduct of Judas, the third son of Mattathias, surnamed Maccabeus—the Hammerer—and his heroic brothers, terminated in the complete independence of the Jews. This, however, was not accomplished till after many hard fought battles, and much severe suffering. At one time, about one thousand men, who had concealed themselves in a cave not far from Jerusalem, were massacred on the Sabbath, without offering the least resistance, by Philip, the governor of Judea. By a victory over Lysias, the general of Antiochus, Judas became master of the whole country. He then returned to Jerusalem, repaired and purified the dilapidated and deserted temple. The sacrifices were recommenced three years and six months after the city had been laid waste. A new dedication of the temple was celebrated for eight days, with many and heartfelt demonstrations of joy.

Antiochus Epiphanes received intelligence of the success of the Jewish arms, and of the overthrow of the Syrians, at Elymais, in Persia, where he was detained by an insurrection, caused by his robbing the

celebrated temple, in which his father, Antiochus the Great, lost his life. The vexation of the king was almost beyond endurance. He set out on his return with a determination to make every possible effort to extirpate the Jews. But, during his journey, he was attacked by a disease—possibly the cholera—in which he suffered extreme pain. He was also tormented by the bitterest anguish of conscience on account of his sacrilege and other crimes. He died at Tabæ, on the frontiers of Persia and Babylonia, in the year 163 B. C., after a reign of eleven years.* Thus perished this formidable enemy to the Jewish religion. If he had been permitted to return and gather another army, the result might have been the extermination of the Jews, weakened and almost exhausted as they were by the long war and the hard-fought battles which they had already passed through. A persecutor so powerful and virulent, dangers so numerous and pressing, certainly furnish sufficient reason for the prophetic visions of the exiled prophet. If there was ground for the predictions of Isaiah in the perils of the seventy years, assuredly there existed as strong ground in the merciless tyranny of Antiochus for the warning voice of Daniel.

3. The great object of Daniel, however, will more fully appear by a particular examination of his prophecies. We shall now attempt, therefore, to give as clear an exposition as we are able, of the predictions which relate to the four kingdoms, particularly those which concern the successors of Alexander, comprising the substance of the prophetic part of the book. These

kingdoms are shadowed forth under various figures. The passages are found in the second, seventh, ninth, eleventh and twelfth chapters. The tenth chapter is taken up in describing the time, place and manner in which the preceding visions had been revealed to the prophet. The two passages, 9: 24—27 and 12: 1—4, do not come within our present object.

First. The first monarchy is the Babylonian. It is indicated by the head of gold in the image which Nebuchadnezzar saw. Daniel thus expounds it, "And wheresoever the children of men dwell, the beasts of the field and the fowls of the heaven hath he given into thy hand, and hath made thee ruler over them all. Thou art this head of gold." Again, the vision, Dan. 7: 3, 4, "And four great beasts came up from the sea, diverse one from another. The first was like a lion, and had eagle's wings; and I beheld till the wings thereof were plucked, and it was lifted up from the earth, and was made to stand upon the feet as a man, and a man's heart was given to it." In the first passage, Nebuchadnezzar is taken as the representative of the Babylonian empire, both because the prophet's address was directed to him, and because during his reign the Chaldean monarchy attained its highest glory. In v. 39, ch. 2, it is added, "After thee," i. e. after the Babylonian empire, "shall arise another kingdom." In Isaiah's sublime apostrophe to the king of Babylon, 14: 4, he says, "How hath the oppressor ceased! the golden city ceased!" Jeremiah, 51: 7, calls Babylon a *golden* cup in the Lord's hand, that made all the earth drunken. The splendor of Nebuchadnezzar's conquests, and the gorgeousness of his capital, are well known. In the second passage, the Babylonian kingdom is compared to a lion, the common image of strength. To this is joined the celerity and lofty flight of

* For fuller accounts, see the first book of the Maccabees; Jahn's Hebrew Commonwealth, English translation, p. 257 seq.; Prideaux's Connection, Vol. III, Edinburgh edition, 1799, p. 157 seq., etc. [See also Milman's History of the Jews, books ix, x.]

the eagle. The rapidity with which Nebuchadnezzar achieved his conquests, the terror which his name inspired, and his proud bearing toward the conquered nations, are often alluded to by the Hebrew prophets. But this splendid career of victory was soon over. With the death of Nebuchadnezzar, the fortunes of the empire speedily waned. A boundless luxury took the place of martial vigor. The wings of the eagle were clipped. The Medes and Persians began to narrow the Babylonian boundary. At the same time, the Chaldeans lost their Koordish fierceness. "The bitter and hasty nation, whose horses were swifter than leopards, and more fierce than evening wolves," could not remain unaffected in the soft and effeminate metropolis. A man's heart was given to them. One of the successors of Nebuchadnezzar lifted up the head of Jehoiachin out of prison, and spake *kindly* to him. The arts of peace, and the interests of the learning then in vogue, received more attention. The words of the prophet seem, however, to refer mainly to the gradual decline of the empire. The might of the lion was exchanged for the weakness of man.

Second. The second monarchy is the Medo-Persian. It is thus, figuratively, represented, "The breast and the arms of the image are of silver." "And after thee shall arise another kingdom inferior to thee," Dan. 2: 32, 39. "And behold! another beast, a second, like to a bear, and it raised itself up on one side, and it had three ribs in its mouth, between its teeth, and they said unto it, Arise, and devour much flesh," 7: 5. "Then I lifted up mine eyes and saw and behold! there stood before the river a ram with two horns, and the two horns were high, but one was higher than the other, and the higher came up last. I saw the ram pushing westward, and northward, and southward, so that

no beasts could stand before him, neither was there any that could deliver out of his hand, but he did according to his will and became great." "The ram which thou sawest, having two horns, are the kings of Media and Persia," 8: 3, 4, 20. "And now will I show thee the truth. Behold! there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia; and the fourth shall be far richer than they all, and by his strength, through his riches, he shall stir up all against the realm of Greece," 11: 2.

As silver is inferior to gold, so the Medo-Persian kingdom never attained to the glory of the Babylonian under Nebuchadnezzar. The reign of Cyrus, its best king, was short. Its tranquillity was often interrupted by internal dissensions and foreign wars. Still, it was a kingdom of vast extent, and under some of its monarchs, very prosperous. It was faithfully represented, especially in its Median part, by the symbol of a bear. The hosts under Cyrus poured down from the mountains upon the great Mesopotamian plain, like a ravenous and hungry bear. "They shall hold the bow and the lance, they are cruel and will not show mercy, their voice shall roar like the sea." The phrase, "and it raised itself up on one side," probably refers to the position of a wild beast when resting from the pursuit of its prey. The representation of a beast lying on one of its fore-feet, and standing on the other, is seen on the Babylonian bricks. Others, like Jerome, explain it as follows, "The animal raised itself up, and attacked the one part, or side, which was nearest, i. e. the Chaldean kingdom." But the following clause, "it had three ribs in its mouth," appears to symbolize the Medo-Persian empire, resting from its wars, and preparing to enjoy their fruits, rather than going forth to conquer. The "three ribs" appear to designate the three quarters of Asia, where the Persians had

achieved their principal victories—the more so, as in ch. 8 : 4, the ram is represented as pushing westward, and northward, and southward. Cyrus reduced under his dominion all middle and western Asia to the Hellespont; Cambyses subdued Egypt and Ethiopia on the south; Darius Hystaspes brought into subjection the nomade Scythians among the Caucasian mountains on the north. The ram with two horns, standing on the bank of the Euleus or Chaspes, (which washed the walls of Susa, the Persian capital,) was the Medo-Persian empire. Its united strength was well symbolized by the ram. The two horns are the Medians and Persians, the horn being the well known emblem of power and pride. The higher horn, which came up last, is evidently the Persian part of the monarchy, which gradually overshadowed its northern sister. It pushed its conquests over Mesopotamia, Syria and Asia Minor, on the west; Colchis, Armenia, Iberia, and to the Caspian Sea, on the north; and Judea, Egypt, Ethiopia and Libya, on the south. Xerxes attempted the subjugation of Europe. No animal, i. e. no nation, Syrian, Arabian, etc. could offer any effectual resistance.

The revelations which were made to Daniel, as recorded in the eleventh chapter, were evidently in the third year of Cyrus, comp. 10 : 1. "The three kings that should stand up yet," 11 : 2, were the immediate successors of Cyrus, i. e. Cambyses, the Pseudo-Smerdis, and Darius Hystaspes. The fourth king is Xerxes I, the son of Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus. The immense riches of Xerxes are alluded to by various authors. The Persians used to say, writes Herodotus, that, *after* Xerxes, Pythius the Lydian was the richest of men. The splendor of his preparation for the Grecian war is well known. Herodotus observes, that there was not one man among the millions of his army equal to him

in comeliness or stature. He formed an alliance with the Carthaginians, by which they engaged to attack the Sicilian and Italian Greeks. He set in motion against Greece all the east as far as India, and all the west as far as Spain, where the Carthaginians hired some mercenaries. From Xerxes, the prophet passes on to Alexander the Great, not noticing, as it was not important to his purpose, the eight Persian kings who reigned subsequently to Xerxes.

Third. The third kingdom is the Grecian or Macedonian. It is described under the following symbols. "The belly and the thighs of the image are of brass," Dan. 2 : 32; "And another third kingdom of brass, which shall bear rule over all the earth," 2 : 39; "After this I beheld, and lo! another beast, like a leopard, which had upon the back of it four wings of a fowl; the beast had also four heads, and dominion was given to it," 7 : 6; "And as I was considering, behold! a he-goat came from the west, on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground; and the goat had a notable horn between his eyes. And he came to the ram that had two horns, which I had seen standing before the river, and ran unto him in the fury of his power. And I saw him come close unto the ram, and he was moved with choler against him, and smote the ram, and brake his two horns, and there was no power in the ram to stand before him, but he cast him down to the ground, and stamped upon him, and there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand. Therefore, the he-goat waxed very great, but when he was strong the great horn was broken." "And the rough goat is the king of Grecia, and the great horn that is between his eyes is the first king," 8 : 5—8, 21. "And a mighty king shall stand up, that shall rule with great dominion, and do according to his will," 11 : 3.

The invincible force of the Macedonian empire is illustrated by the brazen part of the image. The leopard is a beautiful but extremely savage animal, small in size yet of great strength, and not afraid to grapple with larger animals. The slaughter which he sometimes commits is almost incredible. The four wings on the back are generally regarded as an emblem of the rapidity of Alexander's movements. They may, however, be taken in connection with the "four heads" possessed by the animal, that seem to be mentioned in anticipation of the fourfold division of Alexander's empire. The he-goat, also, is not an unapt figure to represent the bounding movement of the son of Philip. In the year 334 B. C. he crossed the Hellespont, and in 329, he had "broken the two horns," i. e. subdued Media and Persia, and in fact every thing that stood in his way, from the Hellespont to Sogdiana, and from the cataracts of the Nile to the mouth of the Indus. "He touched not the ground." He made frequent forced marches to a great distance, and often hurried on his soldiers for a week, without giving them a day for repose. With his cavalry he pursued his enemy night and day; and, on one occasion, he followed Darius eleven days without intermission over a distance of three hundred and forty English miles. But "the notable horn" was broken in the height of its power. He suddenly died at Babylon in the spring of 323 B. C., and in the thirty second year of his age. Alexander is called the first king of Greece, as his predecessors, and Philip among the rest, had no connection with the Asiatic monarchies or the Jews, and were besides comparatively obscure. "Shall do according to his will." "Alexander," says the historian Curtius, "is the only mortal who had fortune herself in his power. Indeed, through her favors, he appeared to do with the world just what he pleased."

Fourth. The fourth kingdom is that of the successors of Alexander. It will be necessary to quote continuously the more important passages which relate to this kingdom. We shall then subjoin a brief commentary. That the Roman empire is not intended by the prophet as the fourth kingdom, it is believed will be made evident. We do not rely, in any great degree, on a common argument, viz. that the Roman dominion cannot be referred to, inasmuch as it did not strictly *succeed* the other great monarchies. The Euphrates was the eastern boundary of its realm. Its efforts to subdue the Parthians, and other central Asiatic nations, signally failed. It never conquered a large portion of what had been the Persian empire. In order to establish our position, however, we choose to rely on the declarations of the prophet himself.

The following are the principal passages. "His legs [those of the image] are of iron, his feet part of iron and part of clay. And the fourth kingdom shall be strong as iron; forasmuch as iron breaketh in pieces and subdueth all things; and as iron that breaketh all these, shall it break in pieces and bruise. And whereas thou sawest the feet and toes, part of potters' clay and part of iron, the kingdom shall be divided; but there shall be in it of the strength of the iron, forasmuch as thou sawest the iron mixed with the miry clay. And as the toes of the feet were part of iron and part of clay, so shall the kingdom be partly strong and partly broken. And whereas thou sawest iron mixed with miry clay, they shall mingle themselves with the seed of men; but they shall not cleave one to another, even as iron is not mixed with clay." Dan. 2: 33, 40—43. "After this I saw, in the night-visions, and behold! a fourth beast, dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly; and it had great iron teeth; it devoured, and brake in

pieces, and stamped the residue with its feet; and it was diverse from all the beasts that were before it, and it had ten horns. I considered the horns and behold! there came up among them another little horn, by whom there were three of the first horns plucked up by the roots; and behold! in this horn were eyes like the eyes of man, and a mouth speaking great things." "Thus he [the interpreting angel] said, The fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom upon earth, which shall be diverse from all kingdoms, and shall devour the whole earth, and shall tread it down, and break it in pieces. And the ten horns out of this kingdom are ten kings that shall arise; and another shall arise after them; and he shall be diverse from the first, and he shall subdue three kings. And he shall speak great words against the Most High, and shall wear out the saints of the Most High, and think to change times [sacred seasons] and laws; and they shall be given into his hand until a time and times and the dividing of time," 7: 7, 8, 23—25. "And for it [the great horn] came up four notable ones toward the four winds of heaven. And out of one of them came forth a little horn, which waxed exceeding great toward the south, and toward the east, and toward the pleasant land. And it waxed great, even to the host of heaven; and it cast down some of the host and of the stars to the ground, and stamped upon them. Yea, he magnified himself even to the prince of the host, and by him the daily sacrifice was taken away, and the place of the sanctuary was cast down. And the host, besides the daily sacrifice, was given over to impiety [or into the hands of the impious], and it [the horn] cast down truth to the ground, and it practiced and prospered. Then I heard one saint [or angel] speaking, and another saint said unto that certain saint which spake, How

long shall be the vision concerning the daily sacrifice, and the transgression of desolation [or of the desolater] to give both the sanctuary and the host to be trodden under foot? And he said unto me, unto two thousand and three hundred days, then shall the sanctuary be cleansed." "Now that [the great horn] being broken, whereas four stood up for it, four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power. And in the latter time of their kingdom, when the transgressors are come to the full, a king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences shall stand up. And his power shall be mighty, but not by his own power; and he shall destroy wonderfully, and shall prosper, and work on, and shall destroy the mighty, and the holy people; and through his policy, also, he shall cause craft to prosper in his hand, and he shall magnify himself in his heart, and in prosperity shall destroy many; he shall, also, stand up against the Prince of princes, but he shall be broken without hands," 8: 8—13, 22—25. "And when he [Alexander] shall stand up, his kingdom shall be broken, and shall be divided toward the four winds of heaven; but not to his posterity, nor according to his dominion which he ruled; for his kingdom shall be plucked up, even for others besides those," 11: 4. "It shall be [i. e. the end of these wonders] for a time, times and a half; and when he shall have finished dashing in pieces the power of the holy people, all these things shall be accomplished." "And from the time that the daily sacrifice shall be taken away, and the abomination that maketh desolate set up, there shall be a thousand two hundred and ninety days. Blessed is he that waiteth and cometh to the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days," 12: 7, 11, 12.

We have purposely omitted the

long passage, 11: 5—45, which relates to the successors of Alexander. We shall briefly explain it on a following page.

The passage, above quoted, from the second chapter, accurately foreshadows the power and weakness of the fourth kingdom. Taken together, and considered as one empire, ruled by Greek princes, it held an iron sceptre. The generals of Alexander, like those of Napoleon, had been trained in an excellent military school, and some of them were wise, as well as warlike men. Egypt never had better sovereigns than the first three Ptolemies. But though no one of Alexander's successors, nor all of them together, attained the might and glory of some other monarchs, yet they were most intimately connected—which is a material fact—with the covenant people of God. It is on this account, that such preëminence is given to them. Yet the parts of these kingdoms were like a conglomeration of iron and clay; they never coalesced. Constant wars and frightful assassinations stain this turbulent period. There were too many great warriors, who were nearly on an equality. One controlling spirit, like that of Alexander, was needed. Their marriage connections for political purposes, predicted in v. 43, were numerous. Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, married Antigone, the daughter of Ptolemy I. Her mother, Berenice, the widow of Philip, a Macedonian, became a wife of Ptolemy, though he had previously married Eurydice, a daughter of Antipater and a sister of Cassander. Antiochus Theos married two wives, Laodice and Berenice, both daughters of Ptolemy Philadelphus. Cleopatra, daughter of Antiochus the Great, was connected in marriage with Ptolemy Epiphanes. But these alliances, for the most part, only caused fresh disturbances. The iron could not mix with the clay.

Some of the remarks just made, will apply to the fourth beast, described in ch. 7: 7, 23. In relation to the Jews, the strong delineation is true to the letter. Its ferocity and its voracious appetite were exhibited in its subjecting to its king, province after province and kingdom after kingdom. It was different from the preceding kingdoms by the sudden and numerous changes which it underwent, and the terrible atrocities which it committed. That the "ten horns" are to be understood as indicating individual kings, and not kingdoms, appears from the fact, that immediately after these ten, another was to arise, that was not a kingdom, but a *particular king*, designated by the "little horn" of 8: 9, and the king of "fierce countenance," in 8: 23. The ten kings are, unquestionably, to be sought in the Syrian and Egyptian line of kings, who, for a longer or shorter time, held Palestine in subjection. These were, according to history, Antigonus, who took possession of Judea in 314 B. C.; Demetrius Poliorcetes, to whom the regal title was given by his father, Antigonus, 306 B. C.; Ptolemy Lagus, to whom Palestine fell, on the fourfold division of the empire, 301 B. C.; Ptolemy Philadelphus; Ptolemy Euergetes; Ptolemy Philopater; Ptolemy Epiphanes; Ptolemy Philometer; Antiochus the Great; and Seleucus Philopater. These ten kings were in possession, at various times, of Palestine from the death of Alexander the Great to the time when Antiochus Epiphanes ascended the Syrian throne. The "four horns" of the he-goat, Dan. 8: 8, 22, are the kingdoms of Seleucus, Ptolemy, Cassander and Lysimachus, who made a permanent treaty in 301 B. C., Cassander taking Macedonia and Greece; Lysimachus, Thrace, Bithynia and some of the adjoining provinces; Ptolemy, Egypt, Libya, Arabia Petrea, Palestine and Coelosy-

ria; and Seleucus, all that remained, including seventy two satrapies.

That the "little horn" is Antiochus Epiphanes, there can be no reasonable doubt. The passage, Dan. 8: 8, 9, settles the whole question, as it seems to us. *Instead* of it, i. e. the great horn, 8: 8, *out of the nation*, i. e. Greece, v. 23, came up four notable horns, v. 8, four kingdoms, v. 22, and *out of* one of these horns, v. 9, came forth a little horn, and in the latter time *of their kingdom*, a king of fierce countenance shall stand up, v. 23. Nothing can be more to the point than this. The Greek descent of Antiochus through the four kingdoms, is plainly affirmed. Marks so characteristic, also, are given, that he is pointed out, as it were, by the finger. The three of the first horns, whom he plucked up by the roots, were, according to the opinion of Grotius, "Seleucus Philopater, slain by Epiphanes or by his order, Demetrius, the son of Seleucus, the lawful heir of the throne, and Ptolemy Philometer, from whom he took Egypt." Others suppose, that Heliodorus, who usurped the Syrian throne, for a short time after the death of Seleucus Philopater, is referred to as one of the three kings. That the character of Antiochus Epiphanes was essentially different from that of his predecessors, may be seen by the historical notices of him on a previous page. He sought utterly to extirpate the saints, i. e. the Jewish church, to abolish the Sabbath, and all the sacred "times" of the Jews. He made his boasts of understanding enigmas, 'dark sentences,' and by his craft and power, went on prosperously for the most part, till he suddenly perished 'without hand,' by a terrible sickness, and not by human intervention. Though he had cast down some of the host and of the stars, i. e. the holy people, and magnified himself against the prince of the host, the

high-priest, or perhaps God himself, though he defiled the sanctuary, and depopulated the sacred city, yet "all these things were finished," when the sacrilegious wretch died in the distant East by the visitation of God. He was permitted to wear out the saints of the Most High, "until a time, and times and the dividing of time," i. e. for the space of three years and a half. In May, 168 B. C., Antiochus sent his confidant, Apollonius, with twenty two thousand men to plunder Jerusalem. On the 25th of December, sacrifices were offered in the temple to the statue of Jupiter Olympius, which had been erected there. Just three years after this last event, the temple was purified by Judas Maccabæus, i. e. Dec. 25, 165 B. C.; three years and a half having elapsed, while Antiochus had complete control of Jerusalem. This same period is referred to in Dan. 7: 25, and 12: 7.* The 1290 days in Dan. 12: 11, seem to be an *exact* specification of what was before designated in general terms in Dan. 7: 25, and 12: 7, i. e. by the words "time, times and an half." In the 12th verse of ch. 12, he is pronounced blessed, who cometh to the 1335 days, i. e. to the death of Antiochus. If we suppose that Apollonius captured Jerusalem in the latter part of May, 168 B. C., the 1335 days would end about the middle of February, 164 B. C. It was at this last date, or about that time, that the great persecutor miserably perished at Tabæ, on the borders of Persia.

We will now subjoin a brief explanation of the somewhat detailed predictions in the eleventh chapter. The last twenty five verses relate entirely to Antiochus Epiphanes. Ptolemy Lagus, "the king of the south," reigned in Egypt. One of "his princes," Seleucus Nicator, reigned over a "great dominion,"

* See Prof. Stuart's Hints, p. 89, 2d ed.

from the Euphrates to the Indus, v. 5. In process of time, Antiochus Theos, the grandson of Nicator, and Ptolemy Philadelphus, "joined themselves together." The latter gave his daughter Berenice in marriage to the former. Yet this alliance was of no ultimate benefit to either of the parties. Laodice, a previous wife of Antiochus, in her jealousy, caused the death of her husband, of the Egyptian wife, and of their two sons, and placed her own son, Seleucus Callinicus, on the throne. Antiochus Soter, the son of Nicator, is passed by, as he had no connection with the affairs of the Jews, v. 6. "But out of a branch of her roots," i. e. of Berenice's, stood up one in the place of Philadelphus, i. e. his son Ptolemy Euergetes, who marched with an army to avenge the death of his sister, attacked the fortresses of Callinicus, and prevailed against him, and carried back to Egypt many captives, forty thousand talents of silver, and a large number of images, which Cambyses, king of Persia, had taken from Egypt. Then he desisted several years from war with the king of the north, v. 8. The king of Syria having in vain attempted to invade Egypt, and having suffered shipwreck, returned in trepidation to Antioch, v. 9. His two sons, Ceraunus and Antiochus the Great, renewed the war with a large army. After the death of Ceraunus, it was continued by Antiochus. In a short time, "he returned," i. e. recommenced the war, and the hostile kings "were stirred up even to his tower," the fortress of Ptolemy at Raphia, near Gaza, v. 10. Ptolemy Philopater, the son of Euergetes, gained a great victory over Antiochus at Raphia, v. 11; but his heart was lifted up with pride, and he made no good use of his victory, v. 12; for "after some years," in the time of Ptolemy Epiphanes, the son of Philopater, Antiochus renewed the war with greater vigor than ever,

v. 13. The Egyptian king was, at the same time, harassed by an attack from Philip, king of Macedonia. Factious Jews, "robbers of thy people," revolted from him and joined Antiochus, thereby becoming the means, through the oppressions which the Jews suffered from Antiochus Epiphanes, of "establishing" the prophetic "vision," v. 14. Antiochus marched with a large army and "cast up a mount" against Sidon, and took the city, notwithstanding the "chosen people" which Ptolemy sent to its aid, v. 15. Accordingly, Antiochus did according to his will, and gained complete possession of the "pleasant land," v. 16. And he set his face that he might gain entire control of Ptolemy's kingdom. He formed a league with him, and gave him in marriage his daughter Cleopatra, "to destroy it," i. e. the kingdom of Ptolemy. But the crafty device did not succeed. Instead of carrying out the designs of her father, she continued steadfast in the interests of her husband, v. 17. Antiochus then took possession of many islands, and of the coasts of Asia Minor. Soon, however, a "prince," Lucius Scipio, defeated him in a great battle at Magnesia. In addition to the "reproach" inflicted on him by this event, "he caused it to turn on himself." Men called him "King Antiochus the Great." The Romans compelled him to evacuate Asia Minor. Loaded with a heavy tribute, he resorted to cruel exactions, and even the robbing of temples, in order to procure the means of paying it. But by attempting to plunder the temple of Elymais, he provoked the people to an insurrection, in which he was slain, together with the soldiers who attended him, v. 18, 19. His son, Seleucus Philopater, was "the raiser of taxes." "In a few days," he was destroyed, "not in anger, nor in battle," but by poison, v. 20. The "vile person," Antiochus Epiphanes, came

to the throne by "flattering" Eumenes, king of Pergamus, and his brother Attalus, v. 21. The forces of the Egyptians "were broken" by him, yea also, Ptolemy Philometer, with whom he had made a covenant, v. 22. He pretended that he had come to Egypt, solely for the good of Ptolemy, to set the affairs of his kingdom in order for him. He attacked suddenly [not peaceably] "the fattest places" of Egypt, and scattered among his soldiers the prey, and devised assaults upon Alexandria, and other places, v. 23, 24. In v. 25, the conflict between the two kings is described, in which Ptolemy was worsted, because persons in his own court plotted against him. Even those who fed at his table, v. 26, conspired against him. In the mean time, the army of Antiochus came on like an inundation, and many of Ptolemy's soldiers fell down wounded. Under the garb of friendship, v. 27, both kings tried to circumvent each other, but neither accomplished his object, for the end of these wars was deferred till the time appointed by God. Then Antiochus returning to his own land, plundered Jerusalem on the road, and desecrated the temple, v. 28. Afterward he went back to Egypt, v. 29, 30, but his designs did not prosper, for the Romans sent ambassadors, and forbade his further progress. He returned "grieved," and wreaked his vengeance on the Jews, and set up his "abomination" in the temple, v. 31, the apostate Jews helping him, but the "people of God," like Mattathias, v. 32, being strong, did valiantly. These pious Jews confirmed many in their allegiance to the true God, v. 33, though multitudes perished by the sword, in the flames, and in captivity, for some time.

Mattathias at first had but a "little help," though many professed themselves, hypocritically, to be his friends, v. 34. It was a time of sharp trial, v. 35, and many came out of the fiery persecution like gold from the furnace. The remainder of the chapter, v. 36 to 45, describes the impiety of Antiochus, his neglect of the idols of his fathers, his worship of Jupiter Capitolinus, "the god of forces," his disregarding the "desire of women," i. e. some goddess worshiped by Syrian females, his setting up the worship of Jupiter "in the most strong holds," another war with the king of Egypt, the escape of the Idumeans, etc. from his grasp, his fury on hearing of the revolt of the Armenians and Parthians, and the placing of his camp between the Mediterranean and Jerusalem, "the seas and the glorious holy mountain." But his end had now come. The thrones were set. The Ancient of Days ascended the judgment seat. A fiery stream issued from before him. Thousand thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him; the judgment was set and the books were opened. The sentence went forth. The beast was slain, and his body was destroyed, and given to the burning flame. The bloody persecutor of God's people, received the just reward of his deeds.

Then followed the glorious days of the Messiah. The Son of Man came in the clouds of heaven, and there was given him an everlasting dominion. The stone that smote the image, became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth. Thrice blessed he who shall behold on earth the perfect accomplishment of this vision.

TWO HUNDRED YEARS AGO IN ENGLAND.

THOSE were stirring times in old England two hundred years ago. The controversy between Charles I. and the Long Parliament had been submitted to the dire arbitrament of war; and each of the three kingdoms of the British empire was convulsed with the progress of a bloody revolution. Let us briefly recollect the occasion, the elements, and the progress of that controversy.

The ancient feudal system of government in England, had answered a purpose during the middle ages. By a rude balancing of powers, it had secured the barons against the sovereign, and had prevented the crown from becoming absolute, while at the same time it had limited the authority of the barons by making them, to some extent, dependent on the king. It had guarded by charters and prescriptive rights the corporate liberties of cities and boroughs, and had thus encouraged industry and the progress of civilization. It had recognized the church as one great power in the state, a power in a great measure independent of the crown and of the peerage; and the political rights of bishops and mitred abbots, of the universities and the clergy, were acknowledged as definitely as those of lay barons or of burgesses. It had accustomed the entire people to the idea of being governed by laws and not by arbitrary power. It had fixed in the popular mind the notion, that laws were to be made by the parliament with the consent of the king, and not by the king without the parliament, and that the laws were of the nature of a compact between the sovereign and his subjects. It had trained the English to regard themselves as a free people, and to glory in their freedom as the great distinction between them and their

neighbors of those continental kingdoms, in which the power of the sovereign had swallowed up, in whole or in part, those old Gothic institutions which had once maintained the spirit of liberty.

But from the reign of Henry VII, England had been outgrowing her ancient ill-defined system of feudal government. The peerage, once so powerful against the throne, had been greatly depressed by the confiscations and slaughters of the wars between the houses of York and Lancaster; and the policy of the avaricious and unwarlike Henry VII, while it enriched the crown, gave opportunity for industry and the arts of peace to enrich those towns which were the seats of trade, and brought forward those "middling classes," which, during the long era of feudal violence, had hardly begun to exist. The invention of printing, the revival and expansion of commerce, the discovery of America, were indications of the commencement of a new order of things.

In the following reign, the reformation as introduced into England by the monarch—throwing off the old allegiance of the church of England to the church of Rome, transferring all the powers of the pope to the king, abolishing the monastic institutions, and seizing on no small portion of the immense possessions of the clergy—disturbed still farther the old balance of powers in the state, by bringing the bishops and the entire ecclesiastical system into an immediate and absolute dependence on the crown. At the same time, in consequence of this very arrangement, so inauspicious in itself to English liberty, England was unavoidably placed in communication with the true reformation which had been commenced

on the continent by Luther and Zuingle, and which was there asserting in the boldest manner, the principle of private judgment and of the supreme and sole authority of the Scriptures, as opposed to the authority of the church; and the principle of justification by faith, as opposed to justification by the church, by ceremonies and observances, or by any human endeavors. Beside this, the very change which the king made in seizing on the pope's supremacy, while it was highly acceptable to at least a large portion of the people, as relieving England from a hated dependence on a foreign power, and from great taxes and contributions which had gone to fill the coffers of the pontiff at Rome, or had been expended in the support of idle and often profligate monks—could not but lead on to other changes in the popular mind. The doctrine of the pope's supremacy being rejected by public authority as resting on nothing but prescription, it was a matter of course for the people to inquire, whether other doctrines, once venerable, rested on any better foundation. The Scriptures being translated into the vulgar tongue for the people to read, why were not the people to judge as to the meaning of what they read? England having become a Protestant kingdom, why should not the people become a Protestant people? and why should not the church of England be reformed in doctrine and discipline, according to the Scriptural standard, like the churches with which she agreed in protesting against Rome? All these tendencies towards a progressive and thorough reformation, were increased by the fact, that the personal quarrel between Henry VIII. and Luther, brought the reforming ecclesiastics of England into immediate connection with the divines of Switzerland, rather than with those of Saxony, with Zurich and Geneva, rather than with Wittenberg. Still,

the reformation can hardly be considered as having made much progress during the reign of Henry VIII. For though the timid, supple, and crafty Cranmer was archbishop of Canterbury, having mounted to that place by his diligent and able subserviency to the tyrant's wishes in respect to his divorce of Catherine, and retaining his mitre by a meaner compliance in respect to the divorce and condemnation of Anne Boleyn—and though the heroic Latimer was for a season bishop of Worcester—and though by the influence of the Protestant party at court, anxious for their newly acquired church property, and therefore disposed to take away all possibility of a reconciliation with Rome, some preachers of the reformed religion enjoyed an irregular and perilous toleration, the authorized doctrines and ritual of the church suffered no material change, save in the one great point of bringing the clergy to a complete dependence on the king.

The actual reformation of the church of England, so far as it was reformed, is to be ascribed, under God's providence, to the accident that the immediate successor of Henry VIII. was a boy in his tenth year; and that those who had the guardianship of his person, and who swayed the government in his name, were committed either by their interest or by their conscience, on the side of a thorough reformation. The king's supremacy over the church, in the hands of this reforming junto of nobles and bishops, was employed to great effect for six years. Then it was that Latimer, Ridley, Coverdale, Hooper, Rogers, and the like, obtained not only liberty to preach the gospel, but high places of honor and influence in the ecclesiastical establishment. Then it was that Peter Martyr and Martin Bucer were, by the government, invited into England from Switzerland, and placed in the chairs of theology at

Oxford and Cambridge. Then it was that on account of the popish ignorance and incapacity of the clergy, and as the best substitute for a preaching ministry, the first book of homilies was published to be read in the churches, and a copy deposited with every parish priest. Then it was that the images were ordered to be removed from places of worship; and the order went forth that every church should within three months be provided with a Bible. Then it was that the old Latin forms of public worship were collated, revised, expurgated, and translated into English. Then it was that one great and noisome abomination of the ancient or popish Christianity, was swept away by legalizing the marriage of the clergy. Then it was that the reformation of the church was continually regarded, not as a work completed and incapable of advancement, but as a work in progress, to be carried on from one degree of purity to another. These six years of the reign of Edward VI. are the years in which the foundation was laid for whatever of real Protestantism pertains to the church of England as by law established.

On the accession of Mary, when the reforming prelates and statesmen found their own engine of the king's supremacy turned against themselves, it was soon manifest that the measures of the preceding reign had not been ineffectual; and the three hundred victims, of all ranks, from the aged primate of all England to the simple peasant and the little child, who were burned at the stake as martyrs to the reformed faith, "lighted such a candle in England as shall never be put out." Yet the facility with which almost the entire nation was turned back from the religion of Edward and Cranmer to the religion of Mary and Bonner—the pliability of Parliament to repeal all the reforming laws of the two preceding

reigns, and to re-enact those old bloody statutes which brought the martyrs to the stake, showed too plainly how little progress had then been made in that reformation of the people without which all reformation of doctrines and of forms is of no worth. On one point, however, the Queen found her subjects less flexible. The very act repealing all laws against the see of Rome, could not be carried without a proviso that the plunder of the monasteries and bishoprics, which Henry had so profusely distributed among his courtiers, and by which he had made the reformation so acceptable to them, should remain undisturbed with those who then possessed it. The Queen indeed gave back all of that property which was still in possession of the sovereign, and testified her zeal by repairing old monasteries and erecting new ones; but when it was proposed in Parliament that the abbey lands should be restored by law to the uses from which they had been alienated, the English temper was up in a moment; and even in that obsequious assembly there were those who significantly laid their hands on their swords, and said they knew how to defend their own property. Had the Queen, or rather had the Pope her master, been wise enough to abandon the claim on the alienated property of the church, and to confirm that property to the actual possessors, trusting to the power of superstition and of priestcraft to make up all losses, the cruelties which have gained for Mary so unhappy a preëminence in English history, would have been far more effectual toward suppressing the Protestant party. But while the alienation remained unsanctioned by the Pope, all that property, amounting to perhaps a fifth part of the rental of the kingdom, was a "vested interest" against the establishment of popery.

It was the security which the reformation gave to the tenure of so

large an amount of property, together with the personal unpopularity of Mary, gloomy, bigoted, austere, better qualified for an abbess than a queen, which, more than any general conviction of the truth of the reformed doctrine, made the accession of Elizabeth so acceptable to the majority of the nation. Elizabeth's title to the throne being exclusively Protestant, and depending on an act of Parliament empowering her father to settle the succession by his will, she could not but adopt the Protestant policy, especially as in the person of her cousin Mary of Scotland there was a Popish pretender to the crown. Accordingly, in a few months, the laws relating to the ecclesiastical establishment were restored nearly as they stood at the death of Edward VI. The great difference was not that in a few things the service book was made less exceptionable to the adherents of the old superstition; nor was it that the taste of the "head of the church" affected all sorts of pomp and stately ceremony. The great difference lay rather in that pregnant fact, that the reformation as Edward left it was a reformation in full progress, a reformation carried as far as the exigencies of those times would allow, and to be carried farther when the times should be more propitious; whereas the reformation as restored by Elizabeth was a reformation already completed, a reformation sealed and hallowed by the blood of the martyrs, and never to be called in question without the guilt, at least of "temerity." From that time the church of England has been, in the estimation of all her true disciples, not infallible, for that would not be Protestant, but always and perfectly in the right,—theoretically fallible, but in fact never erring,—a church "without spot or wrinkle or any such thing."

In the circumstances and method of the English reformation, we see the elements of that strife in relation

to religious affairs, which agitated England from the days of Elizabeth to the revolution of 1688. On the one hand, the ecclesiastical establishment was so constituted as to be, far more than the aristocracy, the great support and bulwark of the throne; its patronage being, for the most part, directly or indirectly at the king's disposal; its bishop barons, with their power over the inferior clergy, and with their votes in the house of lords, being his creatures; and all the highest honors of the national church, with whatever influence such honors can have on opinion or action, being absolutely at his disposal. On the other hand, there was among the people, and had been from the days of Wycliffe, a leaven of that true Protestantism which bids every man read the Scriptures for himself, and teaches every man that he is to be saved, not by the mediation of the church or of its priesthood, but by the grace of God in Christ freely pardoning his sin and forming his soul anew. To this remnant of Lollardism, and to the influence which Wycliffe and his followers had left upon the popular mind, the reformation in the days of Henry, and still more in the days of Edward, gave impulse and development. Thus while the church, considered as a political institution, was reformed into so complete a dependence on the king, a reformation of another kind was going on among the people. New spiritual ideas—ideas which are the germ of popular liberty and of boundless activity and improvement, began to spread rapidly. Especially in the reign of Edward VI, when Bucer at Cambridge, and Peter Martyr at Oxford, were the authorized teachers of theology, forming the opinions and character of the young clergy—an arrangement not unlike what might be seen now in England if Merle D'Aubigné were placed at the head of theological instruction in one of those universities, and

Tholuck or Neander in the other—the principles of a true and thorough reformation took root in the universities; and thence were propagated, as the men educated under such an influence went abroad to their various employments in church or state. The towns, essentially republican in their constitution, showed from the first a decided aptitude for the reception of the new opinions.

The two reformations—the one proceeding from the king, and the other proceeding from the people—were for a while prevented from coming into active collision, by the presence of an enemy equally dreaded by each. Yet even in the reign of Edward VI, there was an omen of a coming controversy when the excellent Hooper refused to be consecrated bishop in the “Aaronical habits,” as they were styled, and was consequently imprisoned till he consented to a compromise, and accordingly made his appearance in his prelatical character “like a new player on the stage,” his upper garment a long scarlet chimere down to the feet, and under that a white linen rochet “that covered all his shoulders, and a four-square cap upon his head.” The disgust which Hooper, with his thoroughly Protestant tastes, must have felt in being compelled to make this mountebank appearance even once or twice, and the sympathy which all of his way of thinking must have felt with him in his imprisonment and in the degradation of his coerced conformity, might have shown to wise men what was to be expected when the reformation should be less in danger from any dissension among the enemies of Rome. In the reign of Mary, “the troubles at Frankfort,” where a little congregation of fugitives from England had adopted, instead of the book of common prayer, modes of worship more in accordance with the usages of the Protestants around them, till new comers made a schism among them by insisting on the

prayer-book as the very thing for which their brethren in England were then suffering martyrdom, were a demonstration of the opposing tendencies which needed only time for growth, and opportunity for development, to agitate all England. Of the eight hundred fugitives, lay and clerical, who during that bloody reign found refuge in Geneva, and in other cities where the reformation after the Swiss model had prevailed, only a few came home without the earnest desire of seeing the ecclesiastical order of their native country carried back, much farther than Edward’s counselors had ventured, toward a primitive simplicity. The disappointment to which they were doomed under Elizabeth, had no tendency to make them satisfied, and did little to prevent their views from spreading among the most religious portion of the people. The *Puritans* began to be a distinct party as soon as the exiles returned. The supreme head of the church of England, Queen Elizabeth, was determined that all the forms and circumstances of worship throughout the kingdom, should be exactly according to her ideas of dignity and decorum. The prayers prepared and set forth in the service book, and no others, were to be offered in all churches. The clergy, according to their degrees and functions, were not only to be distinguished by their dress, like the soldiers and officers of a military establishment, but were to wear the same vestments which had been worn by the popish clergy of old, and which in the popular mind were inseparably associated with the old superstition. The communion table in every church was to stand, not as might please the taste of the congregation, or of the officiating minister, but as the Queen’s injunctions had directed. Several of the bishops were at first much inclined to Puritan opinions, or at least to a reasonable and Christian moderation. Desiring to see

the people instructed and made better by the preaching of the Gospel, they were slow in adopting those measures which tended to perpetuate the reign of popular ignorance by silencing the most intelligent and conscientious, as well as the most zealous and popular of the preaching clergy. Could those bishops have exercised, at that time, their own judgment, many of the objectionable ceremonies and vestments would have been dispensed with. But the queen was inflexible, and her power over the church as its head brought the bishops, after a while, to a zeal for "the ceremonies and the habits" to which some of them, at the beginning, were strangers.

The great personal popularity of Elizabeth as a sovereign, the energy of her administration in the hands of such statesmen as Cecil and Burleigh, the eclat attendant on the repulse of the Spanish invasion, and her good sense in avoiding all collision with the established forms of the English constitution as it then was, enabled her to carry her people along with her in what she did, and in what she refused to do for ecclesiastical reformation. Thus under her long reign, the religious differences among her Protestant subjects, though continually becoming deeper and more ominous, never assumed such a form as to disturb the peace or check the prosperity of the kingdom. No equal period since the Norman conquest, had been more brilliant or more prosperous. But that very prosperity was preparing the way for revolutions. The aristocracy, enriched by the spoils of the suppressed monastic institutions, were gradually recovering something of their ancient weight in the nation. Commerce and the arts were giving increased importance to the towns. The middling class between the sluggish peasantry and the proud nobility—that great class embodying so much of indus-

try, skill, enterprise, and so rapidly acquiring both knowledge and wealth, was beginning gradually to feel its strength. A philosophic and enlightened mind might have foreseen that the balance of powers in the state must ere long be re-adjusted, either gradually or suddenly, either peacefully or violently.

When James I. came to the throne, the constitution of the church of England had been arranged long enough to produce its legitimate results. The bishops and other dignitaries had learned their dependence on the sovereign, and generally were no longer tainted with any suspicion of Puritanism. Strange would it have been, if a church which had made them peers of the realm, and had placed their order nearest to the throne, and which gave them pomp, equipage, revenues and palaces, such as princes might envy, had seemed to them to require farther reformation. The church, as an establishment, had become the ally of the court. And thus, if for no other reason, it came to pass that the Parliament, and especially the house of commons, representing the public sentiment of the towns and of those smaller landholders who had little connection with the court, naturally favored the Puritan demand for a farther reformation. Even during the reign of Elizabeth, the house of commons had repeatedly manifested a disposition to interfere with the affairs of the church, much farther than agreed with the Queen's inclinations. And when James, in his blustering and insolent way, began to promulgate and to put in practice his preposterous claim of a divine right to govern with absolute power, a right superior to all laws and inalienable by any compact, and it grew evident to all thoughtful men that a great struggle for the ancient liberties of England was approaching, and that the royal prerogative which was so fast overshadowing

the laws must be bounded by new and more effectual limitations, the Puritans who demanded a reform in the church, and the patriotic party who withstood the usurpations of the court, became more and more identified.

There is a connection, deeper than Cranmer or Jewel ever suspected, between Romish forms and institutions on the one hand, and Romish doctrine on the other. In the latter part of the reign of James, when the influence of Laud began to be ascendant, the true doctrines of the reformation began to be industriously obscured and discountenanced; and a doctrine more consonant with the idea of a priesthood and of justification by some other process, besides a simple and undivided reliance on Christ's intercession, became the doctrine of the church as allied with the court. From this time, popish *innovations* began to be a distinct theme of complaint on the part of the Puritans. And in proportion as men were convinced, that under the existing system the doctrine of the church was going back, not only from the mark to which Latimer and Ridley attained, but even from the standard of the Elizabethan reformation, they naturally reasoned about the church, as they were already reasoning unconsciously about the state, that some new reform was needed; men, who sincerely believed and loved the Gospel, the doctrine of salvation by the grace of God, could not but feel that adequate security against a return of the whole body of popish doctrines, must be found in some new and more thorough reformation. And then, as if on purpose to make Puritanism as powerful and formidable as possible, and to blend all voices of dissatisfaction against usurpation in the state or superstition in the church, into one swelling chorus of complaint and threatening, the court, and the church as swayed by the

court, began to stigmatize with the name of Puritans, not only those who were zealous against the habits and the ceremonies, but all who opposed the introduction of Arminianism, all who desired to see the Lord's day kept holy, all who were dissatisfied with an ignorant and scandalous clergy, and all who were alarmed at the outrageous principles on which the government of the kingdom was conducted.

The reformation in Scotland had been from the beginning a movement of the people. It was an insurrection and revolution. There, as in England, the reforming nobles had grasped in one way and another a great portion of the wealth, with which the priestcraft of the clergy and the superstition of the laity had been for ages enriching the church. Not only had the monasteries been dissolved, but the sees of the bishops had been despoiled, and the bishops reduced to mere nullities, though the office had not yet been formally abolished by law. Scotland was in effect, though not in form, a Presbyterian kingdom, from the moment in which the reformation triumphed there. And when the kings of Scotland became by inheritance possessors of the throne of England, the Scotch, in their jealousy lest their country might become a mere dependency of the greater and more powerful kingdom, were more zealous than ever for their own ecclesiastical institutions as distinguished from the loftier hierarchy and the more ornate worship of the English church. The measures of James and of his son and successor, Charles I, both of whom were bent on gradually carrying the Scotch reformation backward into a conformity with England, irritated the religious sympathies of the northern kingdom, and made not only the enlightened and devout, but the masses, cling to their particular type of Protestantism, as the badge and the very

essence of their nationality. The restoration of the bishops, after their office had long been virtually abolished, to ecclesiastical power and civil dignities, was particularly offensive to the nobility and to the people.

It seems like a judicial infatuation, that in such a state of things, Charles, even under the advice of so narrow and short-sighted a mind as Laud, should venture on the mad enterprise of reinstating in the church of Scotland, the system of doctrine, worship and government, which in the dialect of Oxford is now called "Catholicity." From the beginning of his reign, this ill-taught and ill-advised king had maintained a constant quarrel with his English subjects. Having found successive Parliaments sternly bent on the redress of grievances, and reluctant to afford supplies without some security for a better administration of the laws and for a better protection of the rights of Englishmen, he had undertaken to reign without Parliaments; and for twelve years he had governed in absolute defiance of the ancient constitution of the realm. During those twelve years, it seemed likely that the Teutonic liberties of England would go the same way with those of France and Spain. During those twelve years it was, that some four thousand Englishmen emigrated to America, and planted here a new and fairer England than that which they left behind them. During those twelve years it was, that such patriots as Sir John Eliot, were wearing out their weary lives in prison; and such as Hampden appealed in vain to servile judges, the mere minions of the crown. The only hope for England was, that some occasion might arise which should make the calling of a Parliament a matter of inevitable necessity. At such a crisis, Laud and his master ran the risk of an experiment on the jealousy and

turbulence of the Scottish nation. A service-book was prepared, with a few variations from that of England, some of which were calculated to make it more obnoxious to Protestant minds; and without consulting either the Parliament of the kingdom, or the general assembly, or any of the synods of the kirk, the king attempted to introduce it simply by his absolute authority. Sunday, the 23d of July, 1637, was the day fixed upon for beginning the use of this new liturgy in all the churches in Scotland. On that day, an immense concourse appeared at St. Giles's church in Edinburgh, where archbishops, bishops, and high officers of the kingdom, were to aid by their presence in securing for the new book a favorable reception. The dean began his reading. Instantly there arose among the populace that thronged the old cathedral, such a noise of clapping, cursing, and crying, that nothing else could be heard. The bishop of Edinburgh ascended the pulpit to appease the tumult, "whom," says Fuller in his quaint way, "a stool aimed to be thrown at him had killed, if not diverted by one present, so that the same book had occasioned his death and prescribed the form of his burial." That stool, we may say, in its parabolic flight, took off the heads of Strafford, Laud, and Charles. It was the signal-shot of what Oxford politicians in this country, as well as in England, still call "the great rebellion."

Immediately all Scotland was in commotion. The old "NATIONAL COVENANT" against popery, which had been adopted in 1581 by King James and his court, and in 1590, by the nation generally, was revised and enlarged to adapt it to the times, and was enthusiastically sworn to by all classes of people. This covenant became a bond of union, a test of partisanship, an oath of allegiance to the liberties of the

kingdom and to the Presbyterian reformation. In the progress of the disturbances, the king was induced to call a general assembly of the kirk—a body which for many years had not been permitted to convene. The assembly, notwithstanding the efforts of the government, and of the bishops with their dwindling party, was made up of covenanters; and after seven days, the king's commissioner attempted to dissolve it. But it would not be dissolved. It went on, annulling, rescinding, renouncing, reforming, with a high hand, till not a vestige remained of all that goodly fabric of episcopacy, which James and Charles had been so sedulously rearing, and of which the new liturgy was to have been the topstone.

Nothing remained but war. The king, in the exercise of the despotic power which he had assumed, found means to raise an army in England, with which to subdue his unmanageable subjects in Scotland. The Scotch, on the other hand, raised an army in the name of the king and covenant, to defend the kingdom against English invaders. Should the king succeed in the subjugation of Scotland by an English army, England itself would thenceforward be held in more complete subjection. On the border the two armies came near enough to look each other in the face; whereupon the king, perceiving no doubt that his army could hardly be relied on, suddenly agreed to a pacification, and both armies were disbanded. But as the Scotch had no intention of surrendering their religion or their liberty, so the king had no intention of giving up his designs. In a few months, by the advice of Laud and Strafford, the war was renewed; and so necessary was the subjugation of the covenanters deemed, and so much confidence had the king and court in Strafford's power of overawing and swaying a representative assembly, that it was

resolved to try once more the temper of an English Parliament.

A Parliament was called. Its tables were immediately covered with petitions for the redress of grievances in church and in state. It began with the consideration of grievances. The king importuned the commons to begin with a grant of taxes, and to leave the grievances to him; and because the Parliament was inflexible, it was suddenly dissolved, before a single act had been passed.

Again the most desperate efforts were made, and all sorts of arbitrary and illegal measures were adopted, to raise money and an army for carrying on the war against Scotland. The Scotch, knowing that the great body of the English nation was on their side, did not wait to be invaded, but passed the Tweed with their army, and suddenly found themselves in possession of the three northern counties of England. In this prosperous state of their affairs, they renewed their addresses to the king, and one point of their petition was, that a free Parliament might be called in England, to aid in the establishment of a lasting peace. The king, thus humbled and defeated, and at the same time assailed with clamorous petitions from all quarters, was compelled to agree to an arrangement by which an English Parliament was immediately to be summoned; commissioners from Scotland were to proceed to London for the negotiation and conclusion of a treaty; the Scotch army, remaining at Newcastle, was to receive eight hundred and fifty pounds a day for its support; and neither that army nor the king's, was to be disbanded, till the treaty should be concluded. Accordingly, on the third day of November, 1640, the Parliament, memorable in history as "the Long Parliament," was assembled to aid in the work of restoring and confirming peace between the two king-

doms. No man could expect of a Parliament convened in such circumstances, any thing else than the most strenuous endeavors to reform the constitution, by limiting the royal prerogative which recent usurpations had greatly extended, and by obtaining such securities for the faithful administration of the government, as might make the *Magna Charta* no longer a dead letter. The Scotch covenanters' army, quartered at Newcastle, was a security, that till the conclusion of the treaty between the kingdoms, this Parliament would not be subject to that sudden dissolution which had arrested the endeavors of so many preceding Parliaments. Thus the Scotch felt, that England owed to them all its hopes of liberty and reformation. Their commissioners for the treaty could not but be admitted to the councils of the parliamentary leaders. Their manner of proceeding, their covenant, their assembly, their form of ecclesiastical order, the persons of their principal men, were regarded with a sort of grateful complacency. Their preachers, who came to London with the commissioners, and who performed the services of the Scotch kirk every Lord's day at St. Antholin's church—an edifice assigned to the commissioners for that purpose, according to a rule of international courtesy—were heard with enthusiastic admiration. From that time the Scotch were excited with the idea of bringing the English church to a conformity with their own; and no one influence on the proceedings of Parliament was more inauspicious to the success of their endeavors in behalf of English liberty, than the necessity of not offending the spirit which reigned in the covenanting realm of Scotland.

Improving the advantage which the dilatory progress of the treaty afforded them, the Parliament proceeded to a series of reforming enactments, which if they had been

carried into effect in good faith on the part of the executive, would have made the constitution of England very much what it now is in respect to the securities which it creates for justice and liberty. Had the king understood his actual position, and submitted to it,—could he have seen that his attempt to change the constitution and to make himself absolute, had failed forever, and that the only safe policy was to concur heartily in such changes as might give his subjects security for the future if not indemnity for the past, it would not have been difficult to satisfy the expectations of the nation. But it soon became manifest to the Parliament, that in dealing with the king, they were dealing with one who was capable of any treachery; and that nothing could be safely trusted to his fidelity. Funds for the great expense incurred during the progress of the slow treaty with the Scotch, were obtained in London on the credit of the Parliament. But what if this Parliament should be suddenly dissolved as preceding Parliaments had been? As the court and the Parliament became more openly hostile to each other, and the probability of an early dissolution was increased, it was found that the credit of the Parliament was regarded as an inadequate security for new loans; and the king, in a fatal day, fatal for himself and for his subjects, was induced to give his assent to a bill hastily carried through both houses, by which he divested himself of the power of dissolving that Parliament without its own consent. In other words, for the sake of remedying a present inconvenience, he consented to make that Parliament perpetual. Thenceforward, the house of commons instead of being merely a representative body, was a perpetual corporation, admitted by the king, under all the forms of law, to a partnership in the sovereignty. Of a body of men possessed of such pow-

ers, and entrenched in so complete an independence both of the king and of their several constituencies, what could be expected but that they would regard themselves as called to the great work of remodeling at their leisure, and to their own complete satisfaction, the constitution of the kingdom ?

In reforming the government, and especially in limiting the abused prerogative of the sovereign, one of the first things to be thought of was the ecclesiastical constitution. The church was in effect a great dependency of the crown, quite as much so as the army or the navy ; and as things then were, far more likely than either to answer the purposes of an arbitrary and usurping sovereign. The multiplied tendencies to tyranny in the state, and to corruption in the church, which were involved in such an arrangement, had become a matter of sad experience. During those twelve years of systematic and settled usurpation, the king's prime minister in England was William Laud, at the beginning of the period bishop of London, and at the close archbishop of Canterbury. His successor in the see of London sustained, in addition to the spiritual superintendence of that great diocese, whatever secular cares were involved in a diligent and able administration of the office of lord high treasurer of England. Nearly all the bishops, and the great majority of the ten thousand clergymen of the establishment, had been found to be the willing tools of the usurping king, on the principle that the ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib. When the king was resorting to illegal methods of raising money, the clergy were employed to preach to the people his right, by God's appointment, to the property of the subject. Thus for example, one of them (Sibthorp) preached that "if *princes*"—not the laws of the land made according to the constitution—

but "if *PRINCES* commanded any thing which subjects might not perform, because it is against the laws of God or of nature, or impossible, yet subjects are bound to undergo the punishment, without resisting, or railing, or reviling, and so to yield a passive obedience where they can not yield an active one." Another (Manwaring) used such language as this, "The king is not bound to observe the laws of the realm concerning the subject's rights and liberties ; but his royal will and pleasure in imposing taxes, without consent of Parliament, doth oblige the subject's conscience on pain of damnation. Those who refuse obedience transgress the laws of God, insult the king's supreme authority, and are guilty of impiety, disloyalty and rebellion. The authority of both houses of Parliament, is not necessary for the raising of aids and subsidies, as not suitable to the exigencies of the state." This bold doctrine was preached and printed just before the Parliament of 1628 ; and after the house of lords in that Parliament, as the highest judicature of the realm, had passed sentence upon the author, and condemned him to fine and imprisonment, disabling him from preaching at court and from holding any ecclesiastical or secular preferment, he was not only pardoned by the king as soon as the Parliament had been dissolved, but he and others who had signalized themselves in the same way, were selected to receive from the government distinguished tokens of regard. Such were the doctrines of the court ; and such might be expected to be the doctrines of the church so long as the church should continue to be a dependency of the crown. Accordingly the whole enginery of the ecclesiastical establishment was brought to bear in the great enterprise of subverting all the limits of the monarchy, and of making the king's power absolute. Of the canons which under the advice of Laud,

and with corrections from his pen, were attempted to be imposed upon the church of Scotland, the first pronounced an excommunication against all who should affirm the power and prerogative of the king not to be equal with that of the Jewish kings. And in 1640, just before the emergency which occasioned the Long Parliament, a convocation of the clergy of all England, in a session the lawfulness of which was, at the best, very questionable, adopted a body of canons additional to those previously established by law, the first of which laid down a doctrine "concerning the regal power" which deserves to be distinctly commemorated, as showing to what a depth of political baseness the clergy had been brought by the dependence of the church on the king. The canon ordains and decrees that "every parson, vicar, curate, or preacher," shall once every quarter publicly read on Sunday in the place where he serves, "the following explanation of the regal power: That the most high and sacred order of kings is of DIVINE RIGHT, being the ordinance of God himself, founded in the prime laws of nature and revelation, by which the supreme power over all persons civil and ecclesiastical, is given to them: That they have the care of God's church, and the power of calling and dissolving councils both national and provincial: That for any persons to set up in the king's realms an independent coercive power, either papal or popular, is treasonable against God and the king; and for subjects to bear arms against their king, either offensive or defensive, UPON ANY PRETENSE WHATSOEVER, is at least to resist the powers ordained of God; and though they do not invade, but only resist, St. Paul says they shall receive damnation: And though tribute and custom, aid and subsidy be due to the king by the law of God, nature and nations, yet subjects have

a right and property in their goods and estates; and these two are so far from crossing one another, that they mutually go together for the honorable and comfortable support of both." That is, in fewer words, though the king by the law of God, nature and nations, has a right to levy taxes, the subjects have a right to what is left of their goods and estates after the king has taken what he judges to be necessary for the uses of government. Thus in the controversy between a usurping king and a people who for ages had gloried in the idea of their freedom—in the controversy whether the king's power was absolute and the immediate gift of God to him, or a power circumscribed by the laws of the land, and bounded by the existence of coördinate powers—in the controversy whether the king had a right to "tribute and custom, aid and subsidy," without a grant from Parliament, the church, which even in the darkest ages of popery had been to an honorable extent the antagonist of tyrants and the friend of the masses, deserted the cause of right and law and liberty, and became the handmaid of royal usurpation. Who can wonder that the patriotic party were bent on some searching and thorough reformation of the ecclesiastical establishment?

It is common with a certain class of writers, to speak of the Long Parliament as made up of men hostile from the first to every sort of episcopacy, and determined to introduce into England the same system which was then so triumphant in Scotland. Nothing could be farther from the truth. The great body of the house of commons were undoubtedly *Puritans*, as the word was then used by the court party,—that is, they were opposed to archbishop Laud's opinions and practices; but that they came together with a preconceived determination to introduce presbyterianism, there is no evidence. On the contrary, a

few days after the commencement of the session, the commons passed an order that none should sit in their house but such as should receive the communion according to the usage of the church of England. And having observed a day of fasting, all the members on the next Lord's day received the sacrament in Westminster abbey at the hands of bishop Williams, dean of that church. They felt that they were entering on a great and serious business; and they chose to begin their work as religious men, and with such acts of solemn devotion as in that age were deemed appropriate to such a body.

If we observe the manner and the successive stages of their proceedings in relation to ecclesiastical affairs, we shall find additional reasons for rejecting the idea that they were presbyterians. Among the proceedings of the first business day of the session, an arrangement was made that on one day in each week the house should sit as a "grand committee for religion." A few days afterward, this grand committee named a sub-committee of forty, subsequently increased to eighty, "to inquire into the causes of the great scarcity of preaching ministers, and to consider of a way for removing scandalous ministers, and putting others into their places." The next thing done in relation to the church, was the adoption of a series of resolutions respecting the obnoxious canons framed by the late convocation. It was unanimously voted that the clergy in convocation or synod had no power to make any enactments which should be binding on laity or clergy without being ratified by act of Parliament; and it was resolved, that the particular canons in question contained matters contrary to the fundamental laws and statutes of the realm, to the rights of Parliament, and to the property and liberty of the subject. Immediately afterward it was resol-

ved to impeach Laud as the author and imposer of those canons, while at the same time the Scotch commissioners preferred their complaint against him as one of the "incendiaries" or authors of the war between the two kingdoms.

Meanwhile, the known determination of the Parliament to enter upon some thorough ecclesiastical reform, had opened the door for the freest and boldest discussion, in the city and throughout the country. The press having been emancipated from the strict censorship which Laud had maintained over it, there was immediately a running fire of pamphlets from all sorts of writers, for and against the established system. The good Bishop Hall, and those five Puritan clergymen whose initials made up the word *Smectymnuus*, were carrying on their memorable controversy—a controversy the more memorable, inasmuch as John Milton came to the aid of the Puritan divines, with a pamphlet written in the bitter temper of those times, and in all that gorgeousness of imagination and of diction, which makes his ephemeral prose writings hardly less interesting than his most elaborate poems. But the discussion was not confined to the press. The pulpits resounded with it. Every place where intelligent men met each other, was a place for inquiry and debate on the great question of the day. It was in the expectation of such a discussion, that the Scotch commissioners, one of whom, Alexander Henderson, was a preacher, the John Knox of his day—brought with them in the capacity of chaplains, three of the ablest champions of Presbyterianism which their country could afford. One of these, Robert Baillie, afterwards principal of the University of Glasgow, left to posterity, in the shape of a voluminous series of letters to his presbytery, to his wife, and to his friends, one of the liveliest descriptions now extant, of that age of

revolution. In a letter to his wife, dated Newcastle, November 5, 1640, two days after the opening of the Parliament, Baillie says, "At our presbytery, after sermon, both our noblemen and ministers in one voice thought meet, that not only Mr. Alexander Henderson, but also Mr. Robert Blair, Mr. George Gillespie, and I, should all three, for divers ends, go to London: Mr. R. Blair, to satisfy the minds of many in England, who love the way of New England better than that of presbyteries used in our church; I, for convincing of that prevalent faction, [Laud's party,] against which I have written; Mr. Gillespie, for the crying down of the English ceremonies, for which he has written; and all four to preach by turns to our commissioners." In the first letter after their arrival in London, he says, "On Thursday last [November 19] was here a fast. Mr. Blair and I preached to our commissioners at home; for we had no clothes for outgoing. [A predicament somewhat like that in which Mr. Dickens found himself, on the first Sabbath after his arrival in Boston.] Many ministers used greater liberty than ever here was heard of. Episcopacy itself beginning to be cried down, and a covenant cried up, and the liturgy to be scorned. The town of London and a world of men, minds to present a petition, *which I have seen*, for the abolition of bishops, deans, and all their apurtenances." Writing to the presbytery, December 2, he says, "The courage of this people grows daily, and the number not only of people but of preachers, who are for rooting out of Episcopacy. All are for bringing them [bishops] very low; but who will not root them clean away are not respected." In the same letter he builds much on the hope, that Lords Say and Brook, and some leading men in the house of commons, who were known to have some sympathies with those

who had separated from the church of England, and who were therefore inclined towards congregationalism, would give their aid in the effort to abolish the office of the bishops. On the 18th of December, the petition from the city of London, praying for the abolition of the episcopal system, "root and branch," and thence called the root and branch petition, was presented to Parliament; and Baillie, writing to his presbytery, the next day, says, "Yesterday, a world of honest citizens in their best apparel, in a very modest way, went to the house of commons, and sent in two aldermen with their petition, subscribed, as we hear, by fifteen thousand hands, for removing episcopacy, the service-book, and other such scandals out of their church. It was well received." He adds, that "sundry petitions of several shires, to every one whereof some thousands of hands are put, will be given in against episcopacy." In another part of the same letter, he speaks of the convocation of the clergy which was then sitting twice a week, but doing nothing, for want of a commission from the king, empowering it to transact business. He says, "We hear there was some thirty of them well minded for removing of episcopacy, and many more for paring of bishops' nails, and arms too." "The less good they intend, the better," [so men of a thorough partisan spirit always reason,] "the more easily they will be got overthrown." And again he expresses his fears, "that the separatists are like to be some help to hold up the bishops through their impertinency." In his Scotch presbyterian acrimony, he knew not how to trust those who were so far in advance of their age, as not to believe in national churches.

This may suffice to show, how, from the beginning of this Long Parliament, the expectations which men had of some thorough reform

in church and state, occasioned free and bold discussion in all quarters. The odium which the great ecclesiastical dignitaries had incurred, in consequence of their dependence on the king and their subserviency to his designs, created a popular prepossession against episcopacy itself. The success of presbyterianism in Scotland, created a prejudice in favor of a system, which had there shown itself capable of the most energetic and rapid achievements; and nothing was more natural, than to suppose that the same system might be equally triumphant in England. The sudden popularity of the Scotch among the English, and the adroit intermeddling of the commissioners from Scotland and their chaplains, gave a great impulse to the presbyterian party. Yet, if Baxter's testimony may be received—and what witness can be more worthy of credit, especially on such a question?—the great body of the English Puritans had not made up their minds, long after this time, in favor of presbyterianism, as preferable to some reformed and primitive system of episcopacy. Even the authors of *Smectymnuus*, while they denied that the superiority of bishops to other ministers was by any Divine law, were at that time so far from the Scotch temper, that they were willing to petition Parliament, "that if episcopacy be retained in the church, it may be reduced to its primitive simplicity." Nay, the "root and branch" petition itself, was aimed rather against English episcopacy in the concrete, than against episcopacy in the abstract;—it spoke of "the government of archbishops, lord bishops, deans, and archdeacons," and its prayer was, "that the *said* government with all its dependencies, roots and branches, might be abolished," and that "the government according to God's word" might be established.

In Parliament, the London, or

"root and branch" petition, remained for some time on the table, no party being quite ready to begin the discussion. Meanwhile, another petition was in preparation, which expressed the wishes of the body of the Puritan clergy who had not yet been expelled from the establishment. This, which was called the ministers' petition, was presented to the house of commons on the 23d of January, 1641, signed by seven hundred benefited clergymen. It asked distinctly *not* for the abolition of episcopacy, but for the reformation of certain corruptions and abuses in the system as then existing. Appended to the petition was a schedule of the things complained of in detail, filling, as Baillie says, twenty sheets of paper. Other petitions came in from all parts of the country, some for episcopacy, others against it. But, so far was presbyterianism, in the Scotch sense of the word, from being the thing demanded by the reforming party, those who petitioned against episcopacy had no other platform agreed upon among themselves; and this notorious fact was forcibly objected against them in the counter petitions.

Baillie appears to have been a watchful, but by no means a cool observer of the progress of events. His passionate Scotch prejudices often led him to presume that what was done for Puritanism, and was not done for the separatists, was of course designed to promote the identical thing for which he and his colleagues were so industriously laboring. He notices the ministers' petition, while it was "posting through the land for hands to make it stark," and he says that by the time it returns, "a large remonstrance, by some dozen of hands out of the whole number, will be ready, against the bishops' corruptions in doctrine, discipline, life and all." And flattered by the idea that his book against Laud—a work which he re-

garded with the same amusing affection with which the good vicar of Wakefield regarded his own famous treatise against deuterogamy—had “given good help” to the framing of that remonstrance, he thinks that when the remonstrance is presented to Parliament, “the root of episcopacy will be assaulted with the strongest blast it ever felt in England.” He goes on to say that “the primate of Ireland”—archbishop Usher, one of the greatest and best men of that age, whose views were as large and his feelings as free and catholic as those of the illustrious Irish archbishop of our day—“and a great faction with him, will be for a limited good,” that is, a “reduced episcopacy,” an episcopacy with small dioceses and without lord bishops; but he “trusts they can not thrive in any of their designs.” “The far greatest part,” he says, “are for our discipline for all the considerable parts of it; they will draw up a model of their own, with our advice, to be considered upon by commissioners of the church, and others appointed by Parliament, and (if God shall bless this land) by these commissioners to be settled in every congregation at this extraordinary time, till afterward the church being constitute, a general assembly may be called to perfect it.” How far this scheming Scot misunderstood, at that time, the designs of those who swayed the Parliament, he himself was afterwards a witness.

On the same day on which the ministers’ petition was presented to Parliament, it so happened that the king summoned the two houses to meet him at Whitehall, and delivered them a speech or lecture on various matters in their proceedings, giving them to understand what he would consent to, and what he would reject if enacted by them. Among other things which he discoursed upon, was this subject of church reformation, respecting which so many petitions had been presented.

He charged the petitioners with malice; and as to the proposed reduction of episcopacy by taking away temporal power from the bishops, he declared his determination “not to consent that their votes in Parliament should be taken away; for,” said he, “in all the times of my predecessors, since the conquest and before, they have enjoyed it as one of the fundamental constitutions of the kingdom.” This speech was one of those many ill advised movements on the part of the king, which had no effect but to accelerate the approach of revolution. Baillie says of it, “This declaration will do no evil. Many who inclined to keep bishops being put out of state and brought low, while they see they must continue lords of Parliament, will join themselves more heartily to those who will essay to draw up their roots.” On the next business day, the house of commons showed how little they regarded the king’s impertinent interference, by appointing a time for taking into consideration the ministers’ petition with the remonstrance accompanying, and the petition from the country for church reformation. The London petition was afterward assigned to be considered at the same time. The slowness of the proceedings shows something like a reluctance to grapple with a subject in respect to which none could foresee the result, and few perhaps were settled in opinion. On the 6th of February, Baillie says to his wife, “About them [the bishops] we are all in perplexity. We trust God will put them down, but the difficulty to get all the tapouns of their roots pulled up, is yet insuperable by the arm of man.” “The ministers’ remonstrance these days by-gone hath been read in the house by parts, for it is long. They desire not an answer in haste, for fear their friends in the house be not strong enough to pull up that old oak, but many tears here are weekly sown for that

end." "We pray, preach and print against them [the bishops] most freely. Many a sore thrust get both men and women thronging in to our sermons."

On the 9th of February, after a sharp debate, in which some who afterward sided with the king insisted that the root and branch petition should be cast out without a hearing, all the petitions were referred to a large committee, who were "to prepare heads out of these petitions for the consideration of the house," but were not to meddle with the question about removing the office of bishop; "the house reserving to itself the main point of episcopacy, to take it into their consideration in due time." "Before this committee, every other day," says Baillie, "some eight or ten of the remonstrants appear. Dr. Burgess [afterward one of the assessors or vice presidents of the Westminster Assembly] commonly is their mouth. We suspected him as too much episcopal, and wished he had not been of the number, but he has such a hand among the ministry and others, that it was not thought meet to discard him; yet he has carried himself so bravely that we repent of our suspicions. The passages of the remonstrance that have yet been called for, he has cleared to the full contentment of all the committee, except Mr. Selden the avowed proctor for the bishops. How this matter will go the Lord knows. All are for the erecting of a kind of presbytery, and for bringing down the bishops in all things spiritual and temporal, so low as can be with any subsistence; but their utter abolition, which is the only aim of the most godly, [ah! Baillie, "the *most* godly" are those that agree best with thee!] is the knot of the question; we must have it cut by the axe of prayer."

After this protracted hearing of the petitioners, the committee reported to the house three heads of

matter to be considered,—the secular employments of the clergy; the sole power of the bishops in ecclesiastical affairs, and particularly in ordinations and church censures; and the large revenues of deans and chapters of cathedrals, with the inconveniences attending the application of those revenues. Much debate ensued. On the 10th of March, it was resolved that the legislative and judicial power of bishops in the house of peers, is a great hindrance to the discharge of their spiritual function, prejudicial to the commonwealth, and fit to be taken away by a bill. The next day, a similar resolution was adopted in regard to bishops or other clergymen being justices of the peace or having judicial power in any secular court, thus determining to sweep them out of the star chamber. Eleven days later the same condemnation was voted against their being employed as privy counselors, or in any temporal office. Such were the results of consideration and discussion on the first head reported by the committee.

For more than a month after the date of the last named resolution, both houses were chiefly occupied with the trial and attainder of the Earl of Strafford. Yet during that period, the three resolutions concerning the secular employments of the clergy were put into the form of a bill, which was carried through its several stages in the house of commons, and was sent up to the lords on the first of May. This most reasonable and moderate measure of reform, the want of which secularizes and dishonors the church of England at this hour, was rejected in the house of lords. So much hope was there, of any substantial improvement with the consent of the court prelates and their party. The majority of the lords expressed by resolution their willingness to pass every part of the bill excepting that part which was to take away

the bishops' votes in Parliament. On this point the commons insisted, and the lords refused to recede, and so the bill was lost. This sealed the fate of the bishops. It became more apparent than ever, that the prelacy on which their consciences were fixed was their secular pomp and power, and not merely their spiritual rank as a distinct order of Christ's ministers. As soon as this determination of the lords was ascertained, a bill was introduced into the house of commons for the abolishing and taking away of archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, and their offices, out of the church of England. The mover of this bill said on presenting it to the speaker, "I never was for ruin, as long as there was any hopes of reforming, and I now profess that if those hopes revive and prosper, I will divide my sense upon this bill, and yield my shoulders to underprop the primitive, lawful and just episcopacy." Scotch presbyterians never talked in such a strain.

The bill for the abolition of the hierarchy having had its second reading on the day on which it was introduced, was referred to a committee of the whole for consideration. Fifteen days afterward, (June 11,) it was taken up in the committee, to be discussed by parts. On the first day the preamble was voted; on the second it was resolved that the abolition of the several offices of archbishops, bishops, chancellors and commissaries, should be one clause of the bill; on the third, the abolition of deans, archdeacons, prebendaries and canons, was agreed on, with the proviso that a competent maintenance should be secured to the incumbents of such offices except in cases of personal delinquency. Proceeding thus from one particular to another, the house at last on the 17th of July voted to adopt a new form of church government, to be substituted for that which they were proposing to abol-

ish—a system almost as different from the Scotch as it was from the hierarchy of Rome itself. Instead of resting upon the divine right of presbyteries and assemblies, it was to rest upon the law of the land, and was to be introduced and settled by parliamentary commissioners, none of whom were to be clergymen. Every county in England was to be a distinct diocese or church, except Yorkshire, which was to be divided into three. In each diocese there was to be a stated presbytery of twelve theologians. Over every presbytery there was to be a president, of the nature of a bishop. Each superintendent or bishop, assisted by some of his presbytery, was to have power to ordain, suspend and deprive ministers, and to excommunicate offenders. No superintendent was to be translated from one diocese to another. There was to be a diocesan synod annually, and a national synod once in three years. This system instead of being presbyterianism, was nothing but a reformed episcopacy, an episcopacy much like that which was prevalent in the second and third centuries. Such a system, we venture to say, was, at that time certainly, far better suited to the structure of English society and to the genius of the English people, than the presbyterianism which the Scotch were so anxious to impose upon their neighbors.

The progress of this bill was arrested by a movement on the part of the king, which made it necessary for the Parliament to give all their attention for a while to other matters. Charles seeing the close alliance between the parliamentary leaders and the commissioners from Scotland, an alliance occasioned by the identity of their interests, had determined to concede to the Scotch every thing they might ask, and thus winning them over to his side, to deal with his English subjects separately. With this design he an-

nounced his determination to make a journey into Scotland. The Parliament saw the reach of his design, and proceeded in all haste to secure the conclusion of the treaty between the two kingdoms, and the disbanding of both armies, and to adopt other measures, made necessary at that crisis. After the king had proceeded on his journey, commissioners from Parliament followed him, ostensibly to superintend the ratification of the treaty, but really to watch his movements and to see that a good understanding was kept up with the Scotch. The result was that the Scotch became in their own view, and in fact, of more consequence than ever; and their hope of being able to impose their own presbyterian uniformity upon the English people was greatly strengthened.

While the king was in Scotland, a bloody insurrection was commenced in Ireland. Thousands upon thousands of the Protestant population of that unhappy country were massacred by the insurgents. A chill of horror at the announcement of so great and sudden a butchery, ran through England and Scotland. If the papists in Ireland were capable of such atrocities, who could tell how soon the papists of England might strike some sudden and secret blow equally dreadful? Suspicions which history has not to this day completely removed, rested upon the king, as to some extent implicated in the plans of the Irish insurgents. The panic of affright, of horror, of indignation, which seized upon the public, prepared all minds for the most desperate measures. The king returned in haste from Scotland, having pleased the people there by his concessions, but not having gained their confidence. And his next plan was to raise an army for the suppression of the Irish rebellion, which he might afterwards use for the suppression of the English Parliament.

The house of commons being thus diverted by the progress of events from the bill for reforming the government of the church, and knowing very well that while the bishops retained their places among the lords no measure of that kind could be carried, were watching for some opportunity to effect their removal from the house of peers. Thirteen of the twenty six bishops were impeached for their share in the late unlawful canons, but the impeachment was not prosecuted. At the close of the year 1641, twelve of the bishops, alarmed at the insults which they daily experienced from the rabble, signed a paper expressing their purpose to absent themselves from their seats, and protesting against the validity of any thing that might be done in their absence. On the reception of this paper, the lords, who had been their fast friends, were indignant, and communicated it to the commons with an expression of their displeasure. The twelve protesters were impeached of treason and confined in the Tower. Another bill for preventing clergymen from exercising temporal jurisdiction, which had passed the commons sometime before, and had lain unnoticed in the house of lords, was called up by a message from the commons. After some delay the bill was passed, and on the 14th of February, 1642, it was sanctioned by the king.

But before the date just named, and while the affair of the twelve bishops was in progress, the king had taken that fatal step which may be regarded as the commencement of the war between him and the Parliament. From the time of his return from Scotland, the commons had been suspicious that some attempt would be made to subdue them, or break them up by violence. The guard with which they had surrounded themselves on the breaking out of the Irish insurrection, had been removed; and to their repeat-

ed expostulations the king had answered by offering to surround them with a guard of his own appointing—the very thing against which they were most desirous of protection. Under these alarms, they had proceeded so far as to order halberets to be brought into the house, that in case of any sudden attack, they might defend themselves. At last, on Monday the 3d of January, 1642, the first business day of that year, the king sent a sergeant at arms to the bar of the house, to demand of the speaker five of the most distinguished members of that body, and to arrest them of high treason. The proceeding was entirely irregular, dispensing with all those legal formalities without which there is no security for justice; the king had no more right to arrest any man by such a process than to kill an offender with his own hands. Of course the individuals thus demanded—one of whom was the illustrious Hampden—were not surrendered. The house appointed four of their members—one of whom, Lord Falkland, afterwards died in battle for that monarch—to inform his majesty that the matter was of great consequence, and that they would take it into serious consideration, holding the members ready to answer any legal charge made against them. The next day, the king put himself at the head of his household guard of gentlemen pensioners, and of an armed array of some hundreds of courtiers and disbanded soldiers and officers, who had been the night before enlisted and equipped for the undertaking; and with this force he marched from his palace of Whitehall to the door of the house of commons. Leaving his followers without, he enters with only one or two attendants. Having cast one glance towards the place where Pym was usually seated, he proceeds to the speaker's chair; the speaker drops upon his knee; the king mounts the platform; the mace,

that badge of the speaker's authority, is removed; the members are all standing uncovered; the king from the speaker's chair, but without sitting down, looks earnestly over all the benches, to discover the individuals whom he has come to seize. What a moment was that! The king himself was not deficient in personal courage, and his followers at the door were rash enough and desperate enough for any bloody work. That old chapel of St. Stephen never saw a more exciting moment. There are arms within reach of the members, and at a moment's warning the house may flash with the glitter of steel. As the king's eye traverses those benches, it is met by glances as keen and fearless as his; and many a voice that is afterwards to cheer, as with a clarion tone, the wheeling squadrons at Edgehill and at Marston Moor, can hardly suppress itself from uttering defiance. Cromwell is there—the Cambridgeshire farmer, with that ill fitted country-made coat, with that soiled neckcloth, with that slouched hat held in a hand clenched with indignation; and perhaps it is the excitement of this very moment that is waking within him the mighty energies of which the world as yet has no suspicion. The first act of violence on the part of the king or his followers—the first movement towards seizing the person of any member, will make that floor a battle-ground; and Cromwell is one so little imposed upon by the chime of royalty, that in a fight he would strike the king himself as quick and as hard as he would strike a peasant. But the commons have had information of the king's designs and movements; and to prevent the conflict which might take place, and at the same time to baffle the king most completely, the five members whom he expected to take by force out of their seats, have been sent away. The king, not seeing them, addresses a few words to the

house, and says, "I have come to know if any of those persons that I have accused for treason are here." "I have come to tell you that I must have them wheresoever I can find them." He then calls two of the accused persons by name, "John Pym! Denzil Hollis!" But there is no answer. He turns to the speaker. "Are any of those persons in the house? Do you see any of them? Where are they?" The speaker on his knees replies that, in that place, he has neither eyes to see nor tongue to speak, but as the house is pleased to direct him. "Well," says the king after surveying the house once more, "I see the birds are flown;" and then with a few words more about his intention of doing justice, and his expectation of their obedience, he retires, taking off his hat till he comes to the door. As he goes out, the suppressed emotions of the members break forth in the cry of *Privilege! Privilege!*

From that day forward, all parties saw that the controversy must soon be tried by an appeal to arms. A week afterwards the king, in defeat and shame, left his palace of Whitehall, in London, to return no more till he returned a prisoner. He retired to the palace of Hampton court, about thirteen miles distant, leaving the Parliament in possession of all the influences that centered in the metropolis. And though he continued to hold intercourse with Parliament by the exchange of messages; and though he gave his assent to several bills, and particularly to that most distasteful one for taking away the votes of bishops in the house of lords, it was done only to gain time or some other advantage; and all men knew that at whatever moment he might feel himself strong enough, all these enactments would be absolutely disregarded, or set aside as null from the beginning. Both parties were arming as fast as possible.

On the 22d of August, the king made a formal commencement of war, by setting up his standard at Nottingham.

Of course, while these measures were in progress, the good will of the Scotch nation grew more important to the Parliament. And the more nearly balanced the parties were in England, the more did that nation enjoy the hope of imposing their admired uniformity upon their neighbors. Their commissioners offered to mediate between the king and Parliament. The king rejected the offer; but the house of commons thanked them for their kindness, and persuaded the Scotch to send an army into Ireland against the insurgents there, which was in effect relieving England and embarrassing the king. In April, both houses united in a declaration, in which they professed that they intended "a due and necessary reformation of the government and discipline of the church," "and for the better effecting thereof speedily to have consultation with godly and learned divines." In the same declaration they promised, that they would "use their utmost endeavors to establish learned and preaching ministers, with a good and sufficient maintenance, throughout the kingdom." Thus, without promising any thing more than what all Puritans united in demanding, and without committing themselves at all for the Scotch discipline, they gave room for the promoters of that discipline to hope for ultimate success.

In accordance with this declaration, when the Parliament, as one of the last measures before the commencement of actual hostilities, sent the king their nineteen propositions, showing, in compliance with a request of his, the sum of all their desires for the reformation and security of church and state, one of their propositions was, that he should consent to such a reformation of the church government and

liturgy, as both houses should advise, after the consultation with divines of which they had spoken in their declaration; and that he should give "his best assistance for the raising of a sufficient maintenance for preaching ministers throughout the kingdom."

In the month of May, the Scottish council, the executive government of the kingdom, sent their chancellor to London to renew the offer of mediation. The result was the same as before. The king rejected the proposal; while the Parliament gave it a favorable reception, and even wrote to the general assembly of the kirk, desiring their advice and assistance in the reformation of religion. The assembly in their reply, insist on their "desires for unity of religion, that there might be one confession of faith, one directory of worship, one public catechism, and one form of church government," throughout the British empire. They advise the Parliament to begin with a uniformity of church government; for there is no hope, they say, "till prelacy be plucked up root and branch, as a plant which God hath not planted." The Parliament in their reply, reciprocate the assembly's desire of a religious unity, that in all his majesty's dominions there may be but one confession of faith and form of church government. But careful not to entangle themselves by pledges, they add, that "though this is hardly to be expected *punctually and exactly*, they hope, since they are guided by the same spirit, they shall be so directed as to cast out every thing that is offensive to God, and so far agree with the Scots and other reformed churches in the *substantials* of doctrine, worship, and discipline, that there may be a free communion in all holy exercises and duties of public worship, for the attaining whereof, they intend an assembly of godly and learned divines as

soon as they can obtain the royal assent." They also declare to the assembly, not that episcopacy in every sense of the word is evil, but "that this government by archbishops, bishops, their chancellors and commissaries, deans and chapters, archdeacons, and other ecclesiastical officers depending on the hierarchy, is evil," and that they are resolved "the same shall be taken away." They conclude with desiring their brethren of Scotland to concur with them in petitioning the king for an assembly of divines, and to send some of their own ministers whenever the assembly should be called, in order to facilitate the attainment of the uniformity so much desired. The king on the other hand, sent a remonstrance to the Scotch council, in which he assured them that the leaders of Parliament, whatever professions they might make, were at heart as much opposed to presbyterianism as the Scotch were to episcopacy. But the king was one of those unfortunate persons, who are not believed even though they speak the truth.

Whatever may have been the intentions of Parliament respecting the presbyterianism on which their brethren of Scotland were insisting, they had no intention of retaining the established episcopacy of England. Accordingly, in the month of September, they redeemed their pledge on that point by passing a bill "for the utter abolishing and taking away of all archbishops, bishops, their chancellors and commissaries," &c. Unlike the former bill which had been dropped in the house, it made no provision for the introduction of a new system, but left that matter open for subsequent legislation. And that there might be time to provide a substitute, the abolition of the existing system was not to take effect till the 5th of November, 1643. The way was thus open for Scotland to unite with the Parliament, if they were willing to give

their aid on any terms short of actually imposing their uniformity on the people of England.

The battle of Edgehill on the Lord's day, October 23d, when the king, marching from the north towards London with fifteen thousand men, met the earl of Essex with nearly an equal force—was the first encounter of armies in the war, towards which all events had so long been tending. That Sabbath evening, four thousand Englishmen lay dead upon the bloody field. And the blood of thousands more must needs be shed, sometimes in battle, sometimes upon the scaffold, sometimes with a more dreadful atrocity under the gallows, before the axiom, that England with all its people was made for the king, could be superseded by the axiom, that England with its king and all its institutions was made for the people.

Such was England two hundred years ago—the foundations of all her institutions shaken as by an earthquake—her ancient government resolved into warring elements—armies garrisoning her cities, or

quartered upon her villages—the blood of fratricidal battles staining her fields and mingling with her streams—perplexity, distrust, anxiety, fear and wrath, in the palaces of her nobles and the cottages of her peasantry. War, civil war, had begun with all its horrors for the present, and all its perils for the future. What was to be the result of the conflict—whether new and adequate barriers were to be erected against absolute power; or whether laws, liberties, charters, were all to be overthrown in some disastrous battle—whether the ecclesiastical polity of the state was to be so reformed, as that the church with its endowments, instead of existing only to surround the throne with the pomp of a compliant hierarchy, should exist only for the moral instruction and spiritual illumination of the whole people; or whether the pure gospel was to be trampled down, and lost to England, in the triumphant return of dark and cruel superstitions—none could foretell from all the omens of that stormy sky.

GOVERNOR YALE.

THE History of Yale College by President Clap, published in 1766, contains the fullest account that we have seen, of Elihu Yale, the eminent benefactor of that institution—with whose likeness we have embellished this number of the New Englander.

President Clap says: Presently after this, (in 1718), the Collegiate School at New Haven received sundry very large and generous donations, which were very acceptable at this difficult time. The greatest of which was from the Honorable ELIHU YALE, of London, governor of the East India Company. He was heir to a manor in Wales, of the value

of five hundred pounds sterling, per annum, besides the vast treasures he got by his personal industry while he was in the East Indies. The paternal estate (as it was said) being entailed to the male heir of the family, and he having no son, but three daughters, sent to his first cousin and next male heir, Mr. John Yale of New Haven, with whom he had been formerly acquainted in England, to send him one of his sons, to inherit the paternal estate. Accordingly, in the year 1712, he sent his son, Mr. David Yale, to London, who upon his return, was graduated at this College, 1724.

These things brought Governor

Yale into correspondence with the Honorable Governor Saltonstall and the Rev. Mr. Pierpont of New Haven, which was the occasion of his generous donations. In the year 1714, he sent forty volumes of books in Mr. Dummer's collection. Last year he sent above three hundred volumes, both which parcels I suppose to be worth one hundred pounds sterling. This summer he sent goods to the value of two hundred pounds sterling at prime cost, besides the king's picture and arms, with some intimations that he would yet add; and accordingly three years after, he sent to the value of one hundred pounds more; both which parcels were sold here for an equivalent to four hundred pounds sterling.

On September 12, 1718, there was a splendid commencement held at New Haven, where were present, besides the trustees, the Honorable Gurdon Saltonstall, Esq., Governor of the colony of Connecticut, the Honorable William Taylor, Esq., as representing Governor Yale, the Honorable Nathan Gold, Esq., Deputy Governor, sundry of the worshipful Assistants, the Judges of the Circuit, a great number of reverend ministers, and a great concourse of spectators.

The trustees, in commemoration of Governor Yale's great generosity, called the collegiate school, after his name, Yale College; and entered a memorial thereof upon record, which is as follows:

Generosissimâ, honoratissimi Domini ELIHU YALE Armigeri, donatione, vigilantes Scholæ Academicæ, in splendido Novi Portûs Connecticutensis oppido constitutæ, Curatores, ædificium collegiale inceptum erectumque perficere capaces redditu, honorem tali tantoque Mæcenati patronoque debitum, animo gratissimum meditantes, memoriamque tanti beneficii in hanc præcipuè coloniam collati, in omne ævum modo optimo perducere studiosi: Nos

Curatores negotii tanti, in commune præsertim hujus provinciæ populi bonum, momenti curâ honorati, *omothumadon* consentimus, statuimus et ordinamus, nostras ædes academicas patroni munificentissimi nomine appellari, atque YALENSÆ COLLEGIUM nominari: ut hæc provincia diuturnum viri adeò generosi, qui, tantâ benevolentia tantâque nobilitate, in commodum illorum maximum propriamque incolarum, et in præsentis et futuris seculis, utilitatem consuluit, monumentum retineat et conservet.

JACOBUS NOYES,
MOSES NOYES,
SAMUEL ANDREW,
SAMUEL RUSSEL,
JOSEPHUS WEBB,
JOHANNES DAVENPORT,
THOMAS RUGGLES,
STEPHANUS BUCKINGHAM.

Which I shall translate, for the sake of the English reader.

The Trustees of the Collegiate School, constituted in the splendid town of New Haven, in Connecticut, being enabled by the most generous donation of the Honorable ELIHU YALE, Esq., to finish the college house, already begun and erected, gratefully considering the honor due to such and so great a benefactor and patron, and being desirous, in the best manner, to perpetuate to all ages the memory of so great a benefit, conferred chiefly on this colony: We the trustees, having the honor of being intrusted with an affair of so great importance to the common good of the people, especially of this province, do with one consent agree, determine and ordain, that our college house shall be called by the name of its munificent patron, and shall be named YALE COLLEGE; that this province may keep and preserve a lasting monument of such a generous gentleman, who, by so great a benevolence and generosity, has provided for their greatest good, and the peculiar advantage of the inhab-

itants, both in the present and future ages.

On the commencement day morning, this monument both of generosity and gratitude was with solemn pomp read off in the college hall, both in Latin and English; then the procession moved to the meeting house, to attend the public exercises of the day; wherein, besides the oration made by one of the bachelors, the Rev. Mr. John Davenport, one of the trustees, at the desire of the body, made a florid oration, wherein he largely insisted upon and highly extolled the generosity of Governor Yale. Eight candidates received the honor of a degree of Bachelor of Arts; and several more were created Masters. And the Honorable Governor Saltonstall was pleased to grace and crown the whole solemnity with an elegant Latin oration; wherein he congratulated the present happy state of the College, in being fixed at New Haven, and enriched with so many noble benefactions; and particularly celebrated the great generosity of Governor Yale, with much respect and honor.

After this the trustees sent a very complaisant letter of thanks to Governor Yale, and gave him a particular account of all the transactions at the commencement.

Governor Yale, the great benefactor to this College, died July 8th, 1721. He descended from an ancient and wealthy family in Wales, who for many generations possessed the manor of Plas Grannow, and several other messuages, near the city of Wrexham, of the yearly value of five hundred pounds. Thomas Yale, Esq., the Governor's father, for the sake of religion, came over to America with the first settlers of New Haven, in the year 1638. Here the Governor was born, April 5, 1648. He went to England at the age of about ten years; to the East Indies at about thirty, where he lived near twenty years; acqui-

red a very great estate; was made Governor of Fort St. George; married an Indian lady of fortune, the relict of Governor Hinners, his predecessor; by whom he had three daughters, viz. Katharine, who was afterwards married to Dudley North, Esq., commonly called Lord North; Ann, who was married to the Lord James Cavendish, uncle to the Duke of Devonshire; and Ursula, who died unmarried. After his return to London, he was chosen Governor of the East India Company, and made the donations before mentioned. And it is said, that a little before his death, he wrote his will, wherein he gave five hundred pounds more; but afterwards, thinking it was best to execute that part of his will in his lifetime, he packed up goods to that value, ready to be sent; but before they were shipped, he took a journey into Wales, and died at Wrexham, in or near the seat of his ancestors. So that the goods were not sent, neither could the will obtain a probate, although Governor Saltonstall took much pains to effect it.

He was a gentleman who greatly abounded in good humor and generosity, as well as in wealth; and his name and memory will be gratefully perpetuated in Yale College.

A note on the 189th page of Bacon's Historical Discourses, affords reason to believe that President Clap has not given to Jeremiah Dummer, Jr., then agent in London for the colony of Connecticut, all the honor due him for his exertions in behalf of the infant College. It was probably owing to his influence, that the charities of Governor Yale took this direction.

A catalogue of the paintings in the south room of the Trumbull Gallery, Yale College, contains some further particulars from the pen of Professor Kingsley. He says: The portrait of Governor Yale, now in possession of the College, was presented by Dudley North, Esq., son of

Catharine; and was sent to the college in 1789, on the application of President Stiles. This grandson of Governor Yale was at that time owner of the family estate at Wrexham, and was a member of Parliament. From a date on the canvas, the portrait appears to have been executed by E. Seeman, 1717, about four years before the Governor's death.

The following is a copy of Governor Yale's epitaph, in the churchyard at Wrexham:

Under this tomb lyes interred Elihu Yale, of Place Gronow, Esq.; born 5th of April, 1648, and dyed the 8th of July, 1721, aged 73 years.

Born in America, in Europe bred,
In Afric travel'd, and in Asia wed,
Where long he liv'd and thriv'd; at London dead.

Much good, some ill he did: so hope all's even,
And that his soul through mercy's gone to heaven.

You that survive and read, take care
For this most certain exit to prepare,
For only the actions of the just
Smell sweet and blossom in the dust.

An engraved likeness of Governor Yale was sent to the College at an early period, under which was placed, in manuscript, the following inscription:

Effigies clarissimi viri D. D. Elihu Yale, Londinensis Armigeri.

*En vir! cui meritas laudes ob facta per orbis
Extremos fines, inclyta fama dedit.
Æquor arans tumidum, gasas adduxit ab India,*

*Quas ille sparrit munificante manu:
Inscitæ tenebras, ut noctis luce curuscâ
Phœbus, ab occiduis pellit et ille plagis.
Dum mens grata manet, nomen laudesque
YALENSIS
Cantabunt SOSOLES, unanimique PATRES.*

Imitated by Dr. Percival.

Behold the man, for generous deeds renown'd,
Who in remotest regions won his fame;
With wise munificence he scattered round

The wealth, that o'er the sea from India came.
From western realms he bids dark ignorance fly.

As flies the night before the dawning rays:
So long as grateful bosoms beat, shall high
YALE'S sons and pious fathers sing his praise.

The gratitude expressed by the founders of Yale College, and the other leading men of the colony, for the "generous donations" of Governor Yale, and the very great benefits to the country and the world that are traced back to these early endowments of the Institution, we wish might inspire some of our capitalists with a laudable desire to enroll their names, along with that of Yale, as the benefactors of mankind, by endowing such of our infant institutions as Lane Seminary, and Western Reserve, Marietta and Illinois Colleges. The cause of education, of religion, of good order, at the West, depends on the prosperity of these seminaries. They need funds. But such are the calls on the charities of the middle class of Christians, for the prosecution of more direct measures for spreading the Gospel, that they reluctantly close their ears, with few exceptions, against the appeals of these institutions. Permanent endowments, therefore, can come only from the Elihu Yales of the country—men of wealth and munificent hearts, who either have few heirs dependent upon them, or property enough both for heirs and noble charities. Let such men remember, at least in their wills, the colleges referred to—a sure way of embalming their names in the hearts of a grateful posterity.

THE ANGELS' LAMENT OVER LOST SOULS.

IN visions strange, upon a dreary shore
I stood where rocks confused and high up-pil'd,
Stupendous forms, frown'd o'er the ocean's roar,
Which ever in their bases caverns wore,
And shook the coast afar with murmurings wild.

Behind arose a forest dark and wide ;
Before the mighty desert of the sea :
No beacon there the helmsman lost to guide ;
No harbor where the wandering ship might ride :
Fit place for sailors' graves it seemed to be.

'Twas twilight spread with clouds ; but o'er the deep
Long streaks of sky just on the horizon shone :
The winds, which never here had sunk to sleep,
Blew loud and hoarsest now ;—upon the steep
I lay, and watched the gloomy scene alone.

The waves were tinged beneath that scanty sky
Dark-grey, whene'er they reared their ridge of foam.
At distance, wall'd with rocks immensely high,
A narrow island coast I could descry,
Where men in forms of grief appeared to roam.

Oh how despair had borrowed from the mind
The outer hues and lineaments of care :
Each thought of swiftest flight yet left behind
The flush and stamp of passion well defin'd,
Like lightnings fix'd and printed on the air.

Silent they seem'd to pace along ;—the day
Saw, as it rose and as it fell, their pain.
Silent they pac'd, and watch'd out night's delay,
Save when some wildest image pass'd away,
They shriek'd for gladness, ere it came again.

Naught was to them that glorious western sun,
Emblem to mortals here of joys above :
Naught was the dash of waves, or day begun ;
Day was as night, and nature's smile was gone :
The darkness of the soul obscured all forms of love.

Each to the pangs which being scarce could hold
Was fettered ; knew nor felt he aught beside.
The sympathies of earth were stiff and cold ;
For how could love and joy their buds unfold,
When beat by storms of death on every side ?

Much was I moved by this mysterious sight ;
In human fellowship my hands I wrung.

Nor I alone was mov'd ; but spirits bright,
Like angels clad or martyrs rob'd in white,
In voices sad and shrill their pity sung.

Their ceaseless roar the waves now first forbore :
Sudden the winds were lull, as they began.
'Twas sadder far than earth e'er learnt before,
And cut deep sorrows in my heart, no more
To be forgot with life ; and thus it ran :

Mourn, earth and time, and let the cry
Spread from the highest seraph's throne,
Through all the reign of the Most High,
For souls, akin to heaven, undone.
Lost is their all : before, behind,
No twinkling ray of joy appears ;
No hope can flutter in the mind,
Or shorten heaven's undying years.
They stand like beacons lit by God
Upon the path that sin has trod.

Oh that some winged voice of love,
Forth bursting from th' eternal throne,
Could through these blasted deserts move,
And stop each desperate sufferer's groan.
"Awake and live, thou ruined mind ;
Bloom forth beneath the love of heaven :
Fly from thy prison, soul refined,
Towards God, who speaks thy sins forgiv'n."
Ah ! worlds may rise in chaos drear,
And sink, ere they such tidings hear.

Ah ! 'tis a bitter destiny
That, while your sleepless souls shall last,
Memory, awake at God's decree,
Must brood and hover o'er the past ;
That conscience may not close her eye
Watching sin's ever-deepening stain ;
While worn-out hope no more can try
To escape these rolling waves of pain.
There is no ark of safety more ;
There is no distant sun-bright shore.

O ! could we still their fever's rage !
O, might we suffer in their place !
For pain were bliss through many an age,
If thus we won them pardoning grace.
But what avails the idle thought ?
Sin past remembered, present known,
Is with remorse and horror fraught,
With deep despair and many a groan.
They cast the light from heav'n away,
And sought a night that knows no day.

Then since your minds no rest can know ;
 Since no deliverer can be found ;
 Bid thousand streams of sorrow flow,
 Tear wide each deep and cureless wound.
 But we oft resting on the wing
 Will mourn for minds to ruin given,
 That might have learn'd with us to sing,
 That might have shone and glow'd in heaven.
 O shipwreck dear beyond all cost,
 When once heaven's kindred, souls, are lost.

Alas ! how feeble the reflected song :
 Far other notes they sung, but such the strain ;
 It ceas'd ; but stayed upon my senses long,
 And fill'd me with its echo clear and strong,
 Until I fled the agony of pain.

And as the voices died they seemed to say
 " Be like in pity to the blest above,
 Who mourn for souls that cast themselves away,
 Resigned, but not exulting on the day,
 When judgment issues from eternal love."

LITERARY NOTICES.

The Bible in Spain ; or the Journeys, Adventures and Imprisonments of an Englishman, in an attempt to circulate the Scriptures in the Peninsula. By GEORGE BORROW.

THIS is the title of a very entertaining book—a book which will be read by almost all intelligent persons in England and the United States. The author, Mr. George Borrow, went to Spain in 1835, in the service of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and there he remained until 1840, with the exception of short intervals of absence in England. His work on the "Gipsies of Spain," first attracted the attention of the reading public, and prepared the way for a most favorable reception of the "Bible in Spain." Who Mr. Borrow *was*, we are not informed ; but what he is, a very intelligent, well educated, kind hearted, bold, enterprising,

English gentleman, shines out on every page of his work. He is evidently not a clergyman, but a zealous, generous son of "the church," who, having traveled in all parts of the Eastern continent, and learned "to speak with other tongues," was prepared as if by set purpose, for this work in Spain. Into whatever company he fell, he was at home. He could converse with every tribe, sect, and profession of people, whom he chanced to meet ; and knowing their prejudices and weak sides, he was able to promote the cause in which he had embarked, by making himself a favorite with all parties. Whenever he wished to pass "incog." in his travels, he found no difficulty in making his companions, whether gipsies, or Jews, or Roman priests, mistake him for one of their own fraternity.

Perhaps some may suspect, that he carried this species of Jesuitism

beyond the limits of strict rectitude. When, for example, he was at Cordova, he took lodgings in a public house kept by a violent Carlist. He had not been there long, before his servant was turned out of doors for being a Christino; and coming to his master to report what had befallen him, he added: "the knave of a landlord told me that you (Mr. Borrow) had confessed yourself to be of the same politics as himself, or he would not have harbored you." To this, we have the following characteristic reply from our author: "My good man, I am invariably of the politics of the people at whose table I sit, or beneath whose roof I sleep; at least, I never say any thing which can lead them to suspect the contrary: by pursuing which system, I have more than once escaped a bloody pillow, and having the wine I drank spiced with sublimate."

Whether or not Mr. Borrow was able, in "pursuing this system," to sail clear of actual falsehood, there are certain blemishes in his generally excellent character and habits, of which, in a commendatory notice of his book, it would be unpardonable not to speak. They are faults, however, it should be observed in justice to him, belonging to his class and country, viz. wine and brandy drinking, and Sabbath breaking—offenses which would not now be tolerated in an agent of any benevolent society on this side of the water. On one occasion, he tells us he drank a pint of brandy without feeling the least effect from it; and he speaks of his wine or stronger beverage, oftener than of his food. As to the Sabbath, we hear very little about it. One fact, however, is sufficient. In 1838, he visited Cadiz. On Saturday, he dined with the British consul, at whose house, on the following day, divine service was to be attended. But by six o'clock on Sunday morning, Mr. Borrow was on board of

a steamer bound that day for several ports in the Mediterranean.

The example of these "indulgences" and "liberties" in so excellent a man as Mr. Borrow, is far more dangerous to society, than the "indelicias" that disfigure many of the ancient and modern classics. Vice in the grosser forms is contemplated by virtuous minds with no other feelings than disgust—but when associated with a character in all other respects faultless, and even fascinating, it is apt to please rather than offend us.

But we are not disposed to be severe with Mr. Borrow. No reader of his "Bible in Spain," can have any other feelings toward him than those of respect and kindness.

Mr. Borrow brought out with him from England, a small quantity of Spanish Testaments and Bibles, which he intended to sell as he might have opportunity. It was a grand object with him, however, to obtain permission from the Spanish government, to publish the New Testament at Madrid. This was a difficult point to be gained. The civil war between the Queen Regent and Don Carlos was then raging, and although the Queen's ministers were in general willing enough at heart to grant his request, yet they dared not do it, for fear of arousing against them more fiercely still, the displeasure of the priests. After several ineffectual applications to successive ministers, supported by the influence of the British ambassador, Mr. Villiers, the present earl of Clarendon, he finally took the hint to publish an edition of the New Testament, without the written permission of the government, it being intimated to him that he would not be disturbed. The following extracts will show with what difficulties and with what success he met in putting the work into circulation—and at the same time, afford the reader a tolerably lively idea of things in Spain.

"I had determined, after depositing a certain number of copies in the shops of the booksellers of Madrid, to ride forth, Testament in hand, and endeavor to circulate the word of God among the Spaniards, not only of the towns but of the villages; among the children not only of the plains but of the hills and mountains. I intended to visit Old Castile, and to traverse the whole of Galicia and the Asturias—to establish Scripture depots in the principal towns, and to visit the people in secret and secluded spots—to talk to them of Christ, to explain to them the nature of his book, and to place that book in the hands of those whom I should deem capable of deriving benefit from it."

"Salamanca was the first place which I intended to visit."

"A melancholy town is Salamanca; the days of its collegiate glory are long since past by, never more to return; a circumstance, however, which is little to be regretted; for what benefit did the world ever derive from scholastic philosophy? And for that alone was Salamanca ever famous. Its halls are now almost silent, and grass is growing in its courts, which were once daily thronged by at least eight thousand students; a number to which at the present day, the entire population of the city does not amount. Yet, with all its melancholy, what an interesting, nay, what a magnificent place is Salamanca. How glorious are its churches, how stupendous are its deserted convents, and with what sublime but sullen grandeur, do its huge and crumbling walls, which crown the precipitous bank of the Tormes, look down upon the lovely river and its venerable bridge."

"What a pity, that, of the many rivers of Spain, scarcely one is navigable. The beautiful but shallow Tormes, instead of proving a source of blessing and wealth to this part of Castile, is of no further utility than to turn the wheels of various small water-mills, standing upon the weirs of stone, which at certain distances traverse the river."

"During my stay at Salamanca, I took measures that the word of God might become generally known in this celebrated city. The principal bookseller of the town, Blanco, a man of great wealth and respectability, consented to become my agent here, and I in consequence, deposited in his shop a certain number of New Testaments. He was the proprietor of a small printing-press, where the official bulletin of the place was published. For this bulletin I prepared an advertisement of the work, in which, among other things, I said that the New Testament was the only guide to salvation; I also spoke of the Bible Society, and the great pecuniary sacrifices which it was making,

with the view of proclaiming Christ crucified, and of making his doctrine known. This step will perhaps be considered by some as too bold, but I was not aware that I could take any more calculated to arouse the attention of the people—a considerable point. I also ordered numbers of the same advertisement to be struck off in the shape of bills, which I caused to be stuck up in various parts of the town. I had great hope that by means of these, a considerable number of New Testaments would be sold. I intended to repeat this experiment in Valladolid, Leon, St. Jago, and all the principal towns which I visited, and to distribute them likewise as I rode along: the children of Spain would thus be brought to know, that such a work as the New Testament is in existence, a fact, of which not five in one hundred were then aware, notwithstanding their so frequently repeated boasts of their Catholicity and Christianity."

From Salamanca our author passed through several towns to Leon.

"I had scarcely been at Leon three days when I was seized with a fever, against which I thought the strength even of my constitution would have yielded, for it wore me almost to a skeleton, and when it departed, at the end of about a week, left me in such a deplorable state of weakness, that I was scarcely able to make the slightest exertion. I had, however, previously persuaded a bookseller to undertake the charge of vending the Testaments, and had published my advertisements as usual, though without very sanguine hope of success, as Leon is a place where the inhabitants, with a very few exceptions, are furious Carlists, and ignorant and blinded followers of the old papal church. It is, moreover, a bishop's see, which was once enjoyed by the prime counsellor of Don Carlos, whose fierce and bigoted spirit still seems to pervade the place. Scarcely had the advertisements appeared, when the clergy were in motion. They went from house to house, banning and cursing, and denouncing misery to whomsoever should either purchase or read "the accursed books," which had been sent into the country by heretics for the purpose of perverting the innocent minds of the population. They did more; they commenced a process against the bookseller in the ecclesiastical court. Fortunately this court is not at present in the possession of much authority; and the bookseller, a bold and determined man, set them at defiance, and went so far as to affix an advertisement to the gate of the very cathedral. Notwithstanding the cry raised against the book, several copies were sold

at Leon: two were purchased by ex-friars, and the same number by parochial priests from neighboring villages. I believe the whole number disposed of during my stay amounted to fifteen; so that my visit to this dark corner was not altogether in vain, as the seed of the Gospel had been sown, though sparingly. But the palpable darkness which envelopes Leon is truly lamentable, and the ignorance of the people is so great, that printed charms and incantations against Satan and his host, and against every kind of misfortune, are publicly sold in the shops, and are in great demand. Such are the results of popery, a delusion which, more than any other, has tended to debase and brutalize the human mind."

Leaving Leon, Mr. Borrow visited various places with little success, and at length arrived at Lugo, a village of six thousand inhabitants.

"At Lugo I found a wealthy bookseller, to whom I brought a letter of recommendation from Madrid. He willingly undertook the sale of my books. The Lord deigned to favor my feeble exertions in his cause at Lugo. I brought thither thirty Testaments, all of which were disposed of in one day; the Bishop of the place, for Lugo is an episcopal see, purchasing two copies for himself, while several priests and ex-friars, instead of following the example of their brethren at Leon, by persecuting the work, spoke well of it and recommended its perusal. I was much grieved that my stock of these holy books was exhausted, there being a great demand; and had I been able to supply them, quadruple the quantity might have been sold during the few days that I continued at Lugo."

"We stayed one week at Lugo, and then directed our steps to Coruna, about twelve leagues distant. We arose before daybreak, in order to avail ourselves of the escort of the general post, in whose company we travelled upward of six leagues. There was much talk of robbers, and flying parties of the factious, on which account our escort was considerable. At the distance of five or six leagues from Lugo, our guard, instead of regular soldiers, consisted of a body of about fifty Miguelites. They had all the appearance of banditti, but a finer body of ferocious fellows I never saw. They were all men in the prime of life, mostly of tall stature, and of Herculean brawn and limbs. They wore huge whiskers, and walked with a fanfaronading air, as if they courted danger and despised it."

"We found Coruna full of bustle and life, owing to the arrival of the English squadron. On the following day, how-

ever, it departed, being bound for the Mediterranean on a short cruise, whereupon matters instantly returned to their usual course.

"I had a depot of five hundred Testaments at Coruna, from which it was my intention to supply the principal towns of Galicia. Immediately on my arrival I published advertisements, according to my usual practice, and the book obtained a tolerable sale—seven or eight copies per day, on the average."

At St. James, Mr. B. met with a cordial coadjutor in the bookseller of the place, Rey Romero.

"There is a curious anecdote connected with the skippers of Padron, which can scarcely be considered as out of place here, as it relates to the circulation of the Scriptures. I was one day in the shop of my friend, the bookseller at St. James, when a stout good-humored looking priest entered. He took up one of my Testaments, and forthwith burst into a violent fit of laughter. 'What is the matter?' demanded the bookseller. 'The sight of this book reminds me of a circumstance,' replied the other: 'about twenty years ago, when the English first took it into their heads to be very zealous in converting us Spaniards to their own way of thinking, they distributed a great number of books of this kind among the Spaniards who chanced to be in London; some of them fell into the hands of certain skippers of Padron, and these good folks, on their return to Galicia, were observed to have become on a sudden, exceedingly opinionated and fond of dispute. It was scarcely possible to make an assertion in their hearing without receiving a flat contradiction, especially when religious subjects were brought on the carpet. 'It is false,' they would say; 'Saint Paul, in such a chapter and in such a verse, says exactly the contrary.' 'What can you know concerning what Saint Paul or any other saint has written?' the priests would ask them. 'Much more than you think,' they replied; 'we are no longer to be kept in darkness and ignorance respecting these matters;' and then they would produce their books and read paragraphs, making such comments that every person was scandalized: they cared nothing about the pope, and even spoke with irreverence of the bones of Saint James. However, the matter was soon bruited about, and a commission was dispatched from our see to collect the books and burn them. This was effected, and the skippers were either punished or reprimanded, since which I have heard nothing more of them. I could not forbear laughing when I saw these books; they instantly brought to

my mind the skippers of Padron and their religious disputations."

We have room only for a few of the more interesting scenes and events of Mr. Borrow's tour.

"So it came to pass that one night I found myself in the ancient town of Oviedo, in a very large, scantily furnished, and remote room in an ancient posada, formerly a palace of the counts of Santa Cruz. It was past ten, and the rain was descending in torrents. I was writing, but suddenly ceased on hearing numerous footsteps ascending the creaking stairs which led to my apartment. The door was flung open, and in walked nine men of tall stature, marshaled by a little hunch-backed personage. They were all muffled in the long cloaks of Spain, but I instantly knew by their demeanor that they were caballeros, or gentlemen. They placed themselves in a rank before the table where I was sitting. Suddenly and simultaneously they all flung back their cloaks, and I perceived that every one bore a book in his hand; a book which I knew full well. After a pause, which I was unable to break, for I sat lost in astonishment, and almost conceived myself visited by apparitions, the hunchback, advancing somewhat before the rest, said in soft silvery tones, "Senor Cavalier, was it you who brought this book to the Asturias?" I now supposed that they were the civil authorities of the place, come to take me into custody, and, rising from my seat, I exclaimed, "It certainly was I, and it was my glory to have done so; the book is the New Testament of God: I wish it was in my power to bring a million." "I heartily wish so too," said the little personage with a sigh. "Be under no apprehension, Sir Cavalier, these gentlemen are my friends; we have just purchased these books in the shop where you placed them for sale, and have taken the liberty of calling upon you, in order to return our thanks for the treasure you have brought us. I hope you can furnish us with the Old Testament also." I replied, that I was sorry to inform him that at present it was entirely out of my power to comply with his wish, as I had no Old Testaments in my possession, but did not despair of procuring some speedily from England. He then asked me a great many questions concerning my biblical travels in Spain, and my success, and the views entertained by the society with respect to Spain, adding, that he hoped we should pay particular attention to the Asturias, which he assured me was the best ground in the peninsula for our labor. After about half an hour's conversation, he suddenly said,

in the English language, "Good night, sir," wrapped his cloak around him, and walked out as he had come. His companions, who had hitherto not uttered a word, all repeated, "Good night, sir;" and, adjusting their cloaks, followed him."

Having returned to Madrid, Mr. B. thus expresses his gratitude.

"Well, we reached Burgos in safety; we reached Valladolid in safety; we passed the Guadarama in safety; and were at length safely housed in Madrid. People said we had been very lucky; Antonio said, "It was so written;" but I say, Glory be to the Lord for his mercies vouchsafed to us."

The following extracts unfold his subsequent operations.

"The first step which I took after my return to Madrid, toward circulating the Scriptures, was a very bold one. It was neither more nor less than the establishment of a shop for the sale of Testaments. This shop was situated in the Calle del Principe, a respectable and well frequented street in the neighborhood of the square of Cervantes. I furnished it handsomely with glass cases, and chandeliers, and procured an acute Gallegan of the name of Pepe Calzado, to superintend the business, who gave me weekly a faithful account of the copies sold.

"How strangely times alter," said I, the second day subsequent to the opening of my establishment, as I stood on the opposite side of the street, leaning against the wall with folded arms, surveying my shop, on the windows of which were painted in large yellow characters, *Despacho de la Sociedad Biblica y Estran-gera*; 'how strangely times alter; here have I been during the last eight months running about old popish Spain, distributing Testaments, as agent of what the papists call an heretical society, and have neither been stoned nor burnt; and here am I now in the capital, doing that which one would think were enough to cause all the dead inquisitors and officials buried within the circuit of the walls to rise from their graves and cry abomination; and yet no one interferes with me. Pope of Rome! Pope of Rome! look to thyself. That shop may be closed, but oh! what a sign of the times, that it has been permitted to exist for one day. It appears to me, my father, that the days of your sway are numbered in Spain; that you will not be permitted much longer to plunder her, to scoff at her, and to scourge her with scorpions, as in by-gone periods. See I not the hand on the wall? See I not in yonder letters, a 'Mene,

Mene, Tekel, Upharsin' Look to thyself, Batuscha."

"A short time after the establishment of the despacho at Madrid, I once more mounted the saddle, and, attended by Antonio, rode over to Toledo, for the purpose of circulating the Scriptures, sending beforehand by a muleteer a cargo of one hundred Testaments. I instantly addressed myself to the principal bookseller of the place, whom, from the circumstance of his living in a town so abounding with canons, priests, and ex-friars, as Toledo, I expected to find a Carlist, or a *servile* at least. I was never more mistaken in my life: on entering the shop, which was very large and commodious, I beheld a stout athletic man, dressed in a kind of cavalry uniform, with a helmet on his head and an immense sabre in his hand: this was the bookseller himself, who I soon found was an officer in the national cavalry. Upon learning who I was, he shook me heartily by the hand, and said that nothing would give him greater pleasure than taking charge of the books, which he would endeavor to circulate to the utmost of his ability."

"I now entered upon the year 1838, perhaps the most eventful of all those which I passed in Spain. The despacho still continued open, with a somewhat increasing sale. Having at this time little of particular moment with which to occupy myself, I committed to the press two works, which for some time past had been in the course of preparation. These were the Gospel of St. Luke in the Spanish Gipsy, and the Euscarra languages."

"About the middle of January a swoop was made upon me by my enemies, in the shape of a peremptory prohibition from the political governor of Madrid, to sell any more New Testaments. This measure by no means took me by surprise, as I had for some time previously been expecting something of the kind, on account of the political sentiments of the ministers then in power. I forthwith paid a visit to Sir George Villiers, informing him of what had occurred."

"Throughout this affair, I can not find words sufficiently strong to do justice to the zeal and interest which Sir George Villiers displayed in the cause of the Testament. He had various interviews with Ofalia on the subject, and in these he expressed to him his sense of the injustice and tyranny which had been practiced in this instance toward his countryman."

"At length the Gospel of St. Luke in the Gipsy language was in a state of readiness. I therefore deposited a certain number of copies in the despacho, and announced them for sale. The Basque, which was by this time also

printed, was likewise advertised. For this last work there was little demand. Not so, however, for the Gipsy Luke, of which I could have easily disposed of the whole edition in less than a fortnight. Long, however, before this period had expired, the clergy were up in arms. 'Sorcery!' said one bishop. 'There is more in this than we can dive into,' exclaimed a second. 'He will convert all Spain by means of the Gipsy language,' cried a third."

The result of this excitement, was the imprisonment of Mr. B. in the prison of Madrid, from which he was soon released in a manner very humiliating to his persecutors.

"I remained about three weeks in the prison of Madrid, and then left it. If I had possessed any pride, or harbored any rancor against the party who had consigned me to durance, the manner in which I was restored to liberty would no doubt have been highly gratifying to those evil passions; the government having acknowledged, by a document transmitted to Sir George, that I had been incarcerated on insufficient grounds, and that no stigma attached itself to me from the imprisonment I had undergone; at the same time agreeing to defray all the expenses to which I had been subjected throughout the progress of this affair."

"It is useless tarrying," said I; "nothing, however, can be done in Madrid. I can not sell the work at the despacho, and I have just received intelligence that all the copies exposed for sale in the libraries in the different parts of Spain which I visited, have been sequestered by order of the government. My resolution is taken: I shall mount my horses, which are neighing in the stable, and betake myself to the villages and plains of dusty Spain."

Mr. Borrow now commenced his second tour among the villages of Spain. We must confine our extracts to the narrative of his labors in Villa Seca, where he found in Juan Lopez, the husband of his hostess in Madrid, a most efficient coadjutor.

"The grand work of Scripture circulation soon commenced in the Sagra. Notwithstanding the heat of the weather, I rode about in all directions." "I had an excellent assistant in Antonio, who, disregarding the heat like myself, and afraid of nothing, visited several villages with remarkable success. 'Mon maitre,' said he, 'I wish to show you that noth-

ing is beyond my capacity.' But he who put the labors of us both to shame, was my host, Juan Lopez, whom it had pleased the Lord to render favorable to the cause. 'Don Jorge,' said he, '*yo quiero engancharme con usted*, (I wish to enlist with you :) I am a liberal, and a foe to superstition; I will take the field, and, if necessary, will follow you to the end of the world: *Viva Inglaterra: viva el Evangelio.*' Thus saying, he put a large bundle of Testaments into a satchel, and springing upon the crupper of his gray donkey, he cried '*Arrhe burra,*' and hastened away. I sat down to my journal.

"Ere I had finished writing, I heard the voice of the burra in the court-yard, and going out, I found my host returned. He had disposed of his whole cargo of twenty Testaments at the village of Vargas, distant from Villa Seca about a league."

"The news of the arrival of the book of life soon spread like wild fire through the villages of the Sagra of Toledo, and wherever my people and myself directed our course, we found the inhabitants disposed to receive our merchandise; it was even called for where not exhibited."

"In Villa Seca there was a school, in which fifty seven children were taught the first rudiments of education. One morning the schoolmaster, a tall slim figure of about sixty, bearing on his head one of the peaked hats of Andalusia, and wrapped, notwithstanding the excessive heat of the weather, in a long cloak, made his appearance, and having seated himself, requested to be shown one of our books. Having delivered it to him, he remained examining it for nearly half an hour, without uttering a word. At last he laid it down with a sigh, and said that he should be very happy to purchase some of these books for his school, but from their appearance, especially from the quality of the paper and the binding, he was apprehensive that to pay for them would exceed the means of the parents of his pupils, as they were almost destitute of money, being poor laborers. He then commenced blaming the government, which he said established schools without affording the necessary books, adding, that in his school there were but two books for the use of all his pupils, and these he confessed contained but little good. I asked him what he considered the Testaments were worth? He said, 'Senor Cavalier, to speak frankly, I have in other times paid twelve reales for books inferior to yours in every respect, but I assure you that my poor pupils would be utterly unable to pay the half of that sum.' I replied, 'I will sell you as many as you please for three reales each. I am acquainted with the poverty of the land, and my friends and myself,

in affording the people the means of spiritual instruction, have no wish to curtail their scanty bread.' He replied: 'Bendito sea Dios, (*blessed be God,*) and could scarcely believe his ears. He instantly purchased a dozen, expending, as he said, all the money he possessed, with the exception of a few cuartos. The introduction of the word of God into the country schools of Spain is therefore begun, and I humbly hope that it will prove one of those events which the Bible Society, after the lapse of years, will have most reason to remember with joy and gratitude to the Almighty."

"In another village, on my showing a Testament to a woman, she said that she had a child at school for whom she should like to purchase one, but that she must first know whether the book was calculated to be of service to him. She then went away, and presently returned with the schoolmaster, followed by all the children under his care; she then, showing the schoolmaster a book, inquired if it would answer for her son. The schoolmaster called her a simpleton for asking such a question, and said that he knew the book well, and there was not its equal in the world, (*no hay otro en el mundo.*) He instantly purchased five copies for his pupils, regretting that he had no more money, 'for if I had,' said he, 'I would buy the whole cargo.' Upon hearing this, the woman purchased four copies, namely, one for her living son, another for her *deceased husband*, a third for herself, and a fourth for her brother, whom she said she was expecting home that night from Madrid."

"I subsequently learned that our proceedings on the other side of Madrid having caused alarm among the heads of the clergy, they had made a formal complaint to the government, who immediately sent orders to all the alcaldes of the villages, great and small, in New Castile, to seize the New Testament wherever it might be exposed for sale; but at the same time enjoining them to be particularly careful not to detain or maltreat the person or persons who might be attempting to vend it."

"I was not much discouraged by this blow, which indeed did not come entirely unexpected. I, however, determined to change the sphere of action, and not expose the sacred volume to seizure at every step which I should take to circulate it." "My present plan was to abandon the rural districts, and to offer the sacred volume at Madrid, from house to house, at the same low price as in the country. This plan I forthwith put into execution."

"Having an extensive acquaintance among the lower orders, I selected eight intelligent individuals to coöperate with

me, among whom were five women. All these I supplied with Testaments, and then sent them forth to all the parishes in Madrid. The result of their efforts more than answered my expectations. In less than fifteen days after my return from Naval Carnero, nearly six hundred copies of the life and words of Him of Nazareth had been sold in the streets and alleys of Madrid: a fact which I may be permitted to mention with gladness and with decent triumph in the Lord."

"It was now that I turned to account a supply of Bibles which I had received from Barcelona, in sheets, at the commencement of the preceding year. The demand for the entire Scriptures was great; indeed far greater than I could answer, as the books were disposed of faster than they could be made by the man whom I employed for that purpose. Eight and twenty copies were bespoken and paid for before delivery. Many of these Bibles found their way into the best houses in Madrid. The Marquis of . . . had a large family, but every individual of it, old and young, was in possession of a Bible, and likewise a Testament, which, strange to say, were recommended by the chaplain of the house. One of my most zealous agents in the propagation of the Bible was an ecclesiastic. He never walked out without carrying one beneath his gown, which he offered to the first person he met whom he thought likely to purchase. Another excellent assistant was an elderly gentleman of Navarre, enormously rich, who was continually purchasing copies on his own account, which he, as I was told, sent into his native province, for distribution among his friends and the poor."

"It almost appeared to me at this time, that a religious reform was commencing in Spain; indeed, matters had of late come to my knowledge, which, had they been prophesied only a year before, I should have experienced much difficulty in believing.

"The reader will be surprised when I state that in two churches of Madrid, the New Testament was regularly expounded every Sunday evening by the respective curates, to about twenty children who attended, and who were all provided with copies of the society's edition of Madrid, 1837."

"When I recollected the difficulties which had encompassed our path, I could sometimes hardly credit all that the Almighty had permitted us to accomplish within the last year. A large edition of the New Testament had been almost entirely disposed of in the very centre of Spain, in spite of the opposition and the furious cry of the sanguinary priesthood and the edicts of a deceitful government, and a spirit of religious inquiry excited,

which I had fervent hope would sooner or later lead to blessed and most important results. Till of late, the name most abhorred and dreaded in those parts of Spain, was that of Martin Luther, who was in general considered as a species of demon, a cousin-german to Belial and Beelzebub, who, under the disguise of a man, wrote and preached blasphemy against the Highest; yet now, strange to say, this once abominated personage was spoken of with no slight degree of respect. People with Bibles in their hands not unfrequently visited me, inquiring with much earnestness, and with no slight degree of simplicity, for the writings of the great Doctor Martin, whom, indeed, some supposed to be still alive.

"It will be as well here to observe, that of all the names connected with the reformation, that of Luther is the only one known in Spain; and let me add, that no controversial writings but his are likely to be esteemed as possessing the slightest weight or authority, however great their intrinsic merit may be. The common description of tracts, written with the view of exposing the errors of popery, are therefore not calculated to prove of much benefit in Spain, though it is probable that much good might be accomplished by well executed translations of judicious selections from the works of Luther."

A Residence of eight years in Persia, among the Nestorian Christians; with notices of the Mohammedans. By Rev. JUSTIN PERKINS. With a map and plates. Andover, 1843.

It is a gratification to us, that in the notice of this work we are not introducing a stranger to our readers. Many of them are more intimately acquainted with the author than we ourselves are. To the Christian community generally, Mr. Perkins is well known, and wherever known, is respected and beloved. The present work will raise him still higher in public estimation. For ourselves, we have felt in passing with him through the vicissitudes of his missionary life, a profound respect for the Christian courtesy and wise fidelity which he uniformly exercises, growing up within

our bosom into a kind of personal attachment to the author himself. We enjoy with peculiar satisfaction, therefore, the opportunity which we now have, of expressing our sentiments of respect and esteem before those who feel as we do. We do not write this article with the ordinary feelings of reviewers. The work needs not our commendation. We have no desire to animadvert upon the few defects which a minute criticism might discover. We enjoyed the book, and we know of no harm in writing sometimes out of the love of it, for no other object but to give utterance to our own feelings.

We like a man who loves his work, who is carried away with his whole soul into any good thing. We never think of pitying such a person. He has fixed his heart upon a great work to be done by himself, and when he is about to enter upon it, shall we interrupt the serenity and joy of his soul with our pitying of his case? We delight in the cheerfulness of a whole-souled man, who, unmindful of personal inconveniences, and looking out beyond his work, is unconsciously happy in doing it. A great work to be done, when it has fully entered and occupied the heart of the Christian, makes him of course calm and cheerful. How unshaking his faith in the goodness of God! How quick to recognize a superintending Providence in the matters of daily life! And, in the feeling that he himself and all others around him are reposing upon the bosom of infinite love, how easy to bear with those whom God endures! These thoughts have repeatedly forced themselves upon us in reading this volume.

Mr. Perkins is a pleasant companion to travel with, and we have often caught ourselves unconsciously standing by his side. We could almost go unguided to the spot where with his wife he stood on the

summit of Bâs Tapâ, as they were about to leave Trebizond on their solitary journey of seven hundred miles. It was in the after part of the day, "when the rain had ceased a little." They had climbed by a steep zigzag path, cut out into a stair-way from the solid rock, to the top of the lofty heights which towered above the city. There they stood alone; westward, looking down upon the waters of the Black Sea, which seemed to cut them off from the Christian world, while eastward, they saw before them a long interminable way, infested with robbers and frightful from pestilence. But trusting in the Lord, "they rejoiced to go forward." We will let Mr. Perkins describe the remainder of this afternoon journey.

"Our Turkish companions of the caravan passed cheerfully along, occasionally breaking the monotony of 'the bells on the horses,' by singing a traveler's song or entertaining each other with marvelous narrations. How novel to our eyes and our ears were the scenes and the sounds of that afternoon, which have ever since been as familiar as the sight of carriages, the sound of rattling wheels, the notes of the stage-coach horn, or the whistle of the rail-road car, to our friends in America. Among the Scripture allusions of which every incident and almost every step seemed a vivid illustration, none struck me more delightfully than the promise of a day approaching, when 'holiness to the Lord shall be written on the bells of the horses,' for we had the grateful consciousness, that to hasten such a period was the object of our undertaking.

"Just before night, it again commenced raining; and we had started so late in the day,—our progress also being much retarded by the muddy state of the road in consequence of the rain,—that to reach our stopping place we were obliged to ride some time in the evening. In darkness, rain and mud, we climbed precipices and again descended them, on the very brink of the river, until we were heartily glad to find a resting place and a shelter, even under a tent.

"We reached Javialik, a village six hours (about twenty miles) from Trebizond, near nine o'clock in the evening. Takvôor and our muleteer had preceded us, a few minutes, and were erecting our tent near the village, on the river bank, when we arrived. Unfortunately, from haste,

darkness, or ignorance, they had put it up inside out and were obliged to take it down again. This mistake corrected, after a little time we procured a light, and spread down our oil cloth and rugs, to shield us from the wet ground.

"Meanwhile our servant procured a little fuel, made a fire at our tent door, and prepared some tea, which we drank and retired with thankful hearts to rest. The roaring of the stream within a few feet of us, and the patting of the rain on our tent, soon lulled us to sleep; and our slumbers were kept from molestation, from the intrusions of curiosity or hostile intentions, by a guard of three armed men, sent to us unasked by a valley lord, the *agâ* (chief man) of the district. And we had the joyful consciousness of yet greater security, though defenseless wanderers in strange benighted climes, and sleeping in a tent by night, under the protection of that divine Keeper, who took care of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Joseph in their wanderings, in foreign and hostile lands, and has given to all his disciples the comforting assurance, 'Lo, I am with you alway, even to the end of the world.'" p. 96.

There is much deeply to interest one in this part of their journey. They ascend steep mountain sides enveloped in dense clouds, where they can scarce find a place to pitch their tents for the night. Thence, reaching a narrow ridge, they wind along upon its edge with unfathomable depths on either side, whither a single mis-step might precipitate them—till, the ridge spreading out into a mountain top, again they mount upward, "Alps o'er Alps," through rough, narrow passes, over frightful precipices, till at length they stand upon the highest point of land on their route to Persia. These mountain scenes elevate the soul with the most sublime emotions. We can easily enter into the feelings of the author, as, near the top of one of these lofty summits, itself surrounded by others in the distance still higher, with deep gulfs sunk between, they have just pitched their tent upon the only spot level enough for the purpose, when the clouds clear away and reveal boundless cottages scattered in the plains below, and far off in

the distance the waters of the Black Sea. At times their way lies across high table-land, without tree or shrub, encompassed by mountains equally bald, but the whole resplendent in its glittering mantle of snow. At other times they pass along water-courses, whose banks are thickly studded with willows and poplars, "while many American wild flowers are smiling among them in native loveliness."

They reached Tabréez, which was the end of their journey, the twenty third of August, having left Trebizond the tenth day of June. But we should pass over what was to us a very interesting portion of the work, did we not record the kindness of the gentlemen of the English embassy residing in that city. In consequence of the direct route being interrupted by the hostilities of the Koords, Mr. Perkins passed northwards into the Russian province—but instead of a journey of six days, was detained there a month by the rigorous exactions of the police authorities. Mr. Perkins at length communicates an account of his situation to the English minister, Sir John Campbell, who immediately sends his own *ghôlâm* or courier, with a letter, followed the next day by a *takt-rawân* or litter, for Mrs. Perkins. The day before reaching Tabréez, they were met by an English gentleman, whom they had become acquainted with at Constantinople, Dr. Riach.

"Being apprised," says Mr. Perkins, "of our unhappy predicament, on the banks of the Arrâs, he had procured a Russian traveling passport, made the necessary preparations, and advanced thus far on his way to the Russian frontier, with the determination of entering the country and remaining with us, should he not find us liberated, and of accompanying us on the road, that he might comfort us and administer relief in case of sickness. Such generous kindness made an impression on our hearts, then bleeding with the fresh recollection of our recent trials, and throbbing with joy in view of our happy deliverance, too deep to be ever obliterated. We sat down, narrated

our adventures, and took sweet counsel together, which was the more dear to us, after having met with no one, for so long a period, who treated us as friends." p. 141.

We conclude our account of this journey with the extract which follows.

"Just three days after our arrival at Tabréz, Mrs. P. became the mother of a daughter, of whose existence she was not conscious for several days. Her long previous exposures had prostrated her system, and this sickness carried her farther apparently across the stream of Jordan than any person I ever knew, who was brought back again to its nether shores. Incessant vomiting for several hours induced repeated convulsions, the severest I ever witnessed and apparently sufficient to shake the firmest frame in pieces; after which the vital spark, for nearly a week, seemed almost extinguished. Three English physicians were in attendance, who happened providentially to be in Tabréz at that time, viz. Dr. Riach, who met us on the road; Dr. Griffiths, surgeon of the English detachment; and Dr. McNeill, then first secretary of the embassy and now Sir John McNeill, the present ambassador. They all manifested the most anxious solicitude, and tenderly, but frankly, told me that they saw no probability of Mrs. Perkins' recovery. My feelings, in those circumstances, can be more easily conceived than described,—the perils and trials of our long and toilsome journey just terminated,—my companion for life, as well as in those trials, who had so happily survived them, now apparently in the agonies of dissolution,—and for myself, only the cheerless prospect of being so soon left a solitary pilgrim in that dark and distant land. But though no *American voice* was near to solace me in that trying extremity, a merciful Providence had not left me without friends. Parents and brothers could not have been more tender and assiduous in their kindness than were the English residents. The ambassador sent repeatedly to me, saying, 'My house is open to you; spare nothing that can contribute to your relief and comfort.' Mrs. Nisbet took home our infant on the day of its birth, and relieved me of all care respecting it; and Dr. Riach stayed five days and nights constantly at Mrs. Perkins' bedside, not retiring from the house to eat or sleep, (the other physicians also repeatedly calling,) until by little less than a miracle of divine mercy, we were permitted to cherish the hope of her recovery. The reader will not wonder that after a short residence in Persia, we had become tenderly attached to the English

in that country. And the treatment which we received from them on our first arrival, is but a specimen of their kindness to us, from that period to the present time.

"In connection with our exposures and sufferings, on the way to our field, it were grateful to offer a passing tribute to female fortitude in the missionary enterprise, might a husband be allowed to do it. I may at least be pardoned, for saying in general, that we witness, in many of the females sent out by our churches, not only the devotion that was 'last at the cross and first at the sepulchre,' but also a *heroism*, which is able calmly to meet and cheerfully sustain the trying emergencies that often almost crush our own sterner energies. It is preëminently on missionary ground that woman is a help-meet for man." pp. 142—143.

As about one fifth part of this work consists of travels, we will say in general, that the author describes what fell under his observations with accuracy, and judges of the people with much candor and good sense. Besides, as these notes which were written at the time, were not published till after a residence in the country of several years, the reader has the advantage of the author's subsequent experience, either correcting or confirming them. Thus on his journey, fresh from a New England farm, he gives a poor account of Persian husbandry. But he subjoins to the account—

"I feel bound to state, however, that the rude plough which I have described penetrates the earth much deeper, and serves a far better purpose, than I supposed it possible to do, on first observing it; and I have been in like manner favorably disappointed, on better acquaintance with many other rude instruments of the oriental farmer and mechanic." p. 105.

On the other hand, he confirms the favorable opinion which he at first formed of the Turkish character. This circumstance of the travels having been written when the events were fresh in the mind, and being revised after a residence of eight years, gives a permanent value to the work.

The principal residence of Mr. Perkins in Persia, was at Oroomiah. He came to reside in that city, No-

vember 20th, 1835, a little more than two years after he left this country. Of this interval, he spent six months in the journey, five or six in the study of Turkish at Constantinople, and the remainder at Tabrééz, making himself familiar with the Syriac under Nestorian teachers. We may regard him now as ready to enter upon the more active duties of the missionary life.

The city, the plain, and the lake of Oroomiah were designed for each other, and in their union, they form a scene in nature, which, like a perfect work of art, is complete in itself. It is a peculiar spot—alone by itself, shut out from the rest of the world, and needing nothing extraneous to enhance its loveliness. The lofty Koordish mountains, running north and south, and forming its western barrier, shoot out, at about forty miles' distance from each other, a double range of hills sweeping down to the lake, as if on purpose to make them the walls of a vast amphitheatre. The plain, which is thus enclosed, has an area of about six hundred square miles, and is all of it under cultivation. Teeming, as it does, with the productions of the richest soil, smiling with orchards and vineyards, watered by several considerable rivers and streams, whose banks are clothed with forests of shade and fruit trees, and enlivened with its three hundred and thirty villages dispersed within its borders, it would appear to need nothing but the prevalence of a pure Christianity, to make it the most enchanting spot on earth. The city of Oroomiah is situated within about two miles of the western range of mountains.

"From elevations," says Mr. Perkins, "back of the city, the beholder, as he looks down upon the gardens directly below him,—and then, upon the city, half buried in shrubbery,—and next, over the vast plain, studded with its hundreds of villages, verdant with thousands of orchards and hedges of poplars, willows

and sycamores, upon the streams, and gleaming with almost illimitable fields, waving a golden harvest,—and farther still, upon the azure bosom of the placid lake, beaming and sparkling like an immense mirror, under the brilliancy of the pure Persian sky,—and finally, upon the blue mountains, far in the distance beyond the lake,—one of the loveliest and grandest specimens of natural scenery is spread out before him, that was ever presented to the eye of man." p. 8.

Embosomed within these mountain enclosures, is a small remnant of one of the earliest of the ancient churches. There they have remained for centuries, almost unknown to the Christian world. "It is said," say the Prudential Committee in their instructions to Messrs. Smith and Dwight, in 1830, "there are a hundred thousand Nestorians in Koordistan; they deserve a visit to the residence of at least one of their spiritual heads." Baffled in their attempt to penetrate among the Nestorians of the mountains, and hearing at Tabrééz of these Nestorians of the plain, Messrs. Smith and Dwight resolve to visit them. It was in March, 1831, that they made their investigation, and now, November, 1835, we find missionaries from our own churches established among them. And can we conceive of a more desirable missionary diocese? It is compact and well defined; the country is most enchanting—and though forty thousand may seem a large flock, they are easy of access, and are distributed under their own pastors. Besides, the work to be done is definite, and capable as it were of being completely finished—by the blessing of God to revive spiritual religion in this ancient church.

The remainder of Mr. Perkins's book, about three fifths of the whole, embraces the period of his residence at Oroomiah, till his recent return to this country, a period of nearly six years. This is the most valuable portion of the work—his greater familiarity with the language and extensive intercourse with the peo-

ple, enabling him to give a most accurate and faithful account of both the Persians and Nestorians. We also become even more interested in the author, as he is now placed in circumstances fully to develop the strength of his judgment and the depth of his Christian principles. His connection with both the Nestorians and Mohammedans, peculiarly required a wise accommodation to circumstances, united with a firm maintenance of Christian principle—the former clinging to venerable usages, sacred in their associations, and having much error mingled with the truth they held to, while the latter, haughty in their contempt of Christians, at the same time their masters and oppressors, were naturally indignant at any attempt against their religious belief. We can hardly conceive of a cause which could be more easily injured, by doing too much or too little, and we admired the practical good sense which has uniformly led Mr. Perkins in the middle way. We were also pleased with the Christian courtesy which marked his intercourse with the Persian noblemen—properly yielding to their forms of politeness so far as Christian principle would allow. We could not but think His Royal Highness, Malek Kasem Meerza himself, would admit that the “holy stranger’s” address was not unworthy of Persian politeness, and yet there is nothing in it inconsistent with Christian fidelity. Nor let it be thought, that with the ardent feelings of the Christian missionary, this procedure does not require self-denial—it often requires more, we are persuaded, than the headlong zeal, which, unmindful of future consequences, acts only for the present moment. But in their intercourse with English friends, they needed no restraint. We feel warm emotions of gratitude towards these English gentlemen, who have taken so friendly an interest in our mission,

and we are sure no Christian will read of their kindness without like feelings. We have, however, been the most deeply interested in the intercourse of the missionaries with the Nestorians themselves. Nothing can be more lovely, nothing more affecting to every generous heart. Their eagerness to learn, their unhesitating confidence, and their gratitude, must win the good will of every one. And here too, in our missionaries, we find Christian love tempered with wisdom. It would be grateful to our own feelings, to support the correctness of these commendations by copious extracts, but we are straightened for room, and besides, we think the Christian community need no farther evidence, than what has been furnished them in the recent journey of Mr. Perkins among the churches. We ought to add, that though we have spoken more particularly of our author, we have not intended to exclude his associates from our remarks.

For the same reason, we do not think it necessary to speak of the success and prospects of the mission. We have lately had one of the bishops of that church among us, and we will now put on record a document of Mar Yohannan, which will show, we think, that there are minds there well worthy of being cultivated.

It is well known, that a portion of the church were greatly perplexed at a bishop’s having so much to do with other Christians. It was a novelty to be sure, and so difficult to be accounted for as to raise a doubt whether he were a bishop. A writer at length in the “Churchman” gives vent to this anxious doubt. And “first, what evidence has Mar Yohannan brought, to substantiate his claim to the office of a bishop? any thing more than his own assertion, backed by the declaration of the missionary who accompanies him?” But supposing

the testimony of a missionary is not to be wholly rejected, another difficulty arises, whether he may not be a heretic. But, admitting him to be both a bishop and sound in the faith, the perplexity only becomes the greater, that he should "associate," not exactly "with publicans and sinners," but with presbyterians. It is true, he "could have known nothing of our church before he came hither," but *he* found it out soon enough after he did come, and still he does not separate from the missionary who found *him* out across the waters, the friend in whose family he was an inmate for seven years. This strange procedure is enough to strip him of his bishopric, and "put him in the same category with those in whose company he is found." Add to this the sacrilege, of the Nestorians having "*lent one of their churches to the presbyterians, and allowed them to hold an ordination in it!*" The bishop, if we may still call him so, wrote a reply in Syriac, and which Mr. Perkins has translated, and at the bishop's request, inserted in his work. We give it to our readers, and submit the question to any one, whether, in primitive simplicity and Christian meekness, it would not do honor to any bishop in America.

"My brethren of the Episcopalians:

"What evil or wicked thing have I wrought, in relation to you, that some of you should write about me in your newspapers, and scatter them through all America?

"I am one poor man and my nation is poor. I came to thank Christians in this country, for having helped us, and to ask them to help us more, for the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. We are members of one another; if one member suffers, do not all suffer with it? Well; if you had desired our good, would you not some times have inquired of me thus: What is the condition of your people in that land of heathens? Is there a church there? Are there good men? Are there tokens of the influence of the Holy Spirit? What is the state of knowledge and instruction? What are the morals? But from very few of you have I heard one

of these questions. You ask, *How many orders have you?* My friends, *forms* are nothing; 'Neither is circumcision any thing, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature.'

"2. If you say, that our church is built upon the apostolic foundation, the oldest of the churches; why, shall we place our confidence in age, name, or forms? No; but in the Lamb of God, who descended from his throne on high to save that which was lost. Observe and behold. The Creator of the heights and of the depths, did not demean himself so loftily as some denominations, who say, *WE ARE; there is no other true church.* The Lord said, Every man who exalteth himself shall be abased, but whosoever humbleth himself shall be exalted. Again; your church came out from the church of the pope. Is there not some leaven of the pope still remaining in many of you? Take care; if you say, 'No, this word is a mistake,' I have proofs. What are those *pictures* in some of your churches? This is a mark of the pope! I know you do not worship the pictures; but your children, who rise up after you, seeing them in the churches, will worship them. Mark that second commandment—God said, Thou shalt not make unto thee any likeness, or resemblance, of any thing in heaven above, nor in the earth beneath, nor in the waters under the earth. Another commandment of God is, Love your neighbors as yourselves; but you say, *OUR CHURCH IS GREAT.* Very well; your church has become great, has it? Why? that it may despise small churches? Our Lord Jesus Christ says, Who ever will be greatest, let him be *servant* of all. This haughtiness is another mark of the pope, who teaches that none will be saved who are out of his church.

"3. Come, let us see; has our Lord pronounced blessings on the *meek*, or on the *proud*? I believe he pronounced his blessings on the meek, declaring that they shall inherit the earth. Again, said our Lord, two men went up into the temple to pray, one of them a pharisee and one of them a publican; the pharisee proudly offered his prayer, and the publican in humility; God heard the publican and disregarded the pharisee. So every one, who exalteth himself, shall be abased, and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted. King David also says, The meek shall inherit the earth and shall delight themselves in abundance of peace—and many other like things does he say in the Psalms, in favor of the lowly and against the proud. And what humility did our Savior manifest, when he was led as a lamb to the slaughter; and as a sheep dumb before her shearer, so he opened not his mouth, according to the words of Isaiah.

"4. Come, let us see about Nestorius, what evil he has wrought towards you. If you speak of other nations, he has sharply rebuked them; but in relation to you, he has done nothing. And others he rebuked for their idolatry, in calling Mary the mother of God, and many other wicked works which were done among those nations, and which you do not understand. And do you too, like the Catholics, cast Nestorius out into utter darkness? If you would be informed, Nestorius has marked out no new path for us. We have not gone after him. Our nation sympathized with him, and we still love him as our own selves; and if all the world should say so, we will not cast him off; for he was persecuted for righteousness' sake. And our Lord has said, Blessed are they who are persecuted and evil spoken of, for righteousness' sake; their reward shall be great in heaven.

"5. I do not say that your way [church polity] is not a good one—very good, if you properly follow it; not in exclusiveness and ostentation, saying, we are *the only true church*; nor in hypocrisy, like sepulchres which are white without, but within, full of all uncleanness. God looketh upon the heart. It is important for Christians to abound in love, and not in vain-glorying. But every tree is known by its fruit; men also, by their works.

"6. I love episcopalians, and congregationalists, and presbyterians, and Dutchmen, and Lutherans, and methodists, and baptists,—all, as brethren in Christ. There is no difference in them with me. The greater brethren are all these; and if there be less, we are the *least*. We open our churches to their priests, and receive them as the priests of God and the apostles of our Lord. Our Lord said, Whosoever receiveth a prophet, in the name of a prophet, shall receive a prophet's reward. And whosoever receiveth a righteous man, in the name of a righteous man, shall receive a righteous man's reward. Thus have we learned from our Lord.

"7. You are displeased with me, are you, because I have associated with the presbyterians and congregationalists? So the newspaper teaches. I do not practice partiality. Is it very strange, that I associate most with the presbyterians and congregationalists? No; they are equally our brethren; and they have come and helped us, in books and teachers, and have done a great and good work for our nation. Ought I to abandon them and form new alliances? We do not so understand propriety and justice. Would it not have been a great wonder, very wrong in me and very bad for my nation, had I forsaken them and connected myself with others? It would be a black reproach and a great sin for us thus to

abuse the good they have done for us. God would be displeased with us for such a course of ingratitude. But we will never be unmindful of their beneficence. We will cling to these benefactors, as we do to Nestorius. Our Lord Jesus Christ said, Whoever shall give to drink a cup of cold water, shall not lose his reward; how much greater will be the reward of those, who have given to drink the instructions of Christ. And shall we abuse the good work which they have done for us? Never. We must obey God rather than man, and keep the commandments of God rather than the commandments of men. We all have one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is over all and in all; over us, over you and over them; who will judge us all at the last day; and if found at his right hand, will raise us all to the same heaven. We shall dwell in *peace together* there. May the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God the Father, and the communion of the Holy Spirit, be with us all forever, Amen.

"Your fellow sinner and unworthy Christian brother, MAR YOHANNAN.

"Nov. 1842."

Puseyism Examined. By J. H. MERLE D'AUBIGNE, D. D., Author of the History of the Reformation in the Sixteenth Century.—With an Introductory Notice of the Author. By ROBERT BAIRD, D. D. Published by John S. Taylor & Co., 145 Nassau Street, New York.

WE were disappointed on finding this work, which had been for some time announced, to be only "an address delivered before the professors and students of the new Theological Seminary at Geneva, at the opening of the present session, on the 4th of October last." We hoped to receive a full and masterly discussion of the whole subject, from the brilliant pen of the discriminating D'Aubigné. But though at first disappointed, we are reconciled. Here in the compass of a few pages, at a price compatible with the widest circulation, we have a clear statement of the vital points of difference between Rome and Oxford

on the one part, and Protestants on the other; and this in connection with such a vindication of the truth as can not fail to fortify young minds against the insidious influence of this form of error, and establish the friends of the Gospel in their attachment to the doctrines of the Reformation. It should be introduced, as an antidote, into every community where Romanism and High Churchism are attempting to poison Christianity.

The following extracts are a fair sample of the style and merits of the work :

"Let us comprehend well, gentlemen, the position which evangelical Christian theology occupies.

"At the epoch of the Reformation, if I may so speak, three distinct eras had occurred in the history of the church.

"1. That of evangelical Christianity, which, having its focus in the times of the apostles, extended its rays throughout the first and second centuries of the church.

"2. That of ecclesiastical catholicism, which, commencing its existence in the third century, reigned till the seventh.

"3. That of the papacy, which reigned from the seventh to the fifteenth century.

"Such were the three grand eras in the then past history of the church; let us see what characterized each one of them.

"In the first period, the supreme authority was attributed to the revealed word of God.

"In the second, it was, according to some, ascribed to the church as represented by its bishops.

"In the third, to the pope.

"We acknowledge cheerfully that the second of these systems is much superior to the third; but it is inferior to the first!

"In fact, in the first of these systems it is God who rules.

"In the second, it is MAN.

"In the third, it is, to speak after the apostle, 'THAT WORKING OF SATAN, with all power and signs and lying wonders.' (2 Thess. ii, 9.)

"The Reformation, in abandoning the papacy, might have returned to the second of these systems, that is, to ecclesiastical catholicism; or to the first, that is, to evangelical Christianity.

"In returning to the second, it would have made half the way. Ecclesiastical catholicism is, in effect, a middle system—a *via media*, as one of the Oxford doctors has termed it, in a sermon which he

has just published. On the one hand, it approaches much to papacy, for it contains, in the germ, all the principles which are there found. On the other, however, it diverges from it, for it rejects the papacy itself.

"The Reformation was not a system of pretended *juste milices*. It went the whole way; and rebounding with that force which God gives, it fell, as at one single leap, into the evangelical Christianity of the apostles.

"But there is now, gentlemen, a numerous and powerful party in England, supported even by some bishops, (whose charges have filled us with astonishment and grief,) which would, according to its adversaries, quit the ground of evangelical Christianity to plant itself upon that of ecclesiastical catholicism, with a marked tendency towards the papacy; or which, according to what it pretends, would faithfully maintain itself on that hierarchical and semi-Romish ground, which is, according to it, the *true, native* and *legitimate* foundation of the church of England. It is this movement which is, from the name of one of its principal chiefs, called *Puseyism*." pp. 30—32.

"Such, gentlemen, is the movement which is taking place in that church of England, which so many pious men, so many Christian works, have rendered illustrious. Dr. Pusey has had reason to say in his letter to the archbishop of Canterbury, 'Upon the issue of the present struggle depend the destinies of our church.' And it is worth while for us to pause here a few moments to examine what party we ought to prefer, as members of the ancient church of the continent, and what we have to do in this grave and solemn crisis.

"Gentlemen, we ought to profess frankly that we will have neither the *papacy*, nor the *via media* of ecclesiastical catholicism, but remain firm upon the foundation of evangelical Christianity. In what consists this Christianity when it is opposed to the two other systems which we reject?

"There are in it things essential and things unessential; it is of that only which forms its essence, of that which is its principle, that I would here speak.

"There are three principles which form its essence: the first is that which we may call its *formal* principle, because it is the means by which this system is formed or constituted; the second is that which may be called the *material* principle, because it is the very doctrine which constitutes this religious system; the third, I call the *personal* or *moral* principle, because it concerns the application of Christianity to the soul of each individual.

"The *formal* principle of Christianity

is expressed in few words: **THE WORD OF GOD, ONLY.**

"That is to say, the Christian receives the knowledge of the truth only by the word of God, and admits of no other source of religious knowledge.

"The *material* principle of Christianity is expressed with equal brevity: **THE GRACE OF CHRIST, ONLY.**

"That is to say, the Christian receives salvation only by the grace of Christ, and recognizes no other meritorious cause of eternal life.

"The *personal* principle of Christianity may be expressed in the most simple terms: **THE WORK OF THE SPIRIT, ONLY.**

"That is to say, there must be in each soul that is saved a moral and individual work of regeneration, wrought by the Spirit of God, and not by the simple concurrence of the church, and the magic influence of certain ceremonies.

"Gentlemen, recall constantly to your minds these three simple truths: *The Word of God, ONLY; The Grace of Christ, ONLY; The Work of the Spirit, ONLY;* and they will truly be 'a lamp to your feet and a light to your paths.'

"These are the three great beacons which the Holy Spirit has erected in the church. Their effulgence should spread from one end of the world to the other. So long as they shine, the church walks in the light; as soon as they shall become extinct or even obscured, darkness like that of Egypt will settle upon Christendom.

"But, gentlemen, it is precisely these three fundamental principles of evangelical Christianity which are attacked and overthrown by the new system of ecclesiastical catholicism. It is not to some minor point, to some doctrine of secondary importance that they direct their attention at Oxford; it is to that which constitutes the essence even of Christianity and of the Reformation, to those truths so important that, as Luther said, 'with them the church stands, and without them the church falls.' Let us consider them." pp. 36—38.

"Gentlemen, there are two ways of destroying Christianity; one is to deny it, the other to displace it. To put the church above Christianity, the hierarchy above the word of God; to ask a man, not whether he has received the Holy Ghost, but whether he has received baptism from the hands of those who are termed successors of the apostles, and their delegates,—all this may doubtless flatter the pride of the natural man, but is fundamentally opposed to the Bible, and aims a fatal blow at the religion of Jesus Christ. If God had intended that Christianity should, like the Mosaic system, be chiefly an ecclesiastical, sacerdotal and hierarchical system, he would

have ordered and established it in the New Testament, as he did in the Old. But there is nothing like this in the New Testament. All the declarations of our Lord and of his apostles tend to prove, that the new religion given to the world is 'life and Spirit,' and not a new system of priesthood and ordinances. 'The kingdom of God,' saith Jesus, 'cometh not with observation; neither shall they say, lo here! or lo there! for behold the kingdom of God is within you.' (Luke xvii, 20—21.) 'The kingdom of God is not meat and drink; but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost.' (Rom. xiv, 17.)

"Let us then attribute a divine institution and a divine authority to the essence of the church; but by no means to its *form*. God has, undoubtedly, established the ministry of the word and sacraments, that is to say, general forms, which are adapted to the universal church; but it is a narrow and dangerous bigotry, which would attribute more importance to the particular forms of each sect, than to the spirit of Christianity. This evil has long prevailed in the Eastern church, [Greek,] and has rendered it barren. It is the essence of the church of Rome, and it is destroying it. It is endeavoring to insinuate itself into every church; it appears in England in the established church; in Germany in the Lutheran, and even in the reformed and presbyterian church. It is that mystery of iniquity, which already began to work in the time of the apostles. (2 Thess. ii, 7.) Let us reject and oppose this deadly principle wherever it is found. We are men before we are Swiss, French, English, or German; let us also remember, that we are Christians before we are episcopalians, Lutherans, reformed, or dissenters. These different forms of the church are like the different costumes, different features, and different characters of nations; that which constitutes the man is not found in these accessories. We must seek for it in the heart which beats under this exterior, in the conscience which is seated there, in the intelligence which there shines, in the will which there acts. If we assign more importance to the church than to Christianity, to the form than to the life, we shall infallibly reap that which we have sown; we shall soon have a church composed of skeletons, clothed, it may be, in brilliant garments, and ranged, I admit, in a most imposing order to the eye; but as cold, stiff and immovable as a pale legion of the dead. If Puseyism, (and, unfortunately, some of the doctrines which it promulgates are not, in England, confined to that school,) if Puseyism should make progress in the established church, it will, in a few years, dry up all its springs of life. The feverish excite-

ment which disease at first produces, will soon give place to languor, the blood will be congealed, the muscles stiffened, and that church will be only a dead body, around which the eagles will gather together.

"All forms, whether papal, patriarchal, episcopal, consistorial, or presbyterian, possess only a human value and authority. Let us not esteem the bark above the sap, the body above the soul, the form above the life, the visible church above the invisible, the priest above the Holy Spirit. Let us hate all sectarian, ecclesiastical, national or dissenting spirit; but let us love Jesus Christ in all sects, whether ecclesiastical, national or dissenting. The true catholicity which we have lost, and which we must seek to recover, is that of 'holding the truth, in love.'" pp. 73—75.

Anti-Popery; or Popery Unreasonable, Unscriptural and Novel.

By JOHN ROGERS, Member of the Society of Friends, and Counselor at Law.—With a Preface, Notes and Index. By REV. C. SPAREY, of New York, a minister of the Reformed Church. First American, from the second London edition. Published by D. Fanshew, 150 Nassau Street, New York.

AMONG the numerous works which the attempt to revive Romanism in England has called into existence, none have been received with more favor in that country than Mr. Rogers' Anti-Popery, if we may form an opinion from the style of eulogy in which it is recommended by the press. It has also been deemed by some excellent clergymen of New York worthy of republication in this country. These are indications of no small merit in the work. Nor are they deceptive indications. Mr. Rogers writes with spirit, force, originality. His reasoning powers, and especially his power of sarcasm, are very respectable; and they are employed to the full extent, in exposing the errors and contemptible mummeries of popery. Yet his work is not perfect. It is a good storehouse of facts and arguments

against Romanism—it is well adapted to fortify the minds of Protestants against the seductions of proselyting papists; but what member of that church can read it without anger? The blunt manner, the cutting irony, the bold invective, the dogmatism, of the plain Quaker, are not the most conciliatory and convincing means of grace. Perhaps we do injustice to human nature; if not, Mr. Rogers will make few converts to Protestantism.

But whatever may be the merit of our author in other respects, his coinage of new words deserves severe reprehension. Here he claims the power of a pope, and takes the whole business of etymology into his own hands.

The following is a list of new terms which he labors to recommend and to bring into use.

Abhorrible, formed directly from the verb *to abhor*, instead of *horrible*, from an obsolete root *hor*. But the verb *abhor* leads us again to the same obsolete root.

Perhap, instead of *perhaps*, as if there could be but one hap or chance.

Priestal, as if not satisfied with *priestly* with Teutonic suffix, nor with *presbyterial*, the original form of the word with Latin suffix.

Knownothing, as if not satisfied with *ignoramus* and *numskull*.

Primaty, as nearer than *primacy* to *primate*.

Priestrulive, as if not satisfied with *priestruling*.

Modernity, as if better than *modernness*, although the Teutonic suffix *ness* is applied to all adjectives indiscriminately.

Nowafter, instead of *hereafter*, to avoid a confusion of time and place; not considering that most terms relating to time originally referred to place.

Kirk, as nearer to the original Gr. *κυριακόν*, than *church*.

Politi-kirkal, for *politico-ecclesiastical*, in order to avoid a long word.

Popan for *papal*; whereas the

Latin suffix *an* is properly attached to the Latin form of the word before it is Anglicized.

Papile for *papist*, and *Romanite* for *Romanist*, not perceiving the idea of *papizing* or conforming to the pope, and of *Romanizing* or conforming to the Romans, which is secretly conveyed in the original form of the words.

Secundity, from mere love of novelty.

Politikirkalian and *priestrulian*, as if to excite the risibles of his readers.

It is painful to see a mind so unhinged, certainly in some respects, as that of Mr. Rogers, set forward by the British public to manage one of the most important controversies which now agitate the church of Christ.

The following extract will afford an idea of the author's powers of irony :

"*Nepotism*, (fondness for *nephews* and *nieces*, or love and care of them.) *nepotism* has been a remarkable quality in popes, cardinals, and other papal clergymen. These *men of God*, though made so by man! have had of course no *son* or *daughter*; but they have been surrounded with a great number of *nephews* and *nieces*, for whom they have taken care to provide as other men provide for their own offspring. It is rather strange that brothers and sisters of popes, cardinals, and other clergymen, so very often have more children than they can rear, educate and settle; and that they find their reverend bachelor brothers so kind to their little ones! What a comfort to them to be fraternally and *sororially* connected with, and to have their young ones snugly settled by pure, holy, evangelical men, who are total strangers to the flesh! entire aliens from carnality! and wholly weaned from sensual predilections! and who love the little creatures with a warmth and a zeal transcendently admirable in uncles who are so wrapped up in spiritual contemplation! so swallowed up and lost in heavenly designing and doing! In kirks where clergymen are allowed to marry, they have children like other men, and have no more than the common number of nephews and nieces, for whom they take no more than common care. In the kirk of Rome, however, where clergymen do not marry, their nephews and nieces are uncommonly and extraordi-

narily numerous, and are treated by these spiritual and ethereal men with uncommon and extraordinary care and affection." pp. 79—80.

History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions: compiled chiefly from the published and unpublished Documents of the Board. By JOSEPH TRACY. Second edition, carefully revised and enlarged. Published by M. W. Dodd, Brick Church Chapel, New York. 1842.

THE want of a connected history of the missions of the American Board, was strongly felt by the pastors of our churches, for some time before the appearance of this work. Whether this is compiled on the plan best adapted to satisfy this want, is a difficult question. On the whole we are inclined to think it the best. The transactions of the Board, both domestic, and foreign, and the most important changes in the condition of the several missions, are narrated in their chronological order. The reader is thus furnished with a bird's-eye view, in the shape of annals, of the doings of the Board, and to some extent, of the results. This makes a good book of reference. The condition of the missions in each successive year may at once be ascertained. Nor is it valuable merely as a book of reference. It was written, not without success, to be read with interest. To those not already familiar with the history, it will be found too instructive not to be entertaining. In those places where a few copies of the work only are in circulation, it may profitably be read in sections at the monthly concert of prayer. For this purpose, however, we think a work constructed on a different plan, giving separate histories of the formation of the Board, of its home operations, and of the several missions under its care, would be decidedly preferable, producing a more

vivid impression of the good which the Board has accomplished, and inspiring a livelier interest in the missionary work.

reach of our capacities, and which under the luminous and vigorous pen of our author, can not but be intelligible to every class of readers.

Psychology; or a View of the Human Soul, including Anthropology: adapted to the use of Colleges. By Rev. FREDERICK A. RAUCH, D. P., late President of Marshall College, Penn. Second edition. Published by M. W. Dodd, New York.

THE first part of this work, entitled Anthropology, treats of the influence of nature, race, sex, age, sleep, dreaming, &c. upon the mind, and on the other hand, of the power of the mind over the body. The second part treats of Psychology, properly so called, the attributes and powers of a rational being. The whole is introduced by an able essay on life, both animal and vegetable, and on instinct. This table affords but a meager idea of the contents and interest of the book; every part of which abounds with views new to the American reader, if not original with the author. Indeed it seems to us, that every intelligent American who neglects to read it, is unjust to himself. The subject, which is of the highest importance, is enriched with an exuberance of illustration from all departments of learning, without a parallel among the productions of our press. Although Dr. Rauch was a disciple of Hegel, he was able, as he thought consistently, to rank himself with the evangelical party in the Lutheran church; and he is believed to have been a man of sincere piety. His speculative philosophy will not, as a system, find favor in this country. The greater part of this work, however, is devoted to empirical philosophy, or that knowledge which is derived from experience and observation—which all confess lies within the

Bibliotheca Sacra; or Tracts and Essays on Topics connected with Biblical Literature and Theology. Editor, EDWARD ROBINSON, D. D., Professor of Bibl. Lit. in the Union Theol. Sem., New York. New York and London, Wiley & Putnam: 1843. No. I, February; pp. 204, 8vo. Price \$1.

THIS new theological journal assumes the distinctive character of a "collection of tracts and essays," of such a nature as to be "of permanent value as a work of reference." That a work of this character, if judiciously and ably conducted, may be of inestimable value to future theologians, must be perfectly obvious. No such work existed in the country; and we rejoiced when this was announced. Yet we were impressed with the difficulties attending it. The efforts of a single man, however gifted and indefatigable, must be inadequate to sustain such a publication for a great length of time. The editor should possess great soundness of judgment, a thorough acquaintance with the present state of biblical and theological science, and a kind of foresight by which he can anticipate the future progress of theological knowledge and the wants of those who shall cultivate it. He should moreover have the assistance of a large number of able writers, who are willing to spend much time and to lay out all their strength upon certain insulated topics in theology, which have been too slightly handled by other writers. Of Dr. Robinson's industry, erudition and talents as a writer, we have a very high opinion. Of the resources from which he can draw materials for his own articles, it is sufficient to say,

in the language of the announcement of the work, "The editor's connections with Great Britain and Germany will enable him to avail himself of every thing new and important in the theological literature of those countries." From the same announcement we learn, that "the editor will have the aid of several of the leading theological writers of this country, as well as of some in foreign lands." But we are not informed how many, or who, among the learned, are his pledged *collaborators*, or will be active and efficient contributors to the work. For aught that appears, the work is to rest chiefly upon the shoulders of Dr. Robinson.

The first number or volume of the work, we have read with approbation and interest. It is, perhaps, all that ought to have been expected; but we confess, it hardly met the high expectations we had indulged before its publication,—not however from the want of a greater *variety* in the subjects, as the editor appears to have feared. For we think, the more homogeneous the matter of each volume, the more value it will possess as a book of reference. This number contains three tracts, viz.

1. RESEARCHES IN PALESTINE, by the editor; compiled from various communications received at different times from the Rev. Eli Smith and Rev. S. Wolcott: (with a map of the country around the sources of the of the Jordan.) pp. 9—88.

2. SKETCHES OF ANGELOLOGY IN THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS, by Moses Stuart, Prof. in the Theol. Sem., Andover. pp. 89—154.

3. THE REPUTED SITE OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE, by the editor; in reply to allegations contained in the Oxford "Essay on the Ecclesiastical Miracles." pp. 154—202.

The *first* article is, both as to matter and form, a supplement to Dr. R.'s great work, entitled "Biblical Researches in Palestine;" and it

should be appended to that work, or rather, be incorporated into its next edition. As it is a mere supplement to another work, and as several of the most important portions of it had previously been spread on the pages of other periodicals, we have some doubts of its claim to a place in a collection of tracts intended to be "of permanent value as a work of reference."

The *second* article is a general treatise on Angels, and is written in the usual flowing and popular style of the learned author. It bears of course much resemblance to the article "Angels" in our biblical dictionaries, and to the chapters on good and evil angels in our best systems of theology. The author does not aim to propagate any new views or any favorite opinions he may entertain. Nor does he attempt to settle and decide upon all the important questions which relate to his subject. Indeed, we should have been gratified, if the learned author had given us more distinctly his opinions on several points which he has but slightly touched. For instance, has each individual man and child a guardian angel to attend him from the cradle to the grave, as the Romanists believe? Did the Lord Jesus Christ, or the Word and Son of God, appear in the form of an angel, on several occasions, to the early patriarchs and others under the Old Testament; and if so, which are the texts that speak of these manifestations? On the whole, this article gives a good popular view of the biblical doctrine concerning angels, and it will doubtless be read with interest by most persons into whose hands it may fall. At the same time, we have doubts whether such popular summaries of theological knowledge are exactly suited to the specific character of this work. They seem to us to belong rather to those journals which aim at immediate usefulness, than to

those which aim to treasure up valuable fragments for the use of future ages.

The *third* and last article is a lucid and triumphant demonstration, that the site of the present Temple of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem can not be the very spot where our Lord was crucified. This is an excellent tract, and it is with the utmost propriety that it occupies a place in the Bibliotheca-Sacra.

Sears' New Monthly Family Magazine. Embellished with engravings. Price \$2 a year, in advance. Published and edited by ROBERT SEARS, 122 Nassau Street, New York.

THIS work resembles the Penny Magazine. It is intended to include the choicest selections from the most popular English magazines of that class. The editor appears to be

disposed to make his work the vehicle of useful instruction, not only in all other departments of general knowledge, but in the higher departments of morals and religion. We see no reason why it should fail to merit the patronage of the public.

Self-Cultivation. By TRYON EDWARDS.

Counsels of the Aged to the Young. By A. ALEXANDER, D. D.

A Pattern for Sunday School Teachers and Tract Distributors, and a Word for All. By J. A. JAMES.

THESE little volumes, by three popular authors, have just issued from the press of John S. Taylor & Co., 145 Nassau Street, New York. They have, all of them, that chief excellence of a book, a *fitness* to do good. They have also the charm of elegance. There are no better works of the kind.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

CONGRESS.

THE twenty seventh Congress, just expired, has been in many respects remarkable. It was elected by a party suddenly and surprisingly triumphant in every part of the Union, and its expected destiny was, to relieve and to reform. Convened by a presidential proclamation at the earliest practicable period, earlier indeed than the election of some of its members, it has been in session, with only two short vacations, from the last day of May, 1841, to the fourth of March, 1843. Its first assembling was under the cloud of a great national bereavement. The brave and honest old man whose personal popularity had been a chief element in the success of the party which had inscribed his name upon

its banners, had been struck down from the presidency by death. The Vice President had succeeded to the vacant chair, according to the provisions of the constitution; and the heads of departments, as nominated by the lamented Harrison, were still in their places; but Mr. Tyler had not succeeded to the chieftainship in the party that had elected him only to an office which, though sometimes honored by the occupancy of able and accomplished men, had never been found to require any superior qualifications. Confidence and a good understanding between the individual administering the government and the leading minds in the national legislature, instead of existing beforehand and preparing both to move harmoniously in one direction, were to be created by act.

ing for common objects. How it happened that a mutual understanding and reciprocal confidence between the President and the majority in Congress did not result from their acquaintance and intercourse—how it happened that what seemed to be earnest attempts on the part of the President to make himself understood by Congress, and earnest attempts on the part of Congress to accommodate their proceedings to what they understood to be his views, were entirely unsuccessful,—we will not undertake to explain. At the end of the first or special session, the great body of those members of Congress who belonged to the party which had elected General Harrison to the presidency, united in an address to the public virtually denouncing Mr. Tyler. Thenceforward that party, out of Congress, was not indeed dissolved into its original elements, but was disheartened and weakened. Public opinion as expressed in elections was against Mr. Tyler, and against those from whom he had separated; and the next Congress will commence with a decided majority of the identical party which suffered so signal a defeat in the great election of 1840.

Had General Harrison been spared, it is possible that the result might have been different. Yet there were difficulties in the nature of the case, which neither the popularity of 'the good President,' nor the statesmanship of his advisers, nor the ability of the leaders in Congress, would have been altogether likely to overcome. The triumphant party had indeed abstained from committing themselves as a party on some particulars of policy in respect to which they were far from being entirely agreed among themselves; yet they were regarded by the public as pledged to accomplish certain general results, all exceedingly difficult of attainment, and some of them quite impossible without the aid of time. First and chiefly, they were

expected to relieve the wide commercial distress of the country. How this was to be done—by what specific enactments all those evils which had been imputed, not unreasonably, to the policy of the two preceding administrations, were to be suddenly remedied—was not very distinctly understood. The leaders in Congress appear to have projected a series of measures which were to be acceptable, some in one quarter, and some in another, and which taken together, in all their relations, would constitute a system of policy under which the country was to emerge, speedily, from its embarrassments. The north was supposed to demand a tariff of duties so adjusted as to afford protection to the manufacturing interests; and the north was therefore to be gratified and relieved by a protective tariff. The south and west were supposed to require some national institution which should rectify their miserably disordered currency; there was therefore to be a national bank, with notes every where current, equalizing exchanges, and facilitating the restoration of the old commercial intercourse between those great producing regions and the commercial emporiums on the Atlantic. The new states, brought to the verge of bankruptcy by their ill devised and ill managed schemes of internal improvement, were to have their credit restored, and were to be enabled to pursue their undertakings, by a distribution of the proceeds of the public lands. To relieve in all parts of the country those active and adventurous business men whom the late reverses had overwhelmed, and to remove that vast amount of private indebtedness which had been contracted when all men were delirious from the inflation of the currency in 1835 and 1836, old scores were to be wiped out, and new books were to be opened, by a general bankrupt law. These measures were to be adopted singly, and each by a differ-

ent majority, but when adopted, and carried into operation, they would constitute a system in which every part would help to support and invigorate the whole. Had Harrison lived, the complete system *might* have been adopted. But the bank and the distribution were defeated by the veto of Mr. Tyler. The bankrupt law having stood just long enough to do whatever evil it was capable of doing, and thus to make itself unpopular, has been repealed by the same votes that created it. The protective tariff alone remains to be repealed by the party now coming into power. The great measures projected for the relief of the country may be considered as having failed.

The reformation of abuses and corruptions in the government, is a thing readily, and let us believe honestly, promised by all parties, but very difficult of performance. In this respect, the late Congress has not accomplished all that was expected from it, nor even all that it attempted. The expenses of the government have indeed been very considerably reduced, not only by the abolition of that old nest of jobbing and speculation, the Florida war, but in some other particulars. One measure of reform, the bill for the reduction of the compensation of public servants, not excepting members of Congress, was carried in the House of Representatives by the votes of those who were about retiring to private life, against the votes of those who are, or who expect to be, re-elected. It was afterwards materially changed in the Senate, and was thus lost. The loss of this bill leaves the patronage of the President without any effectual diminution. The greater the compensation of the various officials who hold their places at his pleasure, the more reason will he have to expect that they will bestir themselves in his favor. Of course all that was promised, in 1840 and before, about

abolishing the connection between the patronage of the government and the elections, is now disregarded.

A standing topic of complaint with the people, is the length of the sessions of Congress, the time which is consumed not in the proper business of Congress, but in windy discourses about matters and things in general, which are delivered and afterwards printed for effect on the people, as electioneering documents, and tons of which are sent by mail to all parts of the country, under the franks of the members. The late House of Representatives signaled itself by the adoption of several regulations for the despatch of business. In consequence of these regulations, that Congress has been able to complete a greater amount of business—has passed a greater number of public and private acts, than any of its predecessors. Yet it has not accomplished this without sitting ‘more months, more days, and more hours,’ than any former Congress. Some of those regulations, though perfectly justifiable on the ground of necessity, were better suited to a debating club than to a dignified representative body, legislating for millions. It does not tell well for our national character, that our House of Representatives is compelled to have a rule that no speech shall exceed one hour in length. True, there is nothing unreasonable in the rule itself; neither Franklin, nor Sherman, nor Ellsworth, nor Madison, nor Ames, in such Congresses as we once had, would have needed more than an hour to say all that such men deemed it necessary for them to say on any one topic of discussion. Of all the great speeches that ever swayed the decisions of a Roman senate, or of a British parliament, how few have ever exceeded the compass of an hour. But suitable as such a rule may be to a school of rhetoric, it seems out of place, and therefore out of taste, in a legislative assembly.

We apprehend that one source of the endless loquacity of Congress, and of the various mischiefs with which it is connected, may be found in the compensation of the members, and the mode in which its amount is determined. He who hires a man by the day to perform a given job, will ordinarily find that he has hired a slow workman. And especially if that workman is earning higher wages at that job than he has ever earned before, or is likely ever to earn again in any honest employment, he will be quite sure to make as many days' work of the job as possible. Now the members of Congress are paid by the day, counting Sundays and holidays, from one end of the session to the other; and of the men who actually go to Congress, not one in five ever earned eight dollars a day for six months together, in his own business or profession, whatever that may be. It is therefore for the pecuniary interest of the great majority of the members, to make long sessions. Very few—perhaps none may deliberately act upon this consideration. But assembled bodies of men, however high-minded the individuals may be, will almost always be swayed by the insensible action of their personal interests. No plainer illustration of this can be desired, than the fact that those representatives in the last Congress, who are to have no seats in the next, voted as a body, for the reduction of compensation; while the other class, as a body, voted against it. Whenever a man rises in Congress to deliver himself of a tedious and impertinent harangue, the only effect of which is to distract attention from the matter in hand, and to obstruct the progress of business, he knows that he is not speaking at his own expense, and that the weary quorum who are compelled to hear him, are not hearing at their own expense; he knows, and they all know, that the time which he consumes is neither his

nor theirs, but belongs to the public; and therefore it is that he is audacious to speak, and they are patient to hear. If, on the contrary, that man had an interest in not speaking otherwise than to the purpose, and if every member had an interest in not hearing anything impertinent or tending merely to delay, how greatly would the whole aspect of things be changed. Speaking otherwise than to the matter in hand—speaking to constituents a thousand miles off—speaking to the nation—would be well nigh as intolerable there as in a court of justice. All the feelings of courtesy between gentlemen, and of equity between man and man, would operate to keep the orator to the point; and the sense of the right of every man not to be defrauded or “bored” out of his own time, would make the House indignant against every impertinence. No need would there be of a “one hour rule” in such a state of things. No need of the speaker's hammer, like the sharp crack of a Kentucky rifle, bringing down the orator in the very midst of his loftiest gyration, beyond “the flaming bounds of space and time.”

We say then that it is time for the people to prescribe a new mode of compensating members of Congress. A mere reduction of compensation would not answer the purpose. Let our members of Congress be well paid, so that we may, if we will, elect those whose services will be worth paying for. But instead of eight dollars a day, let the average annual amount of the *per diem* allowance for the last ten years be ascertained; and let three quarters of that amount be the *yearly* wages or salary of every member. This is our plan; and if, within three years from the adoption of such a system, more business is not done, and better done, in sessions of half or two thirds of the length to which sessions have recently grown, then give the New Englander no credit

for political wisdom. We commend this idea to the attention of the public.

It has come to pass, that ordinarily every session of Congress is enlivened by some outbreak of war-like patriotism, especially on the part of the southern or southwestern members, though that spirit is by no means confined to them. The country is suddenly alarmed by this man's speech or that man's report, in favor of a war with Great Britain or a war with Mexico. Partisan newspapers take up the cry; the minds of unthinking thousands are inflamed with the idea, that our country has been grievously wronged, or shamefully insulted, and that therefore the pride of Britain must be humbled, or the palaces and cathedrals of Mexico must be plundered. The swift steamships carry the story across the Atlantic; and by the time they return with European comments on the pugnacious and bullying temper manifested by American statesmen, it begins to be understood, perhaps, that all this irritation has proceeded from a few individuals, almost without influence, and quite unworthy of respect—or perhaps, that the whole is only a cunning move on the chess-board of political parties. The negotiators of the treaty of Washington, not choosing to risk every thing by attempting too much, had wisely left two questions to be adjusted by future negotiation. The attempt to denounce the treaty having failed, and the people having shown their determination to rejoice that the principal causes, out of which a war might have arisen between this country and Great Britain, had been so fairly disposed of, an attempt was made to create a new boundary question, by the bill for the occupation and settlement of the Oregon territory. Mr. Calhoun, in particular, deserves commendation for his manly opposition to that bill. To the statesmanlike views which he presented, the country is

in a great measure indebted for the defeat of that bill in the Senate. Undoubtedly the time is near, when it will be the duty of Congress to organize a territorial government in Oregon; but before that time arrives, the boundary question in that quarter must be settled by peaceful negotiation. We entertain no doubt that it is the destiny of our Union to stretch itself from sea to sea. We hold it to be wisdom on the part of our statesmen, to secure on the Pacific as long a line of sea coast as possible. But this can be done only by peaceful and legitimate means. To attempt it by measures leading to war, is folly as well as guilt.

The construction put by the British government upon a point supposed to have been adjusted in the last year's negotiation at Washington, gave occasion for another display of chivalry on the part of members of Congress. It seems that the British cruisers on the African coast are authorized by their government—not indeed to 'search' American vessels for the sake of ascertaining whether they are employed in the slave trade, but to ascertain, by a 'visit' if necessary, whether a suspected vessel hoisting the American flag is indeed American or only piratical. We confess that we see in this nothing that ought to wound our national self-respect—nothing inconsistent with the law of nations. If every pirate that chooses to display the American flag in the presence of a British man-of-war, is to be therefore safe and sacred, and if the same vessel when pursued by an American man-of-war is to gain the same immunity by raising some other flag, nothing is plainer, than that piracy must soon become about as safe as any other sort of navigation. Of course, if the suspected vessel, when visited, turns out to be *bona fide* an American vessel, the only apology for the visitation must be

found in the statement of the circumstances which created in that case a reasonable suspicion; and if it can not be made to appear that the suspicion was reasonable, the visit is not justifiable. It will be soon enough to take offense when vessels, really American, have been actually subjected to any unjustifiable interference. The presence of an American squadron on that coast, will be the surest way to prevent any occasion of complaint. Yet men were found in Congress to propose, that on account of a speech made by Sir Robert Peel in the British House of Commons, the appropriations for the African squadron required by the treaty, should be withheld; in other words, that the treaty itself should be set aside, and all the questions which it settles thrown back where they were a year ago.

In regard to the existing post-office system, nothing has been done. On the one hand, an attempt was made to forbid the transportation of "mailable matter," including all newspapers and periodicals, in any other way, than through the post offices. Under such an arrangement, the system would soon become sufficiently obnoxious to be entirely abolished. On the other hand, an attempt was made to reduce the postage on letters, to the

two rates of five cents for less than thirty miles, and ten cents for all greater distances. This, probably, would have diminished the revenues of the department, without at all diminishing its expenses. No considerable change for the better can be made, without an entire reconstruction of the system. All franking must be abolished; postage must be paid in advance; postage must be charged by weight, without discriminating between written and printed sheets, or between double and single letters of equal weight; facilities must be given for the purchase of postage in advance, by the wholesale; without the introduction of such principles as these, there can be no improvement worth asking for.

Diplomatic relations have been opened with Hawaii—the youngest and feeblest among civilized nations, just raised from the depths of barbarism, by God's blessing upon the toil of Protestant Christian missionaries from our shore. Similar relations are to be attempted with China, the oldest of all living nations, and in numbers the greatest. The appointment of Mr. Everett as commissioner to China, gives universal satisfaction. None but "a first class mandarin" could with propriety be appointed to such a trust.

GOULD, KENDALL & LINCOLN, of Boston, will publish in a few weeks, "Classical Studies," The Importance of the Greek and Roman Classics, Miscellaneous Essays on subjects connected with classical literature, together with the Biography and Correspondence of eminent philologists, by Professors SEARS of Newton, FELTON of Cambridge, and EDWARDS of Andover, in 1 vol. 12mo.

ALLEN, MORRILL & WARDWELL, of Andover, have in preparation, a translation from the German, of "The School Grammar of the Greek language, by Dr. RAPHAEL KÜHNER, corrector of the Lyceum, Hanover, Germany." It will appear in a single volume, 8vo., of between 500 and 600 pages, and will be printed with new Greek type. Use will be made of the Syntax of Bernhardt of Halle, and of the larger Greek Grammar of Kühner. It will be translated by S. H. TAYLOR and B. B. EDWARDS of Andover.

ERRATUM.—By a slip of the pen, "Cecil and *Burligh*," p. 255, column first, was written for "Cecil and Walsingham;" and by some inattention the error, though supposed to be corrected, was overlooked in the proof.





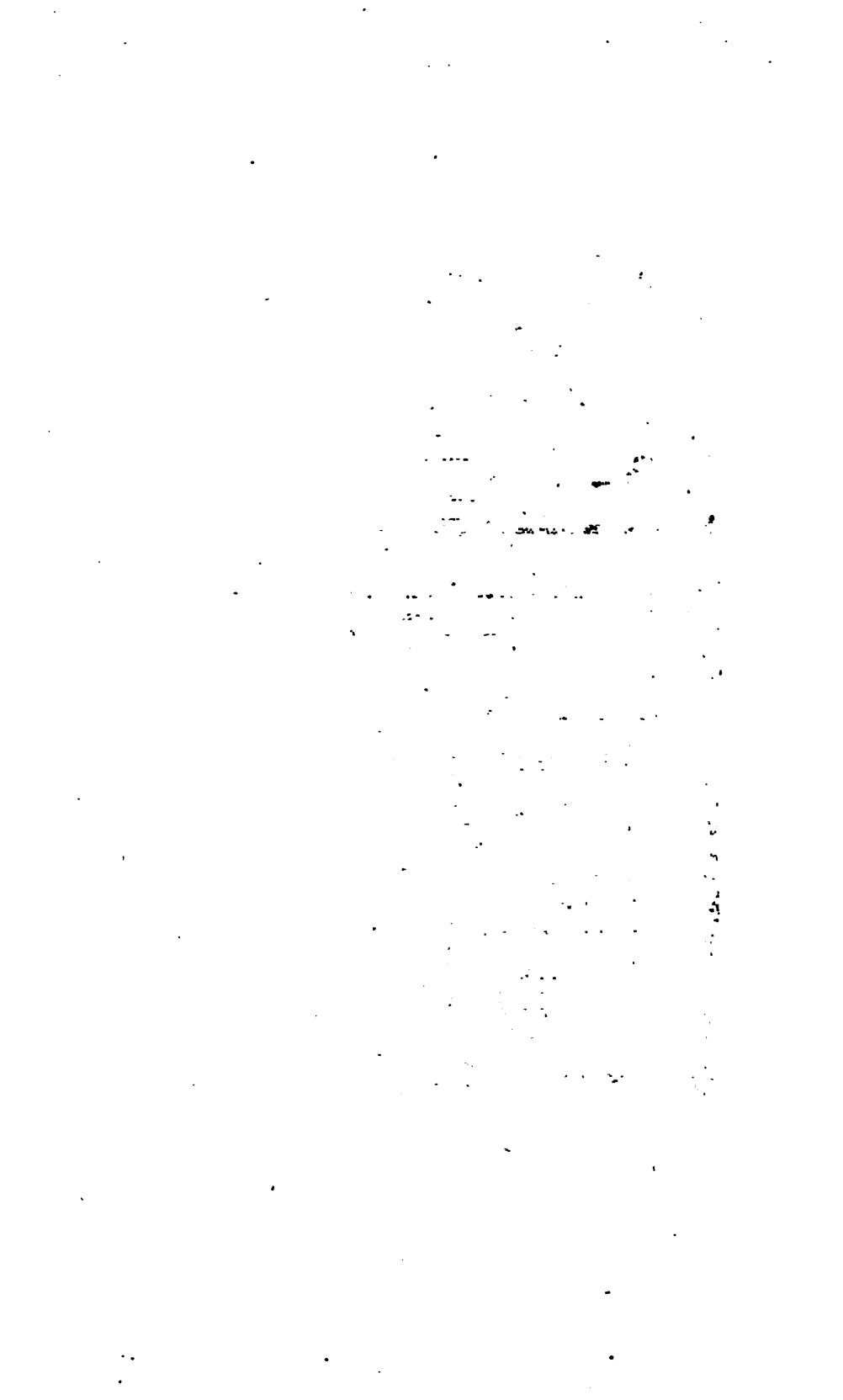
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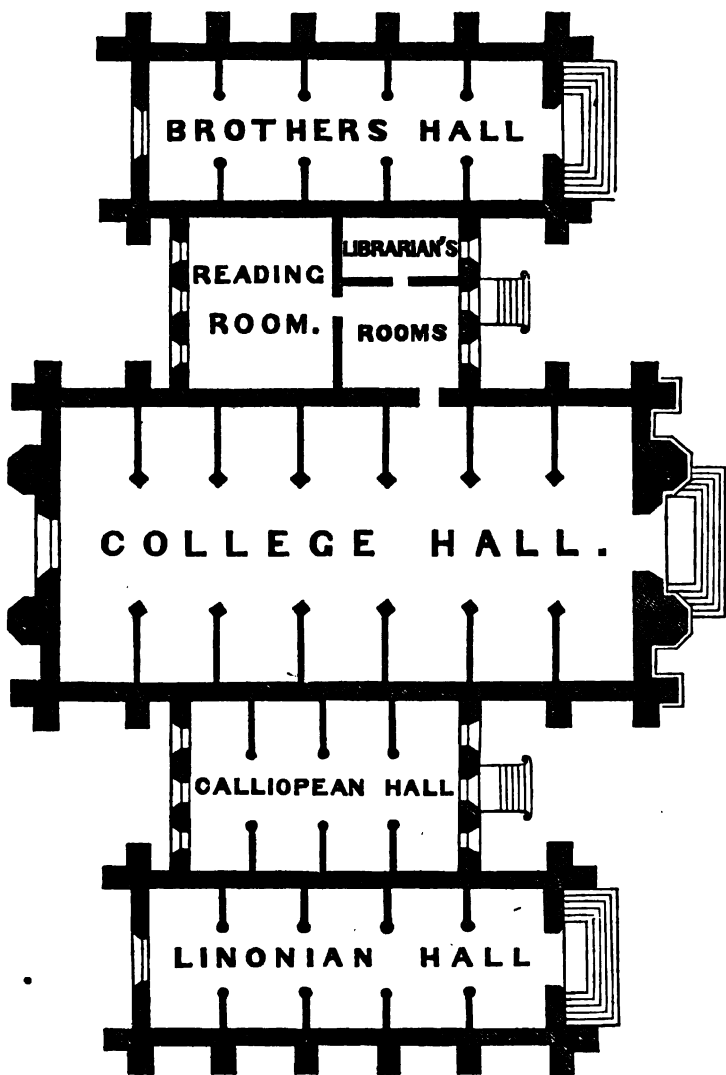
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COLLEGE HALL

ORIAN HALL







THE
NEW ENGLANDER.

No. III.

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JULY, 1843.  
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PUBLIC LIBRARIES.

AMONG the rich men who, in this country, have made wealth the means of the highest usefulness, and have gained an imperishable remembrance by their patronage of learning, none is more worthy to be named with special honor than the late William Bartlet of Newburyport. Others may have made legacies more munificent than his; but his great contributions to the cause of sacred learning were not bequests to be paid by his executors when his estate should cease to be his own, but gifts the application of which he himself superintended. In this respect, we believe, no other benefactor of public literary institutions in this country has equaled him. He gave not what had already been wrested from him by the grasp of death, but that which was in all human respects his own, while he was yet living to enjoy it. And, like a wise man as he was, he gave it that he might enjoy it. He was a plain New England man, with much soundness of judgment, and with habits and tastes decidedly utilitarian. His youth had not been blessed with any extraordinary advantages for intellectual cultivation; and he owed little to books, save what he owed to the Bible. But he had a great soul, capable of enter-

ing into great designs; and his long career of enterprise and success in commercial pursuits, had accustomed him to take large views. He was not one of the original founders of the Theological Seminary at Andover, but he early came to its aid, and adopted it as a child. Without his princely munificence, that institution would hardly have become, what it has long been, a model institution for the whole country; and surely it would never have done what it has done, and is still doing, to raise the standard of theological education in all evangelical communions, and to advance in all quarters the accurate and thorough understanding, and the eloquent exposition of the sacred oracles. The largeness of the soul which God gave him, and the large views which he had acquired as a merchant, led him to regard his great wealth as investing him with great power to do good; and he used his wealth accordingly.

We have already remarked that this good and truly great man was not particularly indebted for what he was, or for what he did, to any great number of books. One of his favorite professors at Andover, the professor of sacred literature, was one day representing to him the de-

ficiencies of the library. "Why," said the old merchant, in reply, "what can you want of more books? You have twice as many books already as you can ever read through, even if you should do nothing else." "Mr. Bartlet," replied the professor, "Did you ever read your dictionary through?" "No." "Well, the library is to us like what the dictionary is to you. We do not expect to read it through; but we must consult it continually, looking out one subject and another which our duties call us to investigate."

Few persons, besides scholars, understand the uses of a public library, such as is required in a public institution for liberal or professional education, or such as corresponds with the wants of a body of men devoted to literary and scientific pursuits. A library of popular and entertaining books, containing all the latest publications, like a shopkeeper's circulating library, is easily seen to be a public accommodation, as it enables readers to satisfy their curiosity, and provides for them a copious fund of entertainment at a comparatively slight expense. Such a library is expected to consist chiefly of the current literature of the day, the books for which there is the greatest demand, the books which every body wants to read, and of which there is therefore the most abundant supply in all quarters. But the books which give value to a great public library, are books which if not there will not be easily found any where—scarce books—old books—books in learned or foreign languages—costly books—books which find few persons to look into them, and still fewer to read them. The value of such books depends chiefly upon their being brought together in some great collection, where all who have occasion to consult them may easily find them.

In our country we can have no

permanent collections of books save in public libraries. Here and there a man of wealth may have a fancy for collecting books, here and there a professional man may accumulate a valuable library in his own particular line, and may keep it together till he dies. But in the settlement of an estate, the most troublesome kind of property to administrators or executors, and the least satisfactory to heirs or to creditors, is a large library. Some part of the collection may be distributed as keepsakes, memorials of the departed, among children and particular friends, the remainder must sooner or later be sold under the hammer. We have no great families whose libraries can go on accumulating from generation to generation.

No man becomes learned without books; and on the other hand, a good collection of books will make some learned men. A man of genius may be a poet, or an orator, or a metaphysician, like Emmons or the elder Edwards, with few books. But "it takes all sorts of men to make a world;" and in particular, it takes a great many learned men, in a great many kinds of learning, to make such a world as we have in this nineteenth century; and it will take a great many more to make such a world as our great-grandchildren ought to have, in the century that is next to come. The parish that wants a learned minister, will do well to have a good parsonage library. A regular appropriation, so small as hardly to be felt in the annual assessment for parish expenses, will be sufficient not only to keep up such a library, but to increase it continually till it becomes of great value to a studious man. Such a library, when the parish is looking out for a pastor, would be likely to attract one of those men who are earnest and diligent in the studies appropriate to the ministry, and who make their profiting appear to all. Such a library would

bind a studious pastor to his place and to his people. The sight of such a library would testify that the people who have provided it, and who maintain it, expect to have "a scholar for their minister." To that parish the chances of their having a succession of learned pastors, would be greatly augmented. So if the citizens of a thriving town are ambitious of something better than a reputation for wealth, business and fashion; if they would have learned men among them in the various walks of professional life; if they would spread over their whole community the elevating influence of learning and science; let them establish a public library which shall grow with their growth, and be regarded by all as one of their most honored institutions. A thousand dollars annually for the support and increase of a public library, in a thriving town of ten thousand inhabitants, would be no burthensome tax on the liberality and public spirit of its citizens. Yet that small contribution continued for a few years, would build up a library the value of which, not only in attracting to that place the best sort of citizens, but also in its influence on the character of the town generally, on the tastes and habits of the people, and on the education of the young, would be not easily calculated. The great public libraries of Boston are not only valuable to the profound and accomplished scholars in every department of learning, who use them the most, and enjoy them the most; they constitute one great ornament and attraction of that most beautiful of American cities; their influence is felt upon every other institution that co-operates with them in giving an intellectual and thoughtful character to society there; they contribute indirectly to increase the privileges of every citizen. A few years hence, the Astor Library in New York will have become the center and

the life of all the literary institutions of that great Babylon, and its influence will be felt, far off, by myriads that never drink of the waters of the Croton. The citizens of Hartford are doing well for themselves and their children, and for the character of their state and of New England, in the beautiful and spacious edifice which they are now erecting, of the most durable materials, to be filled with books, with paintings and sculpture, and with collections in natural history, and which is to bear the name of a distinguished citizen whose quiet munificence has made him a memorable benefactor of his native town.

We present to the readers of this number of the *New Englander*, an engraved view of the Gothic pile which the corporation of Yale College have begun to build for the libraries of that institution. In no respect are the colleges and universities (so called,) of our country more generally unfurnished, than in respect to books. When a college is to be founded, a library is ordinarily one of the last, and in the regards of the projectors, one of the least, things to be provided. The relation of books to learning, and of learning to a thorough education, is not appreciated by those who take the lead in such an enterprise, or at least not sufficiently appreciated by those on whose contributions the enterprise depends. It was not so with the fathers of New England. No small part of the estate which Mr. John Harvard left to the institution that has made his name immortal upon earth, consisted, if we rightly remember, in the well selected library which the young puritan preacher had brought with him into the wilderness. And when those ten pastors assembled at Branford, in 1700, to make a formal beginning of the long projected college for Connecticut, the form which they adopted in that

procedure, shows what were their ideas of a college. Each of the ten founders laid down his donation of books, with the words, "I give these books for the founding of a college in this colony." The forty folio volumes contributed on that occasion, were the foundation of Yale College. Buildings, lands, funds, professors, it had none for some time afterwards. It began with a library; and during the earlier portion of its history, a large portion of the benefactions which it received, were donations of books.

Since the beginning of the present century, the library of Yale College has not kept pace with the progress of the institution in other departments. There has been, however, a steady increase in the number of volumes; and for a few years past, the apartment which has contained them, besides being unsafe in respect to fire, and inconvenient of access, has been too small to receive the additional books which might have been purchased with the income of some small permanent funds devoted to that purpose. The literary societies of the students have also accumulated libraries amounting in all to more than twenty thousand volumes, for which no adequate and safe accommodations are provided. In these circumstances, a few friends of the college commenced a subscription to erect a fire-proof building for the libraries. The subscription was raised to thirteen thousand dollars, when it was judged impracticable to obtain a larger amount, till the commercial difficulties of the country should begin to be relieved. But that what had been pledged might not be lost, it was determined by the corporation of the college, with the consent of the subscribers, to commence the building and proceed in it so far as the amount subscribed would carry it. The walls and roof have accordingly been raised and nearly completed; and the work,

we understand, is to be suspended for the present, after a single apartment shall have been fitted up for the temporary reception of the books belonging to the college library.

This is a wise economy. Undoubtedly thirteen thousand dollars might have erected a building sufficiently ample to afford a present accommodation for all the libraries of the institution. But in erecting an edifice which is to stand for centuries, and in which room must be found to accumulate not only what may yet be collected of the literature of the present and of former ages, but the countless volumes to be produced by future generations, it would be bad policy to regard nothing but present accommodation. For the institution to involve itself in debt, for the sake of completing such a structure, would indeed be folly. A debt thus incurred, would be paid with the greatest difficulty. But if the corporation stop, as we understand they are determined to stop, at the limit of their actual resources, then, though the building should stand unfinished for a quarter of a century, posterity will find no occasion to regret the greatness of the plan. The building itself, even unfinished, is a pledge that hereafter the enlargement of the library is to be a leading object with those who have the direction of that institution.

The view before us, presents the east front, which faces the rear of the well known line of college buildings. The west front is upon the street which bounds the college square in that direction; and the great west window looks directly up a new street, opened within a few years past, and to be opened still farther. The position which it occupies, is equidistant from the two extremes of the line of college edifices; so that the libraries will hereafter be, as is fit, the central thing in the whole establishment.

It is hardly necessary to add a description of the building. The ground plan and the view tell the whole story, except what relates to dimensions. The whole pile extends its front, including the buttresses above the base, one hundred and fifty-one feet. The front of the main building, measured in the same way, is fifty-one feet; and its depth from front to rear, is ninety-five feet. The front of each of the extreme wings is thirty feet, and the depth sixty-seven feet. The connecting wings are each twenty-six feet by forty, between the walls. The extreme height of the towers is ninety-one feet.

The main building, designed to contain the college library, will include only one room, the interior measurement of which will be forty-one feet by eighty-three. It will resemble in form a Gothic chapel, with its nave and aisles. The height of the nave will be fifty-one feet; its breadth seventeen feet. Between the clustered pillars of the nave, there will be alcoves, as shown in the ground plan, fourteen in number, and each ten feet by twelve in extent. A gallery is to extend on all sides of the room, and is to contain the same number of alcoves. The ceiling is to be finished with groined arches.

The extreme wings, and the south connecting wing, will be finished for the several society libraries, with alcoves and galleries, and shelves for books above the galleries. The north connecting wing will contain a suite of rooms for the librarian, and a reading room, in which books may be consulted at all times.

The walls are of red sandstone, from the quarries at Portland, on the Connecticut river. The roofs are covered with tin. And though the several buildings are thrown into one pile, for convenience, as well as for architectural reasons, each library occupies a fire-proof building by itself, completely separated from the others. Thus the security against fire is about as nearly perfect as the nature of the case will permit.

The entire cost of the building, when completed, is expected to fall short of thirty thousand dollars.

It is perhaps due to the architect to say, that the pinnacles which crown the buttresses will not seem so tall and bayonet-like in the building, as they are represented by the engraver. Mr. Henry Austin of New Haven, is a self-taught man, as all our architects are; but the new Episcopal church in Hartford, and the Wadsworth Athenaeum there, as well as this building, show that he was made for "head work."

It is discreditable to our country, that there is no place within our boundaries, where instruction is given in the art of architecture, as distinguished from the trades of the mason and the carpenter. All our architects, therefore, with perhaps an exception or two, are mechanics, whose native genius has raised them above the mechanical part of their profession.

We have given these details, not merely as interesting to the numerous alumni and friends of Yale College in all parts of the Union, but that the patrons of other institutions may be moved to do likewise.

THE ABORIGINAL INHABITANTS OF CONNECTICUT.*

THE Indians of North America, when they first became known to Europeans, were separated into subdivisions almost numberless. Every prominent feature in natural scenery; the river—the bay—the mountain—gave its name to the few natives that clustered round it. Without central governments; with no systems of general law, and no very definite limits of territory; the separate fractions of the race presented, at first view, none of the external marks which lead at once to a wider classification. But a longer and more intimate acquaintance with the multitudinous tribes, has fully established the fact, that a few great classes or families embraced them all. In the inquiry before us, our attention will be fixed, for the most part, upon one of these families—upon that, namely, which, sometimes called the *CHIFFEWAY*, is best known, however, by its French name *ALGONQUIN*.

The Algonquin tribes were once the most numerous, and so far as numbers can give strength, the most powerful in North America. Beginning at the Gulf of St. Lawrence, their territory ran along the Atlantic coast as far south as southern Virginia; bounded in this quarter by the country of the Chero-

kees and Tuscaroras, it passed westward across the mountains, reaching the Mississippi at the mouth of the Ohio, and separated by the former river from the great family of Dahcotas, which inhabits its western bank; from this point advancing northward, it embraced the present States of Kentucky, Illinois, Indiana, and Michigan; the Territory of Wisconsin; the lakes Michigan and Superior; and penetrating the wild regions beyond them, found at last its northern limit in the high latitude of the Great Slave Lake. All the Indians of New England were branches of the Algonquin stock; a fact which rests its proof upon their general resemblance in form and feature; the similarity of their habits and manners, and more than all, the radical identity of the languages spoken by the various tribes.

Historians have been accustomed to reckon five principal Indian nations within the present boundaries of New England. This enumeration, however, is far from perfect, as it makes no mention of the tribes inhabiting Maine, and fails also to include a considerable number of the smaller and less important clans which were scattered, here and there, over the other New England states. These five nations or confederacies were as follows: the Pawtuckets, inhabiting the sea-coast of New Hampshire; the Massachusetts, surrounding the bay which still bears their name; the Pokanokets, a tribe made famous by the exploits of their renowned sachem, Philip, whose territories lay in the neighborhood of the Plymouth colony; the Narragansets, occupying a part of Rhode Island, and finally, the Pequods. These last were almost wholly within the limits of Connecticut, and they were destined to fill one brief

* For the facts and statements contained in this article, we have depended mainly upon the following works:—Trumbull's History of Connecticut, Bancroft's History of the United States, Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, Mather's Magnalia, Adair's North American Indians, Gookin's Historical Collections of the Indians in New England, Wood's New England's Prospect, Winslow's Relation, and Roger Williams' Key to the Indian Languages. We make this general acknowledgment, to avoid the tediousness of repeated reference; but in all cases where information has been derived from other sources than these, the proper credit will be given by the way.

but terrible chapter in the history of the State.

At the first settlement of the country, the tribe of Pequods was the most warlike and powerful that could any where be found east of the Hudson river. The pestilence which but a short time before had spread such desolation among the neighboring Indians; which reduced the Pokanokets to five hundred warriors; the Pawtuckets to two hundred and fifty, and left scarcely one hundred men among the once numerous Massachusetts: * this destroying scourge passed lightly over the country of the Pequods, and, certainly not for any virtues in them, spared this nation of ferocious savages. Not to this fact alone, however, did they owe their relative preëminence among the natives, for they were outnumbered by their immediate neighbors, the Narragansets, with whom they were continually at war. The Narragansets also surpassed them in civilization, if such a word can be properly applied to any portion of the Indian race. It was their bravery and ferocity in battle; their love of warfare and cruelty to their captives, which made the very name of Pequod a fearful sound in the ear of every native whom their power could reach.

The tradition is, that this tribe came down from the interior at some period not very remote, and conquering for themselves the fine country in the southeastern part of Connecticut, established their chief quarters in the territory now occupied by the towns of New London, Groton, and Stonington. When the English first visited the state, Sassacus, the chief sachem of the Pequods, held his royal residence in a large fortress on a commanding hill in Groton, from whence he was continually making hostile incursions

into the surrounding country, and whither he was wont to retire, whenever he could not safely keep the field.

Directly north of the Pequods, and separated from them by uncertain boundaries, lay the country of the Mohegan tribe; the only one which from first to last, proved friendly to the whites. The dominion of this tribe extended to the northern limits of Connecticut, including by conquest, a portion of the Nipmuck territory, which, for this reason, was sometimes called the "Mohegan conquered country." The numbers of the Mohegan tribe were originally small. There is reason indeed to believe that it was no more than a fractional portion of the Pequods, living in separation and rebellion. It is certain at least that Uncas, the sachem to whose talents as a warrior and ruler, the tribe owed its subsequent importance, was himself of Pequod origin, and that he married a Pequod wife.

Having thus ascertained the aboriginal inhabitants of the eastern section of the state, we pass next to the rich and beautiful valley of the Connecticut. Perhaps no other part of the United States, certainly none in New England, was so densely populated as this. The fine meadows which lay spread out on each side of the river, were easy of cultivation, and abundant in their harvests; the river itself was full of fish, and in the forests which skirted the valley, might be found great numbers of bears, wolves, deer, foxes, and such other wild animals as the Indian hunted for amusement, or sought for food.

The inhabitants of the Connecticut valley were known among the English by the general appellation of River Indians. There was, however, no bond of political connection between the various tribes included by this single name. Each was governed by its own chieftain,

* Historical Memoir of Plymouth, by Baylies, I, 45.
Vol. I.

independent of all the rest, so far at least as any government was found necessary or possible. In the ancient town of Windsor alone, there were no less than ten distinct sovereignties. Perhaps no place in the United States, of equal territory, could count so many Indian inhabitants as Windsor. They were also numerous in Hartford and Wethersfield. In East Hartford, upon the river to which they have left their name, the Podunks could muster about two hundred warriors. In Middletown, dwelt the Mattabeset tribe, and in Chatham, on the opposite bank of the river, the Waugungs. Lyme was occupied by the Nehantics, and East Haddam, then called Machemoodus, by a tribe, whose reported intercourse with evil spirits, was formerly supposed to have some connection with the celebrated Moodus noises. The Indians on the river were generally well disposed toward the English, to whom they looked for protection from their terrible enemies, the Pequods on the one side, and the Mohawks on the other.

In many places west of the river they were likewise numerous. At Guilford there was one small tribe, and another in Branford and East Haven. New Haven was occupied by the Quinnipiacks. They were also scattered in considerable numbers along the shores of the Sound, in the direction of New York, at Milford, Derby, Stratford, Norwalk, Stamford, and Greenwich. Milford especially was full of them. Back in the interior of the state they had but few settlements; their dread of the Mohawks having driven them away from the whole western border. They were found, however, as far west as Woodbury, New Hartford, and Simsbury, and the pleasant banks of the Tunkis in Farmington, were inhabited by a warlike tribe whose numbers, according to President Stiles, were greater than those of any other in

the neighborhood of the Connecticut.*

Allusion has been more than once made to the Mohawks. Although surrounded by the territory of the Algonquins, this tribe belonged to another and a hostile race, speaking a different language, and possessing a different character—the Huron-Iroquois. The country of the Iroquois embraced large portions of Pennsylvania and Ohio, the greater part of New York, together with the whole peninsula of Upper Canada. Less numerous than the surrounding Algonquins, but far more bold and warlike, they made the terror of their name felt for more than a thousand miles beyond their boundaries. Accustomed to estimate the glory of the warrior only by the number of scalps which hung in his cabin, they were ever on the alert, far and near, to snatch from the heads of their enemies, these ghastly tokens of their prowess. Departing on their distant expeditions, not usually in large numbers, for they trusted more to cunning than to open force, they glided unseen through the closest paths in the forest, patiently enduring cold and hunger and fatigue, they wandered, sometimes over mountains apparently inaccessible, sometimes along the beds of rivers, that they might leave no trail behind them, until they found themselves in the immediate neighborhood of the enemy they sought. There they awaited, with patient expectation, the favorable moment for attack, and when it came, sudden and secret as the lightning, their blows were never seen before they fell. When their object was accomplished, they vanished once more into the forest, baffling all pursuit, and leaving no token of the foray, save the ruin which they had wrought.

It is not strange, therefore, that the warriors of this daring nation

* Porter's Historical Discourse, p. 26.

were held in the highest fear by the feeblers natives of Connecticut. The latter had no confidence in themselves, however much superior in numbers, when opposed to their more powerful neighbors; for the very name of Mohawk was enough to scatter their forces in a moment. All the tribes west of the river were found by the English with the usual marks of subjection upon them; paying an annual tribute, and groaning under the capricious cruelties which savage masters know so well how to inflict.

With regard to the total number of Indians in Connecticut at the settlement of the state, nothing now can be certainly known. Trumbull has reckoned them at twenty thousand, an estimate which is probably not very far from the truth. Bancroft, however, gives to the whole Algonquin race a population of only ninety thousand; so that allowing both estimates to be substantially correct, Connecticut must have been populated out of all proportion to the rest of the Algonquin territory. We know, indeed, that Vermont was wholly without aboriginal inhabitants; that large portions of Maine, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts, were in the same condition, and that from some cause unknown, the fruitful fields and flowing rivers of the west were in a great measure destitute of the abundant population which they are so well calculated to sustain. It is possible, therefore, that the opinions of both historians may be correct, although they make it necessary to suppose that the narrow limits of Connecticut embraced more than one-fifth of the whole population of the vast Algonquin country.

The origin of the American aborigines has been a favorite subject of speculation ever since the discovery of the continent. The history of the various theories which have been elaborated for the purpose of populating the country in a

legitimate manner, would furnish the reader with an inexhaustible fund of amusement or of sorrow, according as he might be disposed to laugh at intellectual folly or to weep over it. But we have neither time nor inclination to enumerate all these theories—two or three of them may be taken at random to set forth their general character.

Some writers on this subject have supposed the aborigines of America to be descendants of the Canaanites, who were driven by Joshua out of the promised land.* Some profess to deduce their origin from the old Norwegians; excluding, however, Yucatan and the parts adjacent, which according to this theory were peopled by Ethiopic Christians, thrown upon the coast by storm or otherwise.† With not a few it has been a favorite speculation, that the American Indians are the pure-blooded offspring of the lost tribes of Israel;‡ a theory which is likely to profit little by later discoveries of the same wandering race in other parts of the globe. Some have ventured to maintain that the separation which now exists between the eastern and western continents, is of comparatively recent origin; that the century is not very distant when South America was united with Africa, and North America with Asia and Europe.§ Earthquakes of course, the ever ready helpers of a theorist in dilemma, were the causes of the disruption which has taken place. The honor of beginning the population of this continent has also

* "Gomara et Jean de Lery font descendre tous les Amériquains des Cananéens, chassé de la-terre promise par Josué." Charlevoix; *Dissertation sur l'origine des Amériquains*.

† Grotius: *De Origine Gentium Americarum*. In his opinion respecting Yucatan, Grotius follows Peter Martyr.

‡ Adair occupies a large part of his voluminous work in earnestly advocating this opinion.

§ Abbé Clavigero; *History of Mexico*, III, 109.

been given by different writers to the Phenicians, the Carthaginians, the Germans, the Welch, the Icelanders, the Moors, the Scythians, the Chinese—indeed scarcely a nation exists in the eastern hemisphere, which some philosophic speculator has not made the undoubted original of the Indian tribes. To this superabundance of theory, Cotton Mather has added a singular notion of his own. His love of the supernatural would not suffer him to admit any agency in this matter less distinguished than that of the great enemy of mankind. It was he who first moved in the business of emigration, and his devilish object was to carry at least a portion of the human race to a land so distant that the gospel of peace and pardon would never reach them there.*

After this partial enumeration of the various methods of supplying America with inhabitants which the ingenuity of the learned has devised, it is no more than just to allow the Indians to speak for themselves upon the question. "They say that they have sprung up and grown in that very place like the trees of the wilderness."† Let no one smile at the simplicity of this solution, for even the brilliant and learned Voltaire has presented the same. These are his words: "The providence which placed mankind in Norway, planted them also in America, and under the Southern polar circle, even as it planted trees there and made the grass to grow."‡ This remarkable coincidence com-

pletes the circle of folly. Infidel science ends where ignorance began. Learned philosophism and savage superstition rest lovingly together upon the same broad basis.

From this wilderness of opinions it is not easy to emerge without a hearty acquiescence in the opening remark of Gookin, "concerning the original of the Indians in New England, there is nothing of certainty to be concluded." If any one chooses, however, to rest in the theory of Robertson* and Dwight,† he will probably find less to disturb him there than in almost any other position. This theory holds that the northeastern part of America was colonized from the north of Europe, and that the whole continent beside received its population from Asia by way of Bhering's Strait and the Aleutian Archipelago. A glance at the map must convince any one that such an opinion is perfectly rational, for even the white bear, on his cake of ice, has a hundred times made longer voyages than the distance which separates the two worlds.‡

Almost without exception the Indians were tall, straight and muscular. Their manner of life from the earliest period of youth was such as to insure a free and full development of the physical system; and born as they were of sturdy mothers, they inherited none of those bodily weaknesses which self-caused or otherwise, so heavily curse the females of a later race. Nearly white when new-born, the young Indian turns more and more to the tawny hue as he advances in years, until the copper-color of his nation is finally fixed upon him. A broad, square face, with considerable elevation of feature; hair black and coarse, but never curling; eyes

* "Probably the devil decoyed those miserable savages hither, in hopes that the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ would never come here to destroy or disturb his absolute empire over them." *Magnalia*, Book III.

† Roger Williams, in *Mass. Hist. Col.*, III, 205.

‡ "La providence qui a mis des hommes dans le Norvège, en a planté aussi en Amérique et sous le cercle polaire meridional, comme elle y a planté des arbres et fait croître de l'herbe." *Cœuvres*, XVI, 10.

* *History of America*, Book IV.

† *Travels in New England*, Letter IX.

‡ Bradford's *American Antiquities* is the last, and perhaps the best work on the subject which I have here lightly touched.

small, dark and keen ; these complete his outward, personal description.

Among the moral characteristics of the Indian, his passive courage was perhaps the most remarkable. The endless state of warfare in which he delighted to live, together with the cruelties so generally practiced upon captives taken in battle, gave numberless occasions for the exercise of a fortitude which the stoic or the fatalist might have wondered to behold. When fastened to the stake, and yielding up his life by the keenest tortures, not a rebellious muscle testified to the agony of death. No sound escaped his lips ; or if his voice was heard among the yells of his tormentors, it was neither the shriek of pain nor the cry for deliverance, but a song as defiant and triumphant as any that burst from the lips around him. To the extremities of heat and cold, he was in a great degree insensible. The longest journeys could scarcely be said to fatigue him. With a little cake made from the meal of parched corn for his food, and water from any stream for his only drink, he would travel day after day with but scanty resting, and arrive fresh and unwearied at his post. His patient endurance of fatigue and suffering was marked with one exception, however, which the faithful pen of Williams has not hesitated to record, although it presents a ludicrous contrast to the high heroism with which death was uniformly met. He says that the Indians could not endure the toothache with any kind of equanimity, but that they cried aloud for very pain, when this tormentor was upon them.

The Indian was also characterized by a remarkable sense of justice, as we may call it, manifested alike in the opposite directions of revenge and gratitude. The *lex talionis* was his only law. An injury was never forgiven until expiation had been made, and on the

other hand, a benefit never forgotten until repaid in kind. He lived under the great law of nature ; life for life and limb for limb ; a law which was made by Divine authority the rule for the administration of justice by magistrates under the Mosaic system ; which Pharisaic interpretation perverted into a Divine rule of private conduct ; and which Christ forbids as a law of action between individuals, because God has said, "Vengeance is mine ; I will repay." Let us not therefore condemn the Indian with too great severity, if in his utter ignorance of the Divine command, and without any competent tribunal of earthly justice to which he might appeal for redress, he so often obeyed the instinctive impulses of his nature, and made himself the judge and avenger of his own wrongs. Let us rather contemplate the more agreeable manifestations of this same principle of retribution, when instead of evil for evil, it aimed only at rendering good for good.

The elder Winthrop has left an anecdote on record which curiously illustrates the ingenuity of Indian gratitude. Massasoit, the sachem of the Pokanokets, was once restored from dangerous sickness to health by the medical skill of Edward Winslow, a leading man among the first settlers of the Plymouth colony. This friendly service he never forgot, but manifested to the whites in every possible manner, his grateful sense of the benefit which he had received from one of their number. On a certain occasion, Winslow, who had been absent for some time in Connecticut, returned through the country of his friend Massasoit, and stopped at his quarters to spend the night with him. Immediately after his arrival, the sachem secretly despatched his swiftest runner to the colony, bidding him announce with the most truthful air which he could assume, the sudden death of his honored

guest ; even the very time and manner of it were minutely dictated. The next morning, refreshed by the hospitalities of the wigwam, Winslow pursued his homeward journey. On his arrival at Plymouth, he was not a little surprised to find the whole population lamenting his untimely departure, while they were certainly not less amazed to behold him once more in the flesh. When Massasoit next visited the colony, he was requested to explain the object of this singular falsehood. Without seeming to suspect the least impropriety in the course he had taken, the old sachem replied, that he was strongly desirous of making his white friends happy, and that he could think of nothing which would give them greater pleasure than to have their friend and counselor suddenly restored to their arms in the very midst of their mourning for his loss. The story stops at this point, but we may reasonably conjecture that while the benevolent motive of the old chieftain was properly acknowledged, he was at the same time taught that truth is even more sacred than friendship.*

Hospitality was another characteristic of the Indians. The stranger was always welcome. If he came in the night, hungry and weary, men and women roused themselves from slumber, and cheerfully provided for his wants. The best wigwam, usually that of the sachem, was appointed for his habitation while he remained, and he was troubled with no questions concerning the object of his visit or the time of his departure.

Generosity was also a common virtue. They had little to give, it is true, but whatever they had was freely offered. Whenever one of them had been unusually successful in the chase or on the water, a part of his fish and flesh was always dis-

tributed among his neighbors. Of the sick their friendship was never forgetful. They filled his hut and crowded round it with offers of aid ; not always judicious, indeed, but giving the most ample testimony to the generous warmth of their hearts. On the recovery of the invalid, it was a general custom with them to send him presents, as some compensation for the expenses attendant upon disease ; a custom beautiful in itself, and rendered especially necessary by the improvidence of the Indian, for it was no part of his practical wisdom to make health labor for sickness, or youth for old age.

His aversion to labor was such, indeed, that nothing but the urgency of natural wants could rouse him to exertion ; and when the immediate necessity was satisfied, no thought of the future prevented his return to idleness. He might suffer the severest pangs of famine in the long and dismal winters of the north ; the winds might pierce his miserable dwelling, and cause even his hardened flesh to shrink from their icy touch, but the experience of these and similar evils could not persuade him to make any effectual provision against them. War and the chase alone excepted, the *dolce far niente* was the paradise of the Indian.

But war was his delight, and whenever his energies were roused by an impulse of this nature, he exhibited the most abundant resources of cunning, courage, patience and perseverance ; of nearly all the qualities, indeed, which were best calculated to insure success. In the conduct of warfare, the Indian fought with little regard to military discipline or to the commands of his leader. He trusted to himself in a remarkable degree. Sometimes a single warrior, in search of glory or revenge, would leave his tribe hundreds of miles behind him, and penetrate alone the country of

* Winthrop's History of New England, I, 138.

his enemy. The history of civilized nations can furnish 'no example of greater self-reliance than was exhibited in such enterprises as these.

Among the moral characteristics of the Indian, it only remains to notice his comparative indifference to sensual pleasures. In this one respect he presented a striking contrast to nearly every other savage, removed as far as he was from all the restraints of civilized and Christian life. Food of the most simple character was all that his appetite demanded; his thirst was always slaked and satisfied with a little water from the spring. If, as was sometimes the case, he was obliged to fast two or three days in succession, he submitted in patience to the necessity, never seeming to regard it as a hardship worthy of complaint. But it may be said that the Indian was indifferent to the pleasures of the palate, only because he was ignorant of the sources of gratification. He knew no food more inviting than his half-cooked fish and flesh; no drink more pleasant to the taste than water; and not being conscious of deficiency, he therefore sought for nothing better than that which he already possessed. It may be so. Let us, however, venture to extend the inquiry to another appetite, which, next to hunger and thirst, is the most imperious of all in its demands; to that upon which the continued existence of the race depends. Passing upon this ground, we find the same characteristic of comparative indifference; the Indian is still "the stoic of the woods." To him the female of his race was not, as in civilized society, a companion and friend; nor yet, as elsewhere, the mere object of voluptuous desire; but he seemed to look upon her as little other than a slave and beast of burden. His conduct exhibited none of those tender sentiments which, grounded on the dif-

ference of the sexes, soften and harmonize their intercourse, but he stood aloof in his cold superiority, waited on with trembling by his female drudges.

During the wars which he so frequently and fiercely waged against the whites, many of their wives and daughters were taken captive and carried into his own country. Although these prisoners were entirely at his disposal; although they were subject to insult and injury of every other kind; there is yet no instance recorded of the perpetration of that violence which female virtue reckons worse than death. How shall we account for this remarkable temperance? How can it be accounted for, except upon the ground that the Indian master, whether from natural temperament or manner of life,* or indeed from the joint influence of both these causes, was in a great measure insensible to the ordinary power of female beauty? No other explanation is free from insuperable difficulties. The lust of the savage is his law. Whatever desire urges and opportunity presents to his hand, he does; restrained even by the slightest barriers of external prohibition, and hearing the faintest whisper from the voice within. If then, at any time, he seems to respect the claims of virtue, his continence must be attributed, not so much to a kindred virtue in himself, as to the absence of every impulse toward its violation.

When the young Indian arrived at marriageable years, he began to look about him for a companion in life. Having found one that suited his fancy, he paid his addresses to her by the gift of such trinkets and treasures as he supposed would be most pleasing to her taste. If his presents were rejected, his suit was lost; if received, it was the token

* "Sine Baccho et Cerere friget Venus."

of his own acceptance, but marriage did not immediately follow. The young couple lived together for a time on trial. At the end of the probationary period, if they were pleased with each other, they were united in wedlock ; if not, they separated, each to make another experiment in a different quarter. After marriage, the first object of the young husband was to provide a dwelling for his wife and himself. This was accomplished in the following manner. Having chosen a spot for his house, with especial reference to the convenient neighborhood of wood and water, he proceeded to form its roof and walls by bending down toward a common center, the tops of a circle of stout saplings, and closely interlacing their trunks with strips of bark. This done, it only remained to cut a hole in the top of the hut for the passage of the smoke ; to make an opening on the side for the ingress and egress of its inhabitants ; to cover the structure, within and without, with mats to keep it warm, and then the simple dwelling of the Indian was completed.

In the division of family duties, the whole drudgery of life was imposed upon the female. While the husband was engaged in hunting or fishing, the wife was compelled to cultivate the field ; to supply the wigwam with food and water ; to carry home the game which her husband had taken—in short, whenever toilsome and inglorious work of any kind was to be done, she was the only laborer. There was but a single exception to this domestic law. The Indian *could* condescend to labor in the field for one purpose. His darling plant, tobacco, was thought worthy to receive his personal care. The manner of life to which the Indian female, even from a child, was bred, although in itself most ungenerous and oppressive, was attended with at least one salutary effect. It gave her

a strength of bodily constitution scarcely inferior to that of her master. Her powers of endurance were astonishing. The curse of her sex was nearly lost upon her. "I have often known," says Williams, "in a quarter of an hour, a woman merry in the house, and delivered and merry again ; and within two days abroad, and after four or five days at work." The number of wives was unlimited, yet polygamy, though not rare, was by no means universal among them. Divorces frequently took place, for little beside the inclination of the parties kept them together. Adultery was considered a hainous crime, although the sexual intercourse of the unmarried was under no restraint, either of law or public opinion. The children of the Indians were treated by their parents with great affection and indulgence, but parental kindness was seldom repaid or even remembered. The aged and helpless were frequently left to perish in neglect, without the slightest token of love or offer of aid from those to whom they had given birth. In the heart of the Indian, the current of affection, forsaking the parents, ran always forward toward the children ; and this truth continuing from one generation to another, it came to pass that filial ingratitude was ever justly punished in the very manner of its own sin. The child who had neglected his parent, becoming a parent himself, was in turn neglected by the children whom he had begotten.

Of iron and steel the Indian had no knowledge. All the tools which he used were made of wood, shells, and stone. The hoe with which the Indian women cultivated the fields, was a clam-shell. Their axe was of stone, having a withe fastened round the neck of it for a handle. Their mortars, pestles, and chisels, were also of stone ; and they had moreover stone knives, sharpened to so keen an edge that they could

easily cut their hair with them. Two methods of hunting were in use among the natives. Sometimes they followed their game in companies of two or three hundred men, scouring the forests, and destroying multitudes of the sylvan inhabitants, with the same weapons which they used in war. Sometimes they filled the woods with traps of various fashions, and spent their time in passing from one trap to another, to secure whatever had been taken in them. In fishing, they employed nets made of hemp; lines terminating in a hook of bone; and in shallow water, arrows or sharpened sticks, in the use of which they were very skillful.

Their weapons of war were the bow and arrow, the spear, and the tomahawk. The string of the bow was made either of hemp or of the sinew of some wild animal. The arrow was commonly headed with a sharp stone, but sometimes with the horn of the deer, and the claw of the eagle. The spear was nothing more than a long pole, sharpened at the end, and hardened in the fire. The tomahawk, by no means the deadly weapon which the Indian has used since iron was given him, was merely a stick of two or three feet in length, headed with a knob or a stone. Such were the simple arms of the aborigines, and although with these they were able to carry on the warfare of ambushment and surprisal, which they loved so well, yet we can not wonder that a few shots of European musketry so often drove hundreds of them from the open field.

The Indian was not without a circulating medium, to represent the value of the little property which he possessed. His coin was called *wampumpeag*, or more briefly, *wampum*, and was of two kinds, the white and the black. The black was just double in value to the white. It was wrought from shells into the form of beads, to be strung as beads

are, and reckoned by the fathom. A fathom of wampum was worth not far from five English shillings. This Indian money served a double purpose, being used for ornament as well as trade. Chains and bracelets were made of it, and worn upon the neck and wrists, while belts curiously wrought, encircled the body. Indeed nearly the whole dress of the more wealthy was covered by it, for the ostentation of riches is confined to no state of society, and to no period of the world. There was not any restriction upon the manufacture of this money, but whoever chose to make it, was at liberty to do so.

In what is called driving a bargain, the Connecticut Indian was scarcely inferior to the Connecticut white. An old historian says, "they will be at all markets, and try all places, and run twenty, thirty, yea, forty miles and more, and lodge in the woods, to save six pence." Their trade was principally in furs; but sometimes in corn, venison, and fish. It was never safe to allow them credit, for whoever did so, most commonly lost both his debt and his customer.

The political institutions of the Indians were of the very simplest character. A hereditary sachemdom was the only authority recognized among the tribes. In theory, the power of the sachem was absolute; but whenever a question of more than usual interest or difficulty arose, he always sought the advice, and was guided by the wisdom of his counselors. His actual influence with his subjects depended far more upon personal character, than upon birth or station. The sachem who was not the leader of his tribe, in fact as well as name, could not long command their respect or obedience. Females were not excluded from the regular line of succession, although the early history of New England presents but few examples of such government.

The dignity of the crown was sustained by the liberal contributions of the people. Offerings of corn and other productions of the soil were annually made to the sachem, who received also one fourth of all venison taken in the chase. If his dominions included any portion of sea-coast, whatsoever was cast upon the shore, were it ship or whale, belonged to him.

The administration of justice was among the duties of the sachem, who united in his single person, the legislative, judicial, and executive functions. The Indian who had transgressed the laws of his tribe, not only received his sentence from the lips of his chief, but ordinarily, the punishment decreed, was inflicted by the hand of the judge himself. In every such instance, the criminal submitted in silence to the discipline of his master.

The sachem was assisted in council by a certain order of men called the *Paniese*. He availed himself of their wisdom in time of quiet, and in war they formed his body-guard. Selected as the *Paniese* were, from the most promising of the young men, trained to dare every danger, and endure all hardships, they constituted not only the defense of the sovereign, but in a great measure, the strength of the whole tribe. They founded their claim to the respect of the people, not more upon their personal merits, than upon their pretended intercourse with the invisible world. They were wise enough to know that the great weakness of the savage is his superstition, and taking advantage of this weakness, they established their power in this world on a firmer basis, by deriving their authority from the powers of the world to come.

The mind of the Indian, degraded and dark as it might be, was nevertheless not without a few faint glimpses from the eternal world. Although among the lowest of mankind, he was still a man, and there-

fore not utterly destitute of those religious ideas which, by nature, belong to every human soul. He believed in a Supreme Being, and in a future state; he recognized a ruling Providence in the affairs of this world, and a retribution hereafter. These great principles of natural religion were as really, if not so beautifully developed in the wilds of North America, as they ever had been in the porch and the academy of ancient Greece; for wherever the Almighty enkindles the immortal fire of a human soul, he never leaves it without implanting in its nature a witness of himself.

The religion of the Indian was polytheistic in the very highest degree; but like every other polytheist, he had his greater and his lesser deities. *Kiehtan* was his name for the good God, the creator of the world, and the bountiful bestower of every blessing. His home was in the southwestern heavens, and to his presence went the souls of the good, when death called them to leave the earth. He named his devil, *Hobbamock*. This bad spirit was the fountain of all evil; and fear, which among savages is always stronger than love, led the Indian to court his favor with prayers and offerings, and nearly every form of deprecatory worship. Beside these two principal deities, there was a multitude of local gods, who were known by the general name of *Manitou*. With these subordinate spirits the whole world of the Indian was overflowing. The classical student is familiar with the beautiful superstition of that land where every wood had its dryad; every fountain its naiad—where the rainbow was the garment of one god, and the sun the golden chariot of another—where the Lares and Penates watched over the household hearth—where Jupiter thundered in the heavens, and Neptune rose from the sea. But the fancy of the Indian was even more prodigal of its

treasures than the poetry of brilliant Greece. He filled and crowded every object in nature with spiritual existence. The great points of the compass, east, west, north, south, had each its peculiar god. The sun, the moon, the sea, and the fire, were all the abodes of supernatural beings. Even the involuntary motions of the body were attributed to the power of resident spirits. It was a god who made the heart to beat; yet another god who filled the lungs with vital air. It was a god (Somnus by a different name,) who sat upon the eye-lids and pressed them down in slumber; still another god who lifted those lids, and let in the light of the morning. So also whenever any thing took place, the cause or manner of which they did not at once perceive, they were always accustomed to say, *Manitou*, it is a god. "At the apprehension of any excellency in man, woman, birds, beasts, fish, &c." they still cried out, with a kind of reverential admiration, it is a god. When the English first came among them, and they beheld the ships which brought them over; the buildings which they erected; their manner of cultivating the fields; their arms and clothing; and above all, their books and letters, they exclaimed one to another, *Manitoucock*, they are gods. In all this we discover, carried out to its full extent, the universal tendency of the untaught mind to refer all appearances, unusual or difficult of explanation, to the immediate agency of supernatural beings. The grand idea of something above and beyond nature, pervades the whole region of humanity, whether developed in the pantheism of the philosopher, the polytheism of the savage, or the heaven-inspired faith of the Christian.

With a belief so constantly active in the existence and power of spiritual beings, the Indians were ever seeking to propitiate their fa-

vor, by prayers and sacrifices and solemn feasts; the customary methods to which nature seems to direct the unenlightened soul. *Kiehtan*, the good god, they approached chiefly with thanksgiving, for benefits received. When victory crowned their warfare, or plenty smiled upon their fields, or success attended their efforts in any direction, it was piously attributed to the friendly aid of this benevolent spirit, and they expressed their thanks to him in song and dance, and every utterance of grateful joy.

But their principal worship was paid to *Hobbamock*, whose disposition to do them injury they strove by every means to change. They were accustomed to ascribe all their sufferings to the mischievous agency of this spirit of evil. Disease, death, defeat in battle, famine, and pestilence; these and other calamities proceeded forth from him, and fear of his power compelled them to supplicate his mercy with all the earnestness of prayer. The Indian who had lost a child, called up his family at break of day, to join him in his lamentation, and with abundance of tears, exclaimed, "Oh! God! thou hast taken away my child! thou art angry with me. Oh! turn thine anger away from me, and spare the rest of my children."* A fearful dream they conceived to be a threatening of evil from *Hobbamock*, and whenever their rest was so disturbed, they would rise at all times of the night and fall at once to supplication.

But not with prayers alone did the Indian seek the favor, and deprecate the wrath of his gods. Sacrifices were also common among them, and it has even been asserted that human life was occasionally taken for this purpose. The truth of this statement, however, is doubtful, and so long as entire certainty is wanting, we should hesitate to ad-

* Key, chap. xxi.

mit that the Indian was ever guilty of so horrible a crime. But whether or not they gave the fruit of the body for the sin of the soul, there is no question of their liberality in separating to religious purposes the most valued of their worldly possessions. Kettles, skins, hatchets, beads, and knives, all were cast by the priests into the sacred fire, and consumed to ashes; and while the conflagration was going on, they gathered around it, sometimes by hundreds, dancing and shouting, and making all kinds of discordant noises. In these religious exercises, they were led on by the priests, or as they named them, *powows*, who, to sustain their official character, made their devotion so excessively earnest, that it often left them utterly exhausted with fatigue.

The Indian *powow* was a physician as well as a priest. In every case of sickness, he was sent for to the cabin of the sufferer, where his mere presence, or if that failed, his magical incantations, were thought sufficient to restore the invalid. The credulous historian of the Narragansets, who was frequently a witness of these superstitious rites, acknowledges that "by the help of the devil, they do most certainly work great cures," although "they administer nothing, but howl and roar and hollow over them."

The heaven of the Indian was in the house of *Kiehtan*, far away in the southwest, where the spirits of the good who had left the earth, were gathered in a most happy society, enjoying in constant fullness, those pleasures which, to the simple mind of the Indian, were enough to constitute a paradise. There they engaged in the occupations which delighted them most in the world they had left behind. War, followed always by victory—the chase, with a never-failing abundance of game—feasting and dancing—these brightened the hours as they rolled along, and filled up the measure of

their heavenly happiness. But this heaven is open only to the good. The souls of thieves, liars, and murderers, go also to the house of *Kiehtan*, and ask for admission, but he replies that there is no place for them; he bids them depart, and so "they wander forever in restless want and penury."

It is worthy of remark, that the southwest was so generally distinguished by the aborigines as the peculiar quarter of their God and their heaven. This sentiment prevailed not only in Connecticut and New England, but throughout the United States. The reason of this common belief must occur to every one familiar with the climate of the country. The east wind is damp and chilly, bringing clouds and rain from the ocean; the north wind is piercingly cold; but the wind from "the sweet southwest," which unites the freshness of the west with the mildness of the south, was to the Indian, as well as to the Greek of old, the Zephyr, *the bringer of life*. Whenever his cheek was touched by the summer softness of the breezes which came from that quarter of the sky, it was not difficult for him to believe, with a literal confidence, that they were "airs from heaven."

When the Indian died, all his relatives and friends went into mourning, to testify their sorrow for his loss. In the beginning of sickness, indeed, it was customary for the females of the family to blacken their faces with soot and charcoal, and to keep them in this condition day after day; but only when disease terminated in death, did the men disfigure themselves in the same singular manner. This visible token of grief was accompanied by cries and wailings of the most mournful character. Tears plentiful as rain coursed down the cheeks of the mourners, and mingling with the soot and charcoal which covered them, presented a spectacle of woe

calculated to move far other feelings than those of sympathetic sorrow. When the body was brought to the place of burial, it was not immediately committed to the earth, but left at the side of the grave, until the friends of the dead had united once more in vociferous and long-continued lamentation. At such times, not only the women and children suffered their tears to flow freely, but even the "stoutest captains" wept in company. This duty done, the corpse was laid in the ground, wrapped in skins and mats, and covered by the same ornaments which had graced it when a living body. Whatever treasures belonged to the deceased, were also laid by his side, together with all the utensils and implements which he had been accustomed to use—as if his soul would need them in the world to which it had gone. Sometimes the body was covered with a fine red powder, of a strong scent, but not offensive, which was evidently used as "a kind of embalment."^{*} The wigwam in which he had died, was considered thenceforth uninhabitable, and always burned down or otherwise destroyed. The mat upon which the dead had lain, was spread over his grave, and his coat of skins hung up on a neighboring tree, where it was suffered to remain until it dropped to pieces. The continuance of mourning depended very much upon the dignity of the deceased; in some cases it lasted but a short time; in others a year was not thought too long to bear about the emblems of sorrow. After the funeral ceremonies had been performed, the relatives of the dead were visited by all their acquaintances, who came to express sympathy, and offer consolation. The Indian was never guilty of neglecting this important office of friendship.

A singular custom prevailed among them in regard to pronoun-

cing the names of the dead. Whoever did so was subjected to a fine, and if the offense was repeated, death was not regarded as a punishment too severe. In 1655, the Sachem Philip crossed from the main land to the island of Nantucket, for the single purpose of taking the life of John Gibbs; an Indian whose only crime was that he had spoken the name of a deceased relative of Philip. Gibbs had notice of his coming and concealed himself; the English interfered, but all arguments, together with all the money which they could collect for the ransom of the offender, were scarcely able to calm the anger of Philip, and lead him to lay aside his murderous designs.*

The inquiry in which we have thus engaged is not without a mournful interest, when we remember how like a dream when one awaketh, the old lords of the land have passed away. The pestilence which destroyed thousands of the eastern tribes just before the landing of the pilgrims of the Plymouth colony, was more rapid in its work of death, but not more sure than the surge of emigration which, but a few years later, began to roll in upon the valley of the Connecticut. Whether by sickness, by sword, or by the mere neighborhood of a stronger and wiser race, the destiny of the Indian drove him into one path, and that path led only to destruction.

But while it is impossible to regard the disappearance of whole tribes and nations without a feeling near akin to sadness, yet when we estimate aright, in all its bearings and results, the wonderful change in which their ruin was involved, who shall say that there is any room for sorrow? It is a questionable philanthropy that weeps at such a revolution. Behold the contrast. Barbarism has given place to civili-

* *Chronicles of the Pilgrims*, p. 142.

* Macy's account of Nantucket, in *Mass. Hist. Coll.* III, 159.

zation. Heathenism has yielded to Christianity. The depths of the forest, which for ages had been sacred to darkness, are now laid open to the light of the sun. The resources of the soil, which the Indian wanted industry and skill to develop, are no longer hidden beneath the surface, but on every side we behold, in all abundance and variety, the harvest of his indefatigable successor. Physical comfort, knowledge, peace, liberty, and religion—all that

is accounted excellent and desirable in the world—have become the common inheritance of the people, even upon the same soil where, two centuries ago, they were totally unknown. The whimsical Rousseau might profess to regard the savage state as the most perfect condition of humanity, yet surely, no sound mind, or benevolent heart, can remember with any thing but joy the change which two hundred years have wrought in New England.

POLITICAL STATE OF NORWAY.*

THE Scandinavian peninsula, including the countries of Sweden and Norway, is for several reasons one of the most deeply interesting portions of the world. To the geologist it presents a specimen, on the largest scale, of what the hidden inner forces of the earth can gradually accomplish. Once, it would appear, the sea covered a large part of Sweden, Finland, and northern Russia, and the mountains which divide Sweden from Norway formed a lofty island. But however this may be, it seems from indications on both sides of the peninsula, that the land is rising, being slowly upheaved by a subterranean force that grows less as you go north; shells of the same kinds with those now found in the sea, occur in beds sixty feet above the water in Norway; and the depth of the gulf of Bothnia has long been known to be decreasing, owing probably to the rise of the bottom.

Nor is this region less interesting, especially on the western coast, in its external configuration. As you

approach the coast of Norway, innumerable islets entangle a vessel in many places in a maze difficult to be threaded. When you have found your way to the coast, you discover it to be of solid primitive rock, but every where penetrated by *fjords* or *friths*, some of which run many miles up into the country. These *fjords* are said to be deeper towards the interior than where they touch the ocean, and could have been formed by no stream at their heads, for in most cases there is not back country enough to furnish the water which would be required to form the various branches and coves of the fjords that pierce at different angles into the rock. The fiord of Drontheim is above one hundred miles long, and from three to twelve broad, while one of its branches runs sixty miles up the country to the foot of the high land which divides the peninsula. Of the smaller coves Mr. Laing thus speaks.

"The hills of primary rock in some places run out into promontories, which dip into the fiord. To scramble up and down these is not work for an alderman; when one does, however, get over the keel of such a ridge, he sees a quiet beautiful scene below. The little land-

* Laing's *Journal of a Residence in Norway*. 1837. (Second edition.)

Laing's *Tour in Sweden*, in 1838, 1839.

Baird's *Visit to Northern Europe*. 1841.

Milford's *Norway and her Laplanders*. 1842.

locked bay is so shut in with rocks and woods, that it resembles a small mountain lake. The entrance is hid by trees; and the mark of high water on the white beach at the head of the cove is the only indication that it belongs to the ocean. There is generally room at its head for one fishing farmer, with his house at the foot of the rocks, a green spot for his cows and goats, and his little skiff at anchor before his door; where the lucky fellow, without ever knowing what a sea-storm is, or going out of sight of his own chimney smoke, catches in his sheltered creek the finest sea-fish, beneath the shadow of the rocky forest that surrounds him."

Having passed one of these fiords, or traced its branches up to their heads, you reach a stream running usually through a deep and often very romantic valley, and dependent for its water on the snows and lakes of the Fielde. This word, of the same origin and meaning with our *fell*, denotes a high rocky tableland, which under various names pursues a course nearly parallel with the western coast, and from which mountains arise even to the height of over seven thousand feet. On the east of the Fielde is to be found the longest and most populous of the valleys of Norway, called Guldebrandsdal, lying upon the Myosen Lake, and its principal tributary, as well as upon the stream by which it is united with the river Glommen. On the west side of the Fielde, the streams and valleys are generally short, owing to the nearness of the ridge to the ocean. Along these valleys, and in the towns upon the coast, dwell most of the inhabitants of Norway, engaged in trade and fishery, or earning their subsistence from a rocky soil, under a climate less severe indeed than that of the same parallel in Sweden, but still one which tempers the long and tedious winter with only three or four months of

warmer weather. The soil is favorable for grass, bear (a kind of grain like barley,) and potatoes; but grain is not raised in sufficient quantities to supply the wants of the inhabitants.

But the history and present condition of the people of Norway, are the strongest claim which this country has upon our interest. In some respects, it is true, they are eclipsed by the other nations of the same stock. They can show in modern times no Gustavus Vasa, the deliverer of his country from foreign oppression and the papal yoke; no Gustavus Adolphus, who was raised up to preserve the Protestant powers of central Europe from extinction; they have no naturalists to tell of like those of Sweden; no poets, sculptors, archeologists, like those who have adorned Denmark; even Iceland, the distant colony of Norway, in a frozen sea, has a far richer literature than the mother country, and has preserved the language and the heathen traditions of the olden time, which were changed or obliterated on the continent. But few histories are more remarkable than that of Norway, during its heroic age, in the tenth and eleventh centuries. That this wintry land should have sent forth the boldest of adventurers in every direction, some to people Iceland, and plant in it institutions of an admirable kind; others to possess half England, the islands of Scotland, and even parts of Ireland; others still to conquer the northwest of France, to penetrate into the Mediterranean, and obtain the ascendancy in the two Sicilies, while others formed the guard of the emperors of Constantinople; that these long known historical facts should have occurred, is certainly far more surprising than that captains from Norway and Iceland reached the shores of this western world, and possibly left their record upon Dighton Rock.

We propose to dwell for a moment upon the leading facts in the history of Norway, with a view to make more intelligible its political state at the present time—a point of great interest, to which we shall devote the main part of this article. Norway, from being under the government of Denmark, one of the most despotic countries of Europe, became in 1815, and has continued since, to be the freest monarchy in the world. How did this come about? Is the social condition of the nation such, that this freedom can be used aright and can prove a blessing? What are the leading provisions of the constitution of 1815; how does it work in hands unused to legislation; and are the historical circumstances under which the liberty of this people grew up such as to insure it health and vigor? These are questions, so interesting in themselves, so especially interesting to us, that they may well delay us for a while; nor ought we to feel much abatement of our interest, when we consider that the number of inhabitants of Norway, is not twelve millions, but only twelve hundred thousand. In the annals of our own country, some of the smaller states have a history to which we turn with far more interest than to the larger; and in the same way some of the minor nations of Europe, such as the Norse, Scotch, and Swiss, stand for most that attracts the philosophical student of history above the greatest. It is institutions, civil, social, and political, and the means by which they arose, that ought to claim our attention far sooner than battles, and lines of kings, and confederations, to keep the balance of power in Europe. Nay, it is institutions that in the end prevail, make feeble nations mighty and influential in the world's history, gain silent battles over oppressive neighbors, keep liberty alive amid fear, and make one man in some places

have more of power and of manliness in him than a hundred men in others.

It is unnecessary here to trace the history of the worshipers of Wodin, from their Scythian homes north of the Euxine, or further east, to their migration into Germany and Scandinavia, and their separation into three states under the government of divinely descended kings. They are supposed to have passed into the peninsula before the Christian era. We will leap over the interval between their earliest history and the tenth century, and first stop at the reign of Harold *haarfagr*, (or fair-haired,) a man who had much to do in shaping the future history of Norway. Soon after he ascended the throne, a contest began with the petty kings, or chiefs, who had left the sovereign little more than nominal power. This contest had important results, both for other countries and for Norway itself. The defeated chiefs, unwilling to live longer at home with their power abridged, sought new abodes abroad; and thus Normandy and Iceland received their Norwegian inhabitants. The annihilation of their power united the nation under one head, and prevented, as it seems probable, the feudal system from striking deep roots in this country. The people, to a considerable extent, held their lands of no superior; the old custom of transmitting estates to all the heirs was not superseded by a law or custom of primogeniture; no greedy nobility encroached upon the rights of the peasants; and the assembly of the people seems to have been as efficient in legislation, and in electing the monarch, as that of the nobles.

Until this time nothing was known of Christianity, except here and there by some pirate who had seen its forms in the lands he had ravaged, or had learned something of it from his captives. In the reign of Harold's second son, Hakon the

Good, who had been brought up at the Anglo-Saxon court, the first serious attempts were made to introduce the Christian faith. But the people showed their free spirit in the violent opposition which they made to the religious innovations. At an assembly in 956, a peasant named Asbiorn (Osborn,) arose and said, "that they had chosen Hakon to be their king on condition that freedom of religion should be guaranteed to all; and that if the king tried to suppress their ancient faith, they would have another in his place." Hakon yielded to the popular feeling, and even went so far as to eat horse-flesh, which, as a habit of the worshipers of Wodin, was an abomination to the Christians. His dissimulation saved him perhaps from some insurrections of the heathen party; but he lived with a wounded conscience, and at his death wished to be buried without Christian rites, in token that he had lived as a heathen, and ought to be treated as one. From this time Christianity, by slow degrees, prevailed over the old superstition. Yet in 1030, King Olaf the Saint, as he is called, having attempted to spread it by violent and wrongful means, found his chieftains in consequence deserting him to follow the standard of Canute the Great, who had invaded the country. He fled for refuge to foreign parts, and on his return with an army to regain his kingdom, was met by a body of peasants, and slain.

The institutions of the country having been cemented before the political influence of Christianity, such as it then was, began to be felt, that potent cause had little to do in modifying them or altering their strength. Norway was too poor a country for the worst effects of the unhealthy spiritual despotism of the middle ages to be produced there. The king had to be consecrated by the bishop of Drontheim, and for a time there was danger

that the ecclesiastical power would control that of the civil ruler; but there was nothing with which it could ally itself, and so grow to the height which it elsewhere reached; for the nobility were too weak to strengthen it by their aid, and the mass of the people too independent not to side with the king against priestly domination.

From the eleventh century, until the union of Denmark and Norway at the end of the fourteenth, the general aspect of Norwegian history is one of deep confusion, of invasion, revolt, and only momentary repose. The student of history learns little from the series of wars with Denmark, and of insurrections by pretenders to the crown, except that the nation would have been far happier had an unalterable rule of succession been earlier fixed, instead of resorting to the hazardous method of election. Toward the end of the thirteenth century, Magnus VI. derived his name of *lagabæter*, or law-mender, from his revision of the ancient laws and customs; and it is this code which now forms the groundwork of Norwegian jurisprudence.

The union with Denmark continued for more than four centuries, during which period Norway has no independent history. Although Denmark became a despotism, the union did not involve the introduction of despotic principles into Norway. The Danish kings, Christian IV, in 1604, and Christian V, in 1687, gave out new codes for their Norwegian subjects; but the old principles, and particularly the trial by jury, were undisturbed. This code, says Mr. Laing, "comprised in one pocket volume, is to be found in every peasant's house in Norway. The arrangement is simple and distinct. Each law occupies a single paragraph of a few lines. The professional lawyer only can be acquainted with the numerous modifications and additions to this body of

law, by subsequent enactments, or with the application of the law to special cases; but generally, no man in Norway can be ignorant of the laws affecting his property, or of his legal rights or duties." This is a great deal to say of any nation on earth; and if the half of it is true of half the citizens, we should estimate highly their intelligence and knowledge.

Denmark, having thus conferred on Norway the great blessing of leaving its antefudal institutions alone, might long have retained it in willing union, have fed poor Danish nobles with its offices, and have sent into it the higher refinement and arts of Copenhagen, but for the unfortunate and faithful alliance which this northern court formed with Bonaparte. After the destruction of one fleet by the English in 1799, and the seizure of another in 1807, without declaration of war, it was no wonder that the Danes should not have any warm affection for the liberators of Europe, whom they must have regarded much in the light of pirates. But a third wrong was to be added. In order to induce Sweden and its crown-prince, late a French marshal under Bonaparte, to join the anti-gallican alliance, so large a bribe as the whole of Norway was held out to them. Sweden accordingly aided in procuring the downfall of Bonaparte, while Denmark very honorably and naturally sided with him until the battle of Leipzig had decided his fate, and her own territory was attacked by superior enemies. At the peace of Kiel, (January 14, 1814,) the Danish king renounced the possession of Norway, and the Swedish king assured to that country the full possession of its rights and immunities.

But no one had asked the consent of Norway, a weak but independent state, to this arrangement; and the people felt as if it was time for their voice to be heard. By the re-

nunciation of the Danish king, they were thrown back upon their own sovereignty, and no oath or stipulation could longer confirm ties that had been broken without their agency. They accordingly chose Christian Frederic, heir to the Danish crown, and then governor of Norway, as their sovereign, formed the constitution which still subsists, and prepared to maintain their position against Sweden and the rest of the allied powers. But their king deserted them, giving up prerogatives which he could not maintain; and in this dilemma they consented to the union with Sweden, on condition that Norway should be a distinct kingdom, and its constitution be preserved. The King of Sweden took the oath to support the constitution; it has the guaranty of the allied powers; and thus it may be said to have a double legitimacy, for on the one hand it was made by the representatives of the nation, the legitimate fountain of power, and on the other it has all that derived and sacred legitimacy which the holy alliance could give it. It is like, in this respect, to a minister who should take presbyterian and episcopal ordination both, in order that if either should be invalid, he might by the other trace back to the true source of clerical authority.

This constitution, it is said, was framed in a hurry; but it ought to be taken into account that its framers, who were the most intelligent men of Norway, had all the models of later times before them, and in a part of their work naturally adopted the old institutions of the country for their guide. They began, therefore, almost where the constitution-mongers of France and Spain left off. Accordingly, if the constitution might in some respects be improved, on the whole it must commend itself to the friend of freedom; it carries with it the attachment of the people, and bids fair to last until foreign violence shall destroy it.

The legislative assembly, called the *Storthing*, (great thing or diet,) must consist of between seventy-five and one hundred members, and is chosen by natives who have been owners or life-renters of taxable land for five years, or burgesses of any town, or owners there of real estate to the value of one hundred and fifty dollars. The voters being registered and arranged in districts, assemble every third year to choose an intermediate body of electors, to whom the choice of representatives is confided. It would take up too much room to give the particular regulations touching the choice of these bodies. Suffice it to say that the system is so adjusted, that the towns shall have more than their share of representatives; the ratio of those whom they elect, to those chosen by the country, being as one to two. It is a part of the plan also, that the election-districts shall return more or fewer representatives; and thus provision is wisely made for the growth and decay of different portions of the country.

The *storthing* meets, as a matter of course, every third year in February, and continues in session three months. If the king sees fit to call an extraordinary meeting, they convene every second or third year, but not otherwise; and the acts passed at such extraordinary sessions, continue in force only until the assembling of the next regularly chosen *storthing*. In the ordinary meetings, every member can propose what business he pleases; at the extraordinary, the king alone has the right of the initiative. The king can also dissolve the *storthing*, but not until after it has been three months in session.

The *storthing* of 1836 was constituted, according to Mr. Laing, as follows: twenty-two were in civil, sixteen in clerical, three in military offices; four were lawyers, fourteen merchants, and thirty-seven land-owners, in all ninety-six; and of

these forty-five had sat in previous legislatures. When assembled, and after the choice of a president, which choice is repeated every week, the *storthing* divides itself into two branches, one quarter of its number being chosen to form, in a certain sense, a separate house. In fact, by this method, a somewhat clumsy legislature of three houses is formed; for all motions are made and discussed in the entire *storthing*, and being then brought into the *Odels-thing*, or body composed of three quarters of the representatives, are by them sent to the *Lagthing*, or upper house, consisting of one quarter. To this latter branch is entrusted the duty of deciding, in conjunction with the highest court of law, when the lower house impeaches ministers of state.

The *storthing* is charged with being actuated by a narrow and parsimonious spirit, and also with extreme slowness in managing their business. The first of these charges may be, to a certain extent, true, and is believed by our countryman, Mr. Baird, who is disposed to take a very favorable view of Norway and its institutions. But it is so much more useful a fault, than to vote away thousands of dollars for the benefit of a king's children, or his mistresses, as is done elsewhere, and withal so very much like the immemorial practice in our good state of Connecticut, that we can not find it in our hearts to blame the members for keeping tight hold of the public purse. And if, as will appear before we close, there has been a sure progress and improvement under the *storthing*, if the nation has gone faster forwards, in all that constitutes national prosperity, than its neighbors of the same stock; then we may rationally conclude that it has the art of governing itself well, and needs none of that help which Swedish noblemen would no doubt be glad to give it.

"Most of the judicious Norwe-

gians are convinced," says Mr. Milford, "that this storthing is too democratic in its construction, and that the machine, however well it may work in quiet times, will prove insufficient in the hour of need." He then proceeds to say that the triennial assembling of the storthing is found inconvenient;—which is very likely to be true, but it is an inconvenience easily remedied by the king, and by no means essential to the system;—that the exclusion of members of the council of state, of public functionaries, and of persons salaried by the court, disqualifies for the legislative halls some of the best citizens of the country; and that the peasant legislature by their measures, such as the equal division of property among children, and the abolition of hereditary distinctions, must sap the foundations of a limited monarchy. But if the order of nobility was nearly extinct in Norway, before the present constitution was formed, and if landed estates from time immemorial have not been confined to the oldest son, the legislature has only carried forward the measures which nature and history pointed out as wise and best. How unwise would it have been to prop up a decayed and nearly ruined nobility, which four centuries under Danish superintendence could not build up; or to fight against old customs, and introduce entails and a right of primogeniture, which the nation in all its history, could never make to flourish upon its soil. As for the exclusion of official persons, even Mr. Laing, who is very much of a radical, is willing to think that the court might have some organ in the storthing, who could represent its views, if not vote. But the nation is wise to guard its constitution with care; to be jealous of executive interference, emanating as it does from Sweden, where different institutions prevail; and to delay making concessions and alterations in the charter of its liberties, until

that charter has acquired "the bone and gristle of manhood." As for the Norwegian constitution being able to resist foreign force, we may safely trust it to the affections of the people. If it is regarded with pride and attachment, as it seems to be, nothing could take its place, with an equal chance of permanence.

The most remarkable provisions of the Norwegian charter, in regard to the chief magistrate, are the restriction of his power over subordinate executive officers, and his qualified veto. Of the first, Mr. Laing, in his work on Sweden, published in 1839, speaks as follows: "In Norway the public functionary, from the lowest clerk to the highest dignitary, has his defined rights connecting him with the legislative, as much as his duties with the executive branch of the state; he can not be displaced, but by the sentence of a court of law; he can not even be removed from one locality to another, against his will; his salary can not be diminished, and he has a legal claim to its augmentation, if his duties are increased; he can not be passed over, at the pleasure of the executive, in his just turn for advancement. All vacancies in every department under government, must be advertised in the gazette, and all candidates must send in their claims to fill the vacancy, with the certificates of their length of service, abilities, characters. All the grounds of claim are examined and judged of by the heads of the department, to which the vacant office belongs, and they recommend the candidates they find best entitled. But this recommendation is not left to the unchecked will and pleasure of the heads of the departments; they must keep a regular protocol of the claims and certificates laid before them, and of their reasons for giving the preference to the candidate they recommend. This protocol must be laid before each storthing, of which a committee au-

dits, as it were, all appointments, checks even in the lowest offices, any injustice, favoritism, or nepotism, and makes its report to the *storting*, which in case of any flagrantly unjust or corrupt appointment, would impeach the heads of the department before the *rigsret* court, a branch of the state, independent of the executive. The publicity also of all these protocols, makes public opinion a powerful check upon undue patronage, or private influence."

By this provision, the channels of executive influence are nearly dried up; the king has no tools who fear being displaced, and who have the strongest selfish motives to propagate the doctrines of the court relative to public measures through the country. It may admit of doubt, whether the inferior functionaries should hold their offices during good behavior, or only for a term of years, with the privilege of reappointment; but we envy the Norwegians, for being rid of that boundless profligacy with which the president's power of removal—unblushingly exercised as it is, and is likely to be through all the changes of party, for the lowest ends—is flooding our country. The power of impeachment too is not likely to remain idle in Norway, if misdemeanors are brought to light; for it is not likely that under the constitution, as it is, there can ever be a strong court party. There will be nothing then to shield a guilty officer from the indignant opinion of the country; no prevailing party in the legislature, to take his crimes upon their shoulders, and sustain him against right and justice.

The other principal restriction of the king's power is, that he is invested with only a suspensive veto upon the decisions of the legislature. It has already been said that the *storting* assembles triennially, on a certain day, and continues to sit a certain time, according to law,

without any agency of the king in the matter. If he approves of the proceedings, they become valid; if not, they are called up again at the next regular *storting*, and the same process is renewed. If the third *storting* passes the law again, it becomes valid, of course, whether the king gives or withholds his consent. Thus the executive veto consists in delaying legislative action, until the nation has time to look about it. Six years is certainly long enough for the reason of one man and his counselors, to retard the reason of a people, in its plans for the general good.

This is, in reality, a greater degree of direct power over legislation, than is enjoyed in practice by the English sovereign; for although the monarch in that country has a final and absolute veto on every act or bill carried through both houses of parliament, this right has gone into almost entire desuetude. The reason of this seems to be, in part, the responsibility of the ministers, who do all the wrong committed in the partnership between themselves and the king; and in part, the fact that there have been other means of preventing unacceptable measures from becoming laws of the land. Were a minister to advise the sovereign to put his negative upon the proceedings of parliament, it would undoubtedly prevent them from voting the supplies, and would procure his impeachment; but he has no need to do this, while safer ways lie before him; he can on the one hand offer such motives to individual members, as those which Sir Robert Walpole is charged with applying, to maintain his ascendancy during his long ministry; or he can dissolve the parliament, and try the virtue of a new election. But if unsuccessful here, he and his measures must give way to those of the opposition. On the whole, at present, the power of the monarch to obstruct the legislature in its course,

consists in little more than postponement, and trying the opinion of the country at the polls.

In our own country, the views of the members of the federal convention upon this subject, were, as might be supposed, much divided at first. Hamilton* wished to give the executive an absolute negative on the laws. There was no danger, he thought, "of such a power being too much exercised. The king of Great Britain had not exerted this power since the revolution." Dr. Franklin, on the other hand, dreaded this check of the executive upon the legislature. His reasons were drawn from the experience of Pennsylvania, when the proprietary governors had used such a power in the most scandalous manner. "The negative of the governor was constantly used, to extort money. No good law whatever, could be passed, without a private bargain with him. An increase of his salary, or some donation, was always made a condition; till at last it became the regular practice to have orders in his favor, on the treasury, presented, along with the bills to be signed, so that he might actually receive the former, before he should sign the latter. When the Indians were scalping the western people, and notice of it arrived, the concurrence of the governor, in the means of self-defense, could not be got, till it was agreed that his estate should be exempted from taxation."† With Franklin, Roger Sherman agreed, expressing the opinion now so often heard, that no one man ought to stop the will of the whole. "No

one man could be found, so far above all the rest in wisdom. He thought we ought to avail ourselves of his wisdom, in revising the laws, but not permit him to overrule the decided and cool opinions of the legislature." Mr. Madison expressed the opinion, which finally prevailed, that "if a proper proportion of each branch should be required to overrule the objections of the executive, it would answer the same purpose as an absolute negative. It would rarely, if ever, happen that the executive, constituted as ours is proposed to be, would have firmness enough to resist the legislature, unless backed by a certain part of the body itself." And to cite the opinion of but one member more, Mr. Butler, (of South Carolina,) said, "he had been in favor of a single executive magistrate, but could he have entertained an idea that a complete negative on the laws was to be given him, he would have acted very differently. It had been observed that in all countries the executive power is in a constant course of increase." The convention afterwards, with unanimity, decided upon two thirds as the number in each house, necessary to overrule the dissent of the president. This number was, however, altered into three fourths, but was again and finally preferred. The reasons for the double change of opinion, may be gathered from what Mr. Madison said, who himself preferred the larger number.* "When three fourths was agreed to, the president was to be elected by the legislature, and for seven years. He is now to be elected by the people, and for four years. The object of the revisionary power is twofold; first, to defend the executive rights; secondly, to prevent popular or factionous injustice. It was an important principle in this and in the state constitutions, to check legislative in-

* See Madison Papers, II, 784, *seq.*

† See Franklin's History of Pennsylvania, Works, Vol. III, especially p. 371. It is obvious that Franklin's objections to the veto, are valid only in the case of such a miserable system as that of Pennsylvania, under the proprietary government, where, to use his own expression, (u. s. p. 187,) every governor had two masters, one who gave him his commission, and another who gave him his pay.

* Madison Papers, III, 1564.

justice and encroachments. The experience of the states had demonstrated that their checks are insufficient. We must compare the danger from the weakness of two thirds, with the danger from the strength of three fourths. He thought, on the whole, the former was greater." A statesman might certainly waver on so nice a point as that of requiring one twelfth, more or less, of the legislature to carry a measure, against the will of the chief magistrate. Two thirds prevailed at this time against three fourths, by a small majority, and in opposition to the vote of the largest states.

The Federalist* soon afterwards gave the reasons for the veto as it stands, very briefly and clearly as follows. "The primary inducement to conferring the power in question upon the executive, is to enable him to defend himself; the secondary is to increase the chances in favor of the community, against the passing of bad laws, through haste, inadvertence, or design." This latter reason is a good one, and sufficient to vindicate some kind of executive negative against disappointed and angry partisans. But it may be doubted whether the fears entertained by the convention, that the legislative would crush the executive branch, have not been proved false, by experience. The president's power has, indirectly at least, much advanced in more ways than one. And if the legislature, as such, irrespective of the parties of the moment, were at war with the executive, no doubt the difference between a majority and two thirds, in carrying measures against the president, would be but a feeble bulwark for his defense.

On the whole, we will venture to suggest whether the form of the veto introduced into the charter of Norway, although the framers of our constitution seem not to have

taken it into consideration, has not some advantages over the form which we have adopted. If the provision were such, that the president's negative suspended a measure until the next congress, that is, until the sense of the country, after one or two years of postponement, should be taken by means of new elections; and if then the majority of congress could pass such a measure, even without the chief magistrate's sanction, we think all specious objections against the veto-power would be removed: the issue between the president and the legislature, would be settled by the country; while hasty legislation on the part, it may be, of a minority in the country, represented accidentally by a majority in congress, would be prevented. The veto is not to be regarded so much a prop of executive authority, as it is a protection of the country against its legislature, and against imprudent legislation.

In Norway, the constitution was yet green, when a difference of opinion on a very important point, arose between the storthing and the king, which led to the first exercise of the suspensive veto. We have already said that an order of nobility was a feeble and sickly plant on this free soil. "The remains of this class," says Mr. Laing, "were of foreign, and almost all of very recent origin, and with few exceptions, had no property to maintain a dignified station in society. Owing to the law of the division of the land among the children, large estates entailed upon the possessor of the family title, could not exist; and a body of titled and privileged persons, could only subsist as place-men or pensioners." It was not strange, then, nor in reality an innovation, if the storthing wished to remove an unnatural institution—a withering excrescence in their system. This was first attempted in 1815, and again after two vetoes, in 1818 and 1821, when the abolition of heredit-

itary nobility became the law of the land. But before the final passage of the law, every means was used to induce the storting to abandon it. The king repaired in person to Christiania, the capital, and six thousand troops were marched near the city, as if in preparation for the worst of measures.* At this time the Russian minister at Stockholm, and our own chargé there, appeared unexpectedly at Christiania, and the steps of the government in over-awing the storting, were retraced. An impression prevailed, that these two envoys had interfered in behalf of the constitutional liberties of Norway, and prevented any desperate measures on the part of the king and his foolish Swedish counselors.

There were in 1841, according to Mr. Milford, only three barons left in Norway, and these so far from having respect shown to them for their rank, are exposed to ridicule from the feebleness and unpopularity of their order.

Mr. Baird speaks of another measure of great importance, which after two vetoes was to be acted upon for the third time in 1842. "There is a determination," says he, "on the part of the storting, or parliament or Norway, to give to the people more religious liberty. A law has been passed twice in that body, we are informed, to take away from the government the appointment of pastors and assistants, and give it to the churches, [parishes.] Twice has this law been passed, and twice has it been vetoed by the king. Should it pass at the next meeting of the storting, of which there is every prospect, it will become a law of the land. This will be a great point gained. But this is not all. A bill has been twice passed in the storting—we believe it forms

a supplement of the bill of which we have just spoken—which allows the holding of meetings in private houses, or elsewhere, for religious services, without the permission or intervention of any civil authority."

The opposition of the storting to the king's will is far from being factious, and intended as a display of their power; although, when they have made up their minds for any course, they are no more easily deterred than their fathers were from pouring upon the coasts of England and France, or ploughing the stormy sea toward Iceland. An instance of their setness occurred in 1837, which is worthy of mention. The regular storting of the preceding year had been dissolved in the midst of unfinished business, and the jealousy of members was roused lest some violence might be offered to the constitution. It became necessary to call an extraordinary meeting the next year, in order to proceed with the interrupted public business, and the members returned, as might be supposed, somewhat irritated against the government. The only notice they took of the dissolution was, that they resumed every branch of business under the same committees, exactly where it had been broken off the year before; and that they unanimously impeached the minister of state for Norwegian affairs at Stockholm, for not protesting against the dissolution, as had been done by the two other councilors, whom the constitution requires to be with the king. This officer was tried and fined as guilty of neglect of duty, rather to warn the executive of what might be done at another time, than for the sake of punishment or resentment.*

It is a happy circumstance for Norway, that the king is such as he is. He has risen from the ranks of the untitled people, and was ac-

* At the time of the union of Sweden and Norway, it was stipulated that no troops of either country should approach within three miles Swedish, of the place where the storting should assemble.

* Laing's Sweden, p. 339, seq.

customed, in Mr. Laing's homely phrase, to draw on his own boots and breeches in his youth without the help of a servant. He had no higher or older title on any ground to royalty than they to their liberties; and belonged to no line of kings, which having parted in troublous times with their prerogatives, would always wish and hope to recover them. He was not so connected with Sweden, being a foreigner elected to that crown, that the Norwegians would associate his name or history with the country of their aversion more than with their own. His vast possessions render it unnecessary for him to be forever petitioning the storting for great sums of money on his own account or his children's. His personal character is good, and the people are said to love him. Whatever opposition he has offered to the measures of the legislature is imputed to his Swedish advisers, or to unavoidable ignorance of the state of the country. He may look on Norway as a possible refuge for his family; for the time may come, as Mr. Laing suggests, when the Swedish nobility, who have made and unmade a number of kings, may see fit to restore the house of Vasa to the throne of that kingdom.

We have room for only a few words upon the judicial system of Norway. This system does not appear to have changed in its leading features since the Northmen became known to history. An early law-book, composed in Iceland in the tenth century, and not a hundred years after the colonization of that island, testifies to the mature state of law and justice among this people at so early a period. Norway has enjoyed for many centuries the institution of trial by jury; and some persons, as Mr. Laing, are disposed to refer the origin of juries in England to this source. There is, however, reason to believe that it had a broader founda-

tion in the antefeudal customs of all the Teutonic and Scandinavian tribes.* The union with Denmark produced some improvements, but no important changes in the system; and the new constitution thus found ancient judicial institutions to which the people were used, and which favored civil liberty, in full vigor. The lowest court is of Danish creation, and is called the court of mutual agreement. In every parish an arbitrator, who must not be a man of the law, is triennially elected, and holds his court, assisted by a clerk, once a month. Here every lawsuit must begin, and no lawyer is allowed to practice. If the arbitrator can bring the parties to an agreement, the proceedings are carried up to the next court to be sanctioned, revised if necessary, and registered. If no agreement is effected, either party may appeal; but in case the judge approves the arbitrator's award, the appellant must pay the expenses of both parties in the suit. At this first, or arbitrator's court, the parties must have their wits about them, for a record or statement of the case is there made up, according to their opposite accounts, for the higher court; and no new matter or evidence, if Mr. Laing is rightly informed, can be introduced at any future stage of the proceedings. Mr. Laing praises this method of keeping lawyers away from the commencement of a quarrel, but we can not share the admiration which he expresses. The result must be either that a crafty subtle man, opposed to a simple-hearted one, will, by his superior ingenuity, give that aspect to the case which it must have ever afterwards; or that lawyers, though unable to appear in court, will be the privy counselors of both parties. Much is said of the power of lawyers to cloud the

* This is shown in Grimm's *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, p. 785.

truth and wrest evidence ; but there are no such differences in ability between the members of this profession as there may be between the parties in a litigation. The intervention then of lawyers puts the parties on the whole more nearly on a level, and hence is better for the cause of justice than if they were their own advocates.

The lowest court of law, properly speaking, is the *sorenskriver's*, or sworn scribe's court. This officer is appointed, but can not be displaced, by the government ; and must be an educated lawyer. The country is divided into sixty-four districts, to each of which such a judge is given, and he is required to hold his court in every parish of his district at least once a quarter. The attributes of this judge answer in part to those of our justices of the peace, in part to those of judges of probate and county judges. In certain inferior cases he judges alone like justices of the peace ; in others, he acts in conjunction with a jury of eight men, annually appointed by the *amtman*, or head-officer of the province, from the tax-payers of the parishes, who must be taken in the order in which they stand on the lists. This standing jury and the *sorenskriver*, when the case has been heard, vote together, and a majority of voices determines the result.

The court of appeal from the *sorenskriver's*, is that of the province, of which there are four for the whole kingdom, each presided over by three judges and their assessors. In all criminal trials the proceedings of the court below must be examined and approved by this court before they can be carried into effect.* And still above this

court is that of *høieste ret*, or highest right, composed of seven judges, and sitting at the capital. This court, besides having the final decision in all cases carried up to it by appeal, acts in conjunction with the upper house of the *storting* in all trials upon impeachment.

A very singular principle of Norwegian jurisprudence, is that by which the judges are made responsible for their decisions, and are even liable to pay damages for giving wrong ones. If a case is carried up by appeal to a higher court, the judge of the lower, together with two of the jury, if the court was that of the *sorenskriver*, is obliged to defend the decision ; and if it is reversed, the want of judgment on the part of the inferior judge is made answerable for the damage sustained by the party against whom he decided. Nay, if a judge dies while such an appeal is pending, his heirs may be liable for the injury he has done. And if his decisions have been reversed three times, even on account of his want of good judgment, he is displaced. This principle, which appears to have come down from very old times, is by no means a dead one in the Norwegian code. Mr. Laing highly approves of it, as he does of all the institutions of Norway. But if the private person is entitled to compensation for his trouble and loss of time in carrying the case up, those who appointed a man with a weak judgment to be a judge, ought rather to be responsible than such a man himself. In a country like Norway, where the relations of society that can be involved in dispute are usually simple, such a principle may not be very injurious ; but it would be highly oppressive in a country like ours, where cases often arise of so complicated a nature, that the strongest minds disagree concerning them.

The trial to which this constitution and the capacity of the Nor-

* The highest punishment in Norway is imprisonment in chains for life ; the punishment of death having been abolished, while this country was united with Denmark, in the Danish dominions about half a century ago.

wegians to govern themselves has been put, has had a very gratifying result. Though they are removed from the highways of European intelligence; though numbers of them live in lonely valleys, where perhaps the only stranger the year round is some Englishman, who comes to fish and be bitten by the musquitoes; yet they appear to be far in advance of their neighbors in the art of government, however inferior to them in education. In 1814, when Denmark and Norway were disunited, the national debt was equitably divided between the two countries. Since that time Norway has been gradually extinguishing her debt, until in 1837 only about three millions of dollars were due; while the debt of Denmark has swollen to one hundred and twenty-seven millions of rix dollars Danish. In consequence of this, all direct taxes on land have been removed, the indirect being found sufficient to cover the expenses of government. Education has received the attention of the storthing. The present system has grown up under the new constitution, and being thorough as well as compulsory, promises to extend a sound education through the remotest valleys of this interesting country.* "With their minute economy," says Mr. Laing, "they have accomplished much in twenty-one years, and it is not a parsimony equally blind to all objects. They have provided liberally for some things which we would not expect to find proposed or favored in a parliament so constituted; a steam-vessel for instance to ply between Drontheim and Hammersfest, which will be the first appearance of steam-power within the arctic circle; a grant for enabling students and men of science to travel for improvement in foreign countries; a grant for establishing schools

of design for mechanics, and for gradually forming a collection of works of art connected with that object; grants to the university, its library and museum; a grant for a seminary for forming schoolmasters—these objects liberally provided for, considering the means of the country, show no unenlightened spirit; no inaptitude at least in the storthing to adopt the enlightened views of its most cultivated members." The bank of Norway is another fruit of the storthing's legislation. Its capital was raised by a tax on landed property in 1816, and the proprietors of estates hold shares according to the proportion of their contributions. Beside discounting mercantile notes, the bank lends on land up to two thirds of its value, according to a valuation made in 1812. The borrower pays four per cent. per annum, and five per cent. yearly of the principal until the debt is extinguished. And to mention but one measure more, the storthing last year, as we are informed, paved the way for stopping distillation through the country, being alarmed no doubt by the results of the free use of *finkel*, or potato spirits, upon the people. To this gratifying measure they were led, in all probability, by the light which our useful countryman Mr. Baird has been the means of diffusing in the northern parts of Europe, on the subject of intemperance.

It would be in order now to inquire into the social, moral, and religious condition of Norway, and into the causes which have made them what they are. The state of society on the whole would open before us in no very unfavorable light, even if we should not be disposed to go all the way with Mr. Laing in his unqualified praise of this country. Yet we should find dark shades in the picture arising from the formality and insufficiency of the religious establishment, from the habits of the people in regard

* It is described by Mr. Baird, Vol. II, p. 56.

to strong drink and other demoralizing causes. The influence in favor of sound morals, would seem to arise to a considerable degree from the old institutions of the country, and from the simplicity of manners which small estates, a climate uncongenial with self-gratification, and general equality of condition, have occasioned. But we must dismiss these interesting topics for want of room, and hasten to a conclusion.

And we wish to give it as our closing remark, that Norway is fortunate indeed in having its free institutions rise naturally out of its history—in growing ripe for freedom—instead of being lifted high on a sudden flood of liberty, for which there was no preparation, and of which there could be no assured continuance. Just as our liberties were substantially as old as the landing at Plymouth, and the declaration of independence was the mere bursting of the bud into flower at the right season; just so, it would seem, the Norwegians have been trained for freedom, and therefore

excite a rational hope that they will neither sink below the proper level of freemen, nor fail of attaining those high social and moral ends to which freedom is the door. A nation numbering more than forty thousand land-owners, when the population was not a million, and accustoming its citizens to interpret the laws and consider the relations of life in the office of jurymen,—such a nation has opened a school where men can hardly fail of learning to govern themselves. Happy the nation where the foundations of liberty are laid deep in the past; where its soil has been gathering for ages; where men to be free need not forget or be ashamed of their ancestors, and do not grow up with a servile look upon their faces, as though they remembered having been slaves. May Norway be blessed of heaven with the spread of spiritual religion, sound learning, and pure morals; and may it be a northern light—not flickering and uncertain, but fixed and brightening—in the sky of Europe.

POSITION AND DUTIES OF THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY.

It was the intention of the divine founder of our faith, that Christianity should have a universal adaptation to the wants and circumstances of mankind; and that it should actually be diffused throughout all nations, and be perpetuated to the latest periods of the world.

To give it such an adaptation, He embodied in its system of doctrine and of duty, those great essential truths and principles which apply to man as man, whenever and wherever he is found. Hence, the reverse of Judaism, which was national and local, Christianity does really commend itself to the moral feelings and convictions of univer-

sal humanity; and thus, in its own nature, tends to the subversion of all other schemes, to the overthrow of infidelity itself, and to the establishment of its own authority in the hearts of the whole human race.

But this moral fitness, and consequent diffusive tendency of the religion of the gospel, by no means supersedes the necessity of instrumental agencies in order to secure its general dissemination, and for the purpose of pressing home its claims, where it has been received, upon the consciences of men. And admirable is the wisdom with which the author of Christianity has made perpetual provision for this neces-

sity in the institution of the church, with her ordinances and ministry. He has thus, in a moral sense, established a standing army, with ample resources and the requisite discipline and officers, commissioned to overturn the empire of sin and error on the earth, and charged to prosecute the enterprise, until a complete victory has been achieved.

The ministry, under the divinely constituted system of human instrumentality, holds, it is obvious, a prominent and most important place. It is a part of the economy so essential, that very much in proportion as it performs its functions well or ill, will the working of the whole be successful or embarrassed. Whatever has a bearing on the right discharge of ministerial duty, must be regarded as of the first importance by all who desire the prosperity of true religion. The more fully the sacred office is made to answer its design, the more rapid may we expect will be the coming of the divine kingdom. In suggesting some thoughts in relation to the position and duties of the Christian ministry at the present time, we shall have special reference to our own country; in which, in its peculiar duties, it is independent of the civil power, and must always owe its influence to the fidelity with which it fulfills its divine commission.

We shall confine ourselves to what is *peculiar* in the position which the Christian ministry occupies at the present time. Of those particulars in which it holds essentially the same attitude from age to age, we shall have no occasion to take notice. The ministry, while it is a permanent and divinely instituted order in the church of God, and in this respect can know no change, is also, as to its position, related to the times in which it is called to exercise its functions. The circumstances of one age demand in it a cast of character and a mode of effort materially different from those

which are demanded by another; since the condition and the movements of the human mind in one generation are often widely different, perhaps the very opposite, from what they were in the generation which preceded. And no one can go forth as a herald of the cross, with enlightened views of what he has to do, until he has rightly understood how the general duties of his office require to be modified in view of the existing aspects and tendencies of society.

Let us first look at the present position of the ministry as affected by the condition of the popular intellect. That our times are marked with strong peculiarities in this respect, is an obvious fact. We need not make the empty boast that ours is the golden age, or flatter ourselves that wisdom was born with us. We claim only what we concede to every former period, when we assert that ours has an intellectual condition which is distinctively its own. Whether, upon the whole, we are wiser or less wise than the generations which have lived before us, it is of no moment to decide. Other ages have witnessed the triumph of human genius, in arts, letters, and philosophy. The page of history exhibits no lack of illustrious names. The libraries in which the treasures of wisdom which enriched other periods of the world are garnered up, afford abundant and convincing proof that thinking men have lived before us. Yet that there is at the present day a universality of education, a general diffusion of the means of intellectual gratification and improvement, and an activity of the common mind, such as the world has never seen before, is universally conceded. It is not now the few who are well informed and the many who are ignorant, but exactly the reverse. It is not certain selected parts of knowledge merely, which are now deemed of interest to the people.

Almost all really important branches, on the contrary, are made extensively accessible to every class. Intelligence is continually poured from the fountain-heads into a thousand channels, which wind their way throughout society, affording liberal supplies even to the most remote. And the professionally learned owe their superiority to others, not to any secrets which are kept within their order; not to any stores which are accessible only to them; but simply to their more thorough and vigorous self-discipline, more patient study, and more extensive and diligent research.

From this state of things two consequences result, which intimately concern the Christian minister as officially a public teacher. The first is, that the popular taste is rendered in a high degree fastidious. The task of presenting truth in such a manner as to command attention and awaken interest, becomes extremely difficult. The hungry man will regale himself on plain substantial food; but he who has a rich variety of delicacies at his command, and who has also fixed the habit of luxurious living, must tempt his appetite with savory dishes. Even so the hungry mind will feast on solid truth, and with the keener sense because of its simplicity. But the mind that has before it a thousand intellectual dainties, and that has lost its healthfulness of tone by constant and infinitely varied gratifications, retains no relish for simpler and more wholesome banquets, and can enjoy only what is highly spiced with wit, anecdote, or fancy. Human invention, it would seem, has done its utmost, not only to supply the means of intellectual gratification, but also to adapt them to the wants, and even to the caprices of all classes. It has wrought history into gorgeous fictions, and thrown the attractive drapery of fiction around history. It has imparted the life and grace of poetry to the com-

mon and prosaic, and heightened the effect of the poetical by the richest grouping and coloring of the imagination. It has gathered materials from nature and from art; from science and from philosophy; from the deep inworkings of the human soul, and from the high endeavors and noble deeds of goodness; and even from the waywardness of evil passion, and the desperate misdoings of villainy itself. And hence there are few whose minds are not continually supplied with something which can stimulate the mental appetite however languid, and please the taste however capricious or peculiar. Of course it is but natural, that those who are thus pampered should be destitute of relish for plain and sober themes, where passionate expressions and startling paradox would be wholly out of place.

The other of the two consequences mentioned as resulting from the present intellectual state of the popular mind, is a conceited, self-sufficient spirit. If in all past time the diffusion of the means of knowledge had been general, it might not now have been attended with this incidental evil. But it is something new, and the fact that the great mass of society find themselves in possession of advantages which have not hitherto been generally enjoyed; that they know something on various subjects which in other days were confined exclusively to the learned; and that the way is open for them to make still more extensive acquisitions if they will, begets feelings of superiority and self-esteem; for men are generally far more ready to value themselves on what they know than to be humbled at the thought of their remaining ignorance. It is not in this class or in that, particularly, that a vain and self-exalting temper betrays itself. There is something sophomorical in the general spirit of society. Men are pleased with their own intelligence and sagacity, and in no way

distinguished for the old fashioned virtue of meekness and docility of mind. Some are so jealous of their mental independence, that in their desire to evince it, they often show that they want the virtue altogether. Some are so much afraid of pinning their faith upon authority, and taking opinions upon trust, that they dare not rely on the word of God himself, nor yield belief to evidence which is perfectly conclusive. The imaginations of some are haunted with the fear of priestly domination, and they persuade themselves that ministers consent to stand in the place of the servant of servants, to be hard worked and poorly paid, to be brought to an early grave by incessant anxieties and cares, and to leave their families without provision to the charities of the world, and look for reward only in heaven, just for the pleasure of managing the people, and seeing them prieststridden. While some who think better of the hearts of the clergy than of their heads, are sure that they would be a very useful sort of persons, if they would only listen to the good advice which they, in their wisdom, kindly offer to impart.

It is true that, notwithstanding the prevalence of this over nice and self-sufficient temper, there are examples, and many such, of sound and healthful intellect, and of candor and humility, those attributes of real greatness. But the Christian minister must count on finding the general state of the popular mind, such as has been described. And how shall he operate on such materials? How can he so adapt himself to those for whom he is sent to labor, as to make his influence reach them? The task is difficult; yet unless he can accomplish it, his care and toil are lost. If he can not gain a hearing, inspire confidence, and command respect for himself and for his message, it is nothing that his doctrines are important, his motives pure, and his labors dili-

gent. The ends of his ministry are not attained. It is vain to complain of the existing state of things. It is worse than vain to disregard it, and to proceed as though it were the reverse of what it is. It will not do to say, as some lazy preachers have done, that hearers *ought* not to heed so much the style of the discourse, and the manner of the speaker. The simple fact is, that if the experiment were made, of preaching the noble sermons of President Edwards, of Howe, or even of Barrow himself, to the best New England congregation, such is the popular taste, that the house would probably soon exhibit an array of empty pews. Nor will a discourse of Massillon or Saurin, or the most finished and tasteful modern sermon that can be found, fare greatly better, if *delivered* in tame, monotonous, and unimpassioned tones. However it may have been in other days, there must at present, be something besides good matter, and even well constructed sermons, to render preaching really efficient.

Shall then the preacher aim to suit the whims of a capricious taste? Shall he trim, to please the captious, and take lessons of the self-complacent? Shall he labor to transform the simple dignity of truth into the dazzling brilliancy of Bulwer, the quaint and startling affectations of Carlyle, or the gorgeousness of Chateaubriand and Lamartine? Shall he give eclat to his address, by employing the flourish and trick of the declaimer? These things he can not attempt to do, unless false to his high commission; and the attempt were certainly a failure. There is a better method of accomplishing what he desires. It is possible, notwithstanding the peculiar state of the general mind, to preach the gospel with success. But he who would be a successful preacher, must bring into the pulpit vigorous and well trained faculties. He must have a versatility which can adapt

itself to all emergencies. He must have the resources which belong only to the diligent, habitual, and thorough scholar. He must have a comprehensive grasp and mastery of truth, and powers of argument and illustration, which will enable him to exhibit even what is difficult, in full and bold relief. He must have a facility of language, which gives appropriateness and ease to all he says. He must have an inward fire, which is the glow of a really impassioned soul; and such capacity of voice and of expression, as shall enable him to do justice to his own thoughts and feelings. In short, he must make it felt, that he performs the duties of his office with the *ability of a master*. This will place him, in a certain sense, above the reach of criticism. Intelligence will regard him with respect; conceit before him will keep silence.

And that he may bring such qualifications to his work, the preacher will find it absolutely necessary to subject himself to a vigorous and habitual self-discipline. Without this, he can not be more than partially successful; he may altogether fail. If he concludes that, having passed through the requisite preparatory studies, and been admitted to the ministerial office, he has no more to do but exercise his gift, whatever it may be, he mistakes his course entirely. If he would meet the demands which will be made upon him, he must be found each week making some specific effort to be more thoroughly furnished and endowed. He must regard every public service, as special occasions are wont to be regarded, as demanding his very best endeavors. The days are past, in which one might devote the week to farming, and preach Matthew Henry or Thomas Scott upon the Sabbath. He who attempts to do it, or something like it now, may be expected soon to want a parish, and to have a long pursuit.

But we must pass to another point. Society has a temperament as well as an intellect. Let us look then, in the next place, at the position of the Christian ministry as affected by the present state of the social temperament.

By the temperament of society, we mean its susceptibility to excitement; and we need not offer proof that this susceptibility is now intense beyond a precedent. There may have been times, in the past history of the world, when the mass of society felt as keenly and as readily, on some two or three great subjects; but there certainly have been none, when on every subject they were so exquisitely sensitive. The controversies and agitations of past ages, have been chiefly confined to the higher classes. When the lower have been moved at all, it has been passively, by the will of those above them. Kings and cabinets have settled national politics. Doctors have disagreed about points of philosophy, of ethics, or of science. And councils and conclaves have settled ecclesiastical disputes, and cut the Gordian knots of vexed polemics. But now, the slightest agitation in relation to any of these matters, reaches with its vibrations the remotest ramifications of the social system. The irritability is in every part extreme. The public heart palpitates and flutters, and its pulsations are intermittent and irregular. In short, society is absolutely *nervous*. It is in the condition of a man who starts at the opening of a door, or the shaking of a window. A simpleton, if he pleases, by some odd and unlooked for movement, may throw it into hysterics or convulsions. Or to change the style of illustration, its aspect is like the ever-changing surface of the ocean in a gusty day; here a spot is smooth, and there the fitful flaw stirs the dark ripple in its path; and there the riotous whirlwind rolls up the white foam and spray.

Nor are there wanting influences, to work incessantly upon all the sensibilities of the public mind. The freedom and activity of thought which generally prevail, are from time to time bringing almost all the great principles of truth into discussion. Old opinions, and venerated customs, are earnestly assailed, and as earnestly defended. Novelty in fancy or in fact, are broached in infinite series. Abuses are exposed, where they exist; and not unfrequently, perhaps, where they do not; and innumerable *certain* remedies are shown, all of which, however, in most instances, fail in the experiment. Little men are striving to be great men, and great men striving to be greater; the strife, of course, producing crimination and recrimination, and the stirring up of passion, in the collision of sympathizing partisans. The press, too often perverting its freedom into licentiousness, is assailing private character, appealing to popular prejudice, making the worse appear the better reason, and scattering firebrands, arrows, and death, abroad on every side. And thus there is always something to prevent the general agitation from subsiding into repose.

Of course the Christian minister must take his stand in the midst of this commotion. He is himself to act upon the sensibilities of the public mind, and their condition must materially affect him. The necessary prominence of his station, at once enables him to see what is going on around him, and exposes him to feel even more than others, the violence of each blast of popular excitement. All who have points to carry, seek to enlist him on their side. One presses him in this direction, and another urges him towards that. This man is ready to denounce him, if he adopt this sentiment or measure, and that if he shall choose the opposite. He is too radical for some, and too con-

servative for others; and perhaps is guilty of the unpardonable sin of having some opinions of his own. All popular agitators, indeed, with their disciples, are earnest champions of the liberty of thought and speech; but by this, each means the liberty to think and speak as he does; and if any chance to understand the matter differently, they are soon made sensible of their mistake. Of course it often happens that the Christian minister is made an offender, for a word. Much is imagined, where nothing at all was meant. When he discourses in singleness of mind on one subject, he is fancied to be obliquely hinting at another. When he offers to some one a bunch of flowers, politely intending the regaling of his senses, he finds that the morbid sensitiveness of the receiver, has converted them into nettles, wherewith he has been stung. And so he is made to feel the necessity of being wise as a serpent, though with the best disposition, he finds it impossible to be harmless as a dove.

What then is the duty of the ministry, in relation to this peculiar state of the public temperament? We can not, of course, prescribe particular rules, which will distinctly define his duty on all occasions. But certain attainments may be specified, which are essential to a proper acquittal of himself; and which if he should possess, he can not greatly err. These are, in brief, a truly Christian spirit, the guidance of the Holy Spirit, and a manly independence.

The Christian minister is a man, and to him as well as others, pertain human imperfections and infirmities. He will, therefore, often keenly feel the irritating influences, in the midst of which he moves. He will sometimes find it difficult not to be chafed and fretted, by what he sees of the mischiefs of popular excitement, and the asperities of party feeling. When he finds him-

self assailed by the advocates of this measure or of that; when he is charged with culpable indifference, because he is not fired with furious zeal; when his best motives are misjudged, and his best deeds misrepresented; and, finally, when he is compelled to see those for whose welfare he is anxious, driven on by impulse, from one absurdity to another, with the conviction that no influence of his, nothing but a bitter personal experience, can bring them to their senses; then must he possess, in large measure, the meek, patient, forbearing, gentle spirit of his Master, or he will become querulous in temper, hasty in his words, and rash in his course of action. But if he has the spirit of Christ—the pure, peaceful, heavenly spirit, which gives such divinity to the sermon on the mount, he may be unmoved through all; as the planet shines with untroubled aspect in the deep blue of the heavens, however fiercely the tempests howl and rage, because it is far above their reach.

Nor will any human wisdom be found sufficient, in the perpetual changes of popular feeling, and the ebb and flow of popular excitement, to determine, in all cases, what is the path of duty. The most prudent and conscientious minister, may often find himself at fault. He may find himself unexpectedly thrown into new and strange positions; where, after looking carefully around him, he fears to move, lest by a mistaken step, he should do an injury to the cause, which he has it in his heart to serve. He that would go safely, then, must draw continually from the eternal fountain; must seek and find that indwelling and illumination of the Spirit of God, which can guide the soul into perfect truth. And that he may find, as well as seek, he must ask in honesty and singleness of mind. He must divest himself, as far as possible, of every bias from prejudice or self-will. He must ask with a hum-

ble, open, waiting soul, ready to be led in this direction or in that; and not form his purpose first, and then ask counsel from above. If he thus applies to the source of light, he will have a light to guide him; and it will not be the flitting meteor blaze of unintelligent impulse, or of casual suggestion, by which fanatics are misled; but a serene and steady radiance, let in upon the mind from heaven, which illumines the understanding and the conscience, and by which the course of duty is clearly and intelligently discerned.

And not less obvious is the necessity that the Christian minister, in the midst of so many conflicting elements, should have that manly self-reliance, which, while it is perfectly compatible with true humility, produces energy of purpose, and promptness of decision. An age of special instability and agitation, demands that its posts of influence be filled by men of special firmness. It calls for ministers who will not be frightened when the winds of contention roar, and the waves of tumult are heaved up; who will have the courage calmly to follow their convictions, at all hazards, and to smile at clamor and reproach, in the faithful performance of their duty. One such man—one who can stand and bear in silence, or if he deem that course expedient, is able to

' Ride on the whirlwind, and direct the storm,'

is worth a host of timid, weak, and ever-hesitating spirits, whose position can never be defined, for the simple reason that they never stand still long enough to make it possible! He will make his influence felt, and it will be conservative in the highest and best sense. He will be, in no unimportant measure, a regulator, a moral balance-wheel, to the disordered and unsteady movements of society. While he who attempts to meet the views and wishes of all sorts of people, instead of

placing before him duty as his first great object, may bestow great pains, to little or no purpose. He will certainly learn the truth of the ancient stanza, which, whether a gem of Sternhold, or some kindred worthy, deserves to be remembered :

" Whoso would all men please,
And not himself offend ;
Must enter on his work straightway,
But heaven knows when he'll end !"

We have thus far spoken with reference to the condition and spirit of the general mind. Let us now turn to the present state of educated mind, with special regard to theological education and opinion. Let us see how the peculiarities which mark our day, in this respect, affect the position and duties of the ministry.

There has been for the last half century, among minds of the highest order, a constant and unwonted striving to press beyond the conventional boundaries of human knowledge. A variety of causes have led to this result. One of the first great benefits of the revival of learning, was the subversion of the ancient systems of philosophy. The learned thus set free from leading-strings, were inspired with a new spirit of research. Bacon and others gave a right direction to this spirit, and the most astonishing discoveries followed in nearly all the great departments of natural science. The master minds of the seventeenth century, as if put in possession of a magic key, laid open mysteries, which few, if any, had ever dreamed it possible to penetrate. Success gave impulse to inquiry. The disclosure of so many new and interesting truths, imparted fresh activity to mind. The learned pressed their way into the field of metaphysics, eager to accomplish there what had been achieved by the students of external nature. The two opposing systems of Locke and Leibnitz, the one denying, and the other affirming the doctrine of in-

nate ideas, were discussed, and variously modified, and divided between them the assent of most philosophical inquirers. In the latter part of the eighteenth century, came Kant, with the transcendental doctrines, and was followed in Germany by Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, and others, who sought to improve the system of Kant, or to construct others in a similar spirit. And since the commencement of the present century, there has been a constant conflict of opposing systems. Speculative philosophy has engaged the most powerful minds, and called forth the most earnest controversy. Analysis has been pushed to the very utmost, and conjecture has employed its highest ingenuity.

Until a recent date, Germany has been the chief battle-field. The doctrines of Locke, as modified by his Scotch disciples, have had the ascendancy in England and among ourselves ; although in both countries, there has been no want of original inquiry in ethical and mental science. But the labors of German scholars in various other departments, and especially in those connected with theology, have been too valuable to remain unknown or unappropriated by the learned in other lands. And since, in our own country, theological education has attained to a good measure of completeness, by means of well organized theological institutions, the flood-gates of German thought have been opened upon us, and we are fast becoming familiar not only with their elaborate criticism and exegesis, but also with the refined and subtle spirit of their general literature, with their plausible but soulless rationalism, and with the immeasurable depths of their transcendental, mystical, and pantheistic speculations.

From this and some concurring causes, there has been, of late, a very general breaking up of established modes of thought, and a questioning of commonly received opin-

ions on the philosophy of mind, of morals, and of Christian doctrine. In many respects, this process, doubtless, has been salutary. It has helped to place the defense of important principles and truths on surer grounds, and to cause them to be more accurately stated, and cautiously applied. And without doubt, it has done something to urge on scholars to greater earnestness of study. But some ill-balanced minds, bewildered amidst the deep and awful shadows of the transcendental labyrinth, have been led off into the most absurd and foolish vagaries. They have become wiser than the writers of the holy Scriptures. As Prometheus stole fire from the sun of nature, they fancy themselves to have lit their torches at the very sun of truth; and in their superfluity of wisdom, they have put the Deity out of his own universe, and attempted an apotheosis of themselves. Infidelity, in their hands, has all the sacrilegious daring, without the coarseness and vulgarity with which it appears in the writings of the school of Paine. It speaks with eloquence and taste. It hypocritically assumes the Christian name, and even arrogates to itself the authority of the Christian pulpit. It affects an obscure and ambiguous diction, by means of which it employs the words of truth to convey the most dangerous falsehoods. It interests the imagination by its air of mystery, and by a kind of Gothic impressiveness of style. It is, in short, Satan transformed, as far as possible, into an angel of light.

Now it is plain that this unsettled, scrutinizing, and speculative disposition, and this new phasis of infidelity among the minds of the higher order, may exert an influence most disastrous to the moral and religious interests of society. The Christian ministry, therefore, which is set to guard these interests with sleepless vigilance, have ur-

gent duties in relation to the matter. They may not look on quietly, and see errors most deadly in their character, sent forth from the high places of instruction, to exert their mischievous influence in the subversion of the faith of common minds. They must meet this, as they have met other forms of infidelity, and of false and dangerous doctrine. It must be shown to all who are concerned to know, that infidelity arraying itself in gorgeous robes, and pretending to a vast superiority in respect to elevation of views and inward illumination, and affecting entire contempt of such as are willing to be taught of God, is the same shallow, arrogant, sophistical, and disingenuous enemy of truth and goodness, that it has been, in its old and familiar forms. Some have supposed that it might be expedient to arrest the incoming tide of German literature; or at least to exorcise the evil spirit with which no small portion of it is possessed, from any place it may have obtained in our theological institutions. But to arrest it, is beyond our power, were this desirable. The times are gone, in which thought might be restricted by set bounds. And as to a lustration of our schools, were it a practicable measure, it could hardly be deemed a safe or wise one. If the Christian ministry, as a body, are to meet the exigency of their position; if they are to stand firm amidst the incessant conflict of opinion, and to be qualified to grapple with the new and peculiar forms of error which appear, they have need to examine thoroughly not merely the foundations of the truth, but also the false philosophy, the unsound criticism, and the disingenuous reasonings, by which the truth has been perverted. They are under the same necessity of knowing what Gesenius, Ernesti, Michaelis, or Eichhorn teach, which is subversive of sound doctrine, as they have been before, of understanding the

views of Hume, Bolingbroke, or Paine. And the student of theology, who, under the guidance of sound and pious teachers, and with a knowledge beforehand of the points on which his authors are heretical, can not endure the trial to which his faith is subjected, in the study of the works of German scholars, can be but poorly fitted for the many greater trials by which his constancy is certain to be tested. Wisdom requires, that since we have it in our power, we should furnish ourselves with armor from the arsenal of the enemy; and if in our search, we find that he has poisoned arrows in his quiver, we shall be able to lift up the voice of warning for the benefit of those who are in danger.

And while they thus equip themselves for the work of exposing false opinions, the ministry have need to be more skillful and diligent than ever, in the communication of religious truth. Truth is the antidote of error, and rarely fails to be effectual, when faithfully administered. The times demand the most thorough and harmonious enforcement of the great doctrines of the gospel. We can not think with some, that since the recent improvements in theological education, there is a great deficiency of judicious doctrinal instruction in the pulpits of our country, especially of New England. We have carefully examined the history of what are by some regarded as the palmier days of New England's orthodoxy; and we are confident that there are now to be found in her evangelical pulpits, a greater number of sound, discriminating, faithful preachers, in proportion to the whole, than could ever have been reckoned at any former period. We can not but think, therefore, that they who are continually asking "wherefore the former days were better than these, inquire not wisely concerning this." Their language of complaint has a

tendency to impair the confidence of the churches in those who are set over them, and greatly to weaken the hands of the strong men who are standing for the truth. But while we think it a duty to say this, we also say, our aim must rise still higher; that there is need of a yet *more* thorough, more instructive, and more efficient exhibition of gospel doctrine from the pulpit. The clergy, and especially the younger clergy, are called upon to possess themselves more fully of first principles; and so skillfully to illustrate and apply them, that their hearers may be firmly rooted and grounded in the faith. Then the ministry will be able to preserve those who are committed to their trust, even from the most fascinating and imposing forms of error; so far, at least, as this result can be secured by human care and agency.

There is one more view remaining, in which the position and duties of the ministry deserve to be considered. Those who are called to fill the sacred office at the present time, have some peculiar responsibilities imposed upon them, by the moral circumstances of the church. We will not here speak of these circumstances in detail. It will be sufficient to observe in general, that in some of her sections, the church is afflicted with unhappy controversies and divisions, at the same time that she has work of great moment on her hands. We do not refer to the differences which exist, and always have existed, between the evangelical and nonevangelical portions of the nominal church; but to those which generate strife and alienation between such as recognize each other as true disciples of the true Redeemer. Questions more or less important, are in warm debate. Party spirit is enkindled, and party weapons not always the most honorable, are employed. Good men, in their opposition to what they sincerely deem each other's errors,

give too convincing proof that they at least have not attained perfection. And many such like things appear, which dim the glory of the church, and impair her moral vigor. Yet, notwithstanding this, with some right views of her high calling, she is actually engaged against the power of a nominal and corrupt Christianity, and of all the forms of pagan superstition, in a mighty struggle for the universal triumph of the cross. On either side, there is a rallying of forces for the strife. One can not reflect on what he sees and hears, without thinking of the gathering of the nations to the battle of the great day of God Almighty, the event of which will be the millennial triumph of the saints. Popery, recovering in a measure her weakened energies, has gained some new advantages, and seems likely to gain yet others for a time. She is employing all her arts, taking advantage of every opportunity, and it is probable that her recovery to pure Christianity, will be a work of greater difficulty, than the conversion of the heathen world itself.

The ministers of Christ, are the divinely constituted leaders of the church. Her circumstances, therefore, being such, they plainly have two great duties to perform. It is incumbent on them, first, by the exercise of a truly liberal and catholic spirit; of a magnanimous forbearance; in a word, of the divine temper of the gospel, to soften asperities, and give at least a spiritual unity to the Christian host. And then, with the prudence, skill, and courage, which are demanded by the greatness and difficulty of the conflict, to bring all its forces into action, and to keep them manfully engaged.

To meet these obligations, is not an easy task. It can only be accomplished by a deep bathing of the soul in heaven's own element of love, and by the all-inspiring power of living faith. The Christian min-

ister who means to approve himself to God, will keep himself aloof, as far as practicable, from needless and unholy strife. While he stands firmly for essential truth, he will kindly accord to others the freedom of thought, which he feels it his own right to exercise. He will be urged to support this leader, or to lend his influence to that. But he will choose rather to call no man master. He will ask for truth, upon his knees, and listen to the voice of God's own oracle, that never can mislead. And in the seasons of his calm and holy musings, when his heart yearns in silence after truth, because he loves her for herself, she will come on her angel pinions, and withdrawing the veil with which she conceals her face from the vulgar gaze, will permit him to feast his soul with the contemplation of her celestial beauty. O then he will be as though a breath of heaven had been breathed upon his soul. He will loathe the clamor of contentious words, and the din of discord, begotten by selfishness, or pride, or vain ambition. And though it cost him incessant watchfulness and care, he will preserve his equanimity, and shed around him the sweet influences of peace.

In the discharge of official duties, as one divinely commissioned to go before the church in her spiritual conflicts, the faithful minister will find it needful to devote his highest powers and richest acquisitions, and to stir up in his bosom a zeal that can not tire. As he looks abroad upon a dying world, he will feel that no enterprises are so noble as those that look to its redemption from its bondage. He will be willing to stand in any place, to suffer any hardship, to perform the humblest labor, if this great work may thus be carried forward. His own private wishes or concerns, will seem of small account, in comparison with the great and glorious interests of God's kingdom among

men. If the strong holds of Satan are to be carried by assault, he will be anxious to be found foremost in the breach; if to be reduced by the tediousness of siege, to be the last who will be ready to despond. Such are the ministers imperatively demanded by the present attitude of the Christian church, in relation to the world; men who are guileless, pure, and lamb-like in their spirit, but who in action, are lion-hearted and invincible.

To those who are already in the ministerial office, and to those who expect ere long to enter it, the views which we have taken of some of the more prominent circumstances which, at the present moment, are materially affecting the position and duties of the ministry, are views of serious interest. If they are just, they claim something more than a passing notice. They are unworthy of the sacred office, who, while they bear, or expect to bear, its high responsibilities, are not anxious to obtain definite and comprehensive views both of its general and ordinary, and of its specific and extraordinary duties. They are guilty of presumption, who offer themselves as leaders of the sacramental host, in the conflict between truth and error, holiness and sin, without a thorough knowledge of the battle-ground; of the strength, position, and probable movements of the enemy; and of the proper methods of directing the weapons of attack, or of maintaining the position of defense. Yes! the Christian minister

who would labor in the blessed office to which God hath called him, with eminent success, must at once study well his relative responsibilities, and live for the one great purpose, of meeting them in a becoming manner. He must learn wisely to adapt himself in his course of official labor, to the existing condition of the world and of the church; and bring to his work superior moral, intellectual, and prudential qualifications. The work is great; and human power and wisdom, alas! how insufficient! Yet there is no occasion to despair. The Lord himself is with his servants. Let them but be faithful to themselves, and to their trust, and he will guide them where they doubt; he will sustain them when their hearts are fainting; he will refresh them in their severest labors, with his presence and his smiles.

If any are ready to deem the toil required too great, let such remember that the day of rest is near. In a few days, even such as are yet in the freshness of their youth, will have put off the robes of mortal toil, and have gone to their repose. The labors, cares, and strifes of earth, will have been exchanged for the sweet serenity of heaven, and the eternal fellowship of the redeemed. Sacrifices and exertions will be richly overpaid, and never more remembered. They will then forever rejoice that God conferred on them the honor of this ministry, and regret only that they were not more intensely devoted to the work of turning many to righteousness.

AMERICAN PURITANISM.

It would seem to be admitted as an established axiom in the philosophy of history, that the character of a people in its early life, involves the condition of its ultimate destiny. Hence the great importance attached to faithful portraiture of the founders of states, and the necessity of a right record of the principles which formed the basis of their systems of civil polity and religious faith. A key is thus furnished by which to account, in a great measure, for the developments of every subsequent age. Having the eye fixed upon the events of the past in their succession, and being acquainted with the influences which gave them their origin and distinctive form, we generally find our present experience according with our natural anticipations, while we are enabled to read the future with almost prophetic certainty.

"Armed with the twofold knowledge of HISTORY and the HUMAN MIND," says Mr. Coleridge, "a man will scarcely err in his judgment concerning the sum total of any future national event."

Our history is illustrated by the most undoubted records, and rich with the adventures and sacrifices of the best of men in their efforts to found a new empire. They succeeded in their enterprise, and died with the full assurance of a remembrance in the hearts of a grateful posterity "till the world's end."

Our annals hitherto have afforded nothing more worthy of national pride, than the events which transpired at this early period. The leading principles of all the peculiar forms of American society, were at that time established by the fathers of New England. They originated the American idea of a civil constitution, providing at once liberty and security to all on condition of obe-

dience to laws enacted by the popular will. Their popular system of a free government has continued for more than two centuries unchanged in all its essential features.

If we are so much indebted to our predecessors, it is a most imperative duty to bring forth to the light of our times their true character and principles. And the dictates of the purest patriotism, as well as respect for our ancestors, demand that this tribute to their memory should be made by the historians of this passing generation, and transmitted to those who are to come after us. No future period can be so favorable to make historical collections, and to correct the numerous misapprehensions which prevail as to the real character and purposes of the Puritans. Assuredly a great work will have been accomplished, when all sections of our wide republic shall forget their local jealousies, and learn to regard Plymouth Rock with reverence, as the basis from whence has arisen the superstructure of a new civilization which is to immortalize the American name. Nor will the impression which the truth, when well understood, will make in foreign countries be less happy. The permanence of our infant institutions is yet regarded by many abroad as problematical. But civil and religious freedom are among the oldest of our ancient things; and it is much to be doubted whether the last two centuries have witnessed in the old world any thing, either in modes of government or forms of religious faith, which have displayed less the marks of mutability, than the institutions which American Puritanism brought into being and has thus far sustained.

There has surely been some occasion of national reproach, in the

indifference of too many, even of our scholars, relative to our colonial history, especially when we find Mr. Alison sustaining his accusation against us by so respectable authority as De Tocqueville, whom he quotes as saying, "that so regardless are the Americans of historical records or monuments, that half a century hence their history, even of their own times, could only be written from the archives of other nations."

We believe, however, that reflective minds among us, are beginning to feel the importance of this great subject. The formation of historical associations in different parts of New England, are indications of an increasing interest. A rich accession has been made to our literature by the labors of Mr. Sparks, in his publication of the writings of Washington and Franklin, the great impersonations of the valor and the wisdom of the Revolution. But a wide field lies anterior to this, only partially explored by the historic traveler, in every stage of which there will be found instances of as devoted patriotism as any which shone in the more conspicuous era of the Revolution. The five generations who lived, and labored, and passed away before the contest with the British crown, were never in bondage to any foreign domination. They owned the authority of the English monarch, because they needed his protection; but they obeyed the laws which they themselves enacted.

The historian of New England colonization needs other qualifications than an accurate knowledge of statistics, or the power of pleasing description. He must be able to appreciate the nature of those principles which led the first colonists from their native shores, or he will be likely to confound their simplicity of character, and devoted patriotism, with the faults of their age, and weaknesses common to humanity. He will mistake the depth and

earnestness of their piety, for what their enemies have termed the follies of a stern and rigid superstition. If, however, he apprehends clearly the elemental principles of freedom in church and state, which they cherished above all price, he will award to them the high honor of having founded an ecclesiastical system, more in harmony with democratic institutions, than any that the world had seen. And though the idea of universal toleration was not at first recognized as it is now understood; yet it is their praise, that an absolute and perfect religious freedom has grown up, as the natural product of their institutions. That the great body of the American Puritans were political or religious enthusiasts, in any dishonorable sense of the word, during any period of their colonial history, is an aspersion from which we express our utter dissent.

The term *Puritan* first appears in the reign of Elizabeth, as the court appellation of a party demanding the farther reformation of the church of England. Long and bitter controversies arose, which were never terminated till the expulsion of the house of Stuart from the British throne. At the revolution of 1688, the Puritans obtained satisfaction in relation to most of the essential principles of liberty for which they had contended. Their political rights were secured by the British constitution; and the enjoyment of their religious opinions and worship was granted by an act of parliament, extending equal toleration to all dissenters from the established church, except Roman Catholics and Unitarians.

From the fact that Puritanism does not appear in the form of a party organization, after the accession of William and Mary, it has been very common for late English writers to speak of it as a historic relic, rather than as a living spirit, still efficient and predominant. No-

thing can be more erroneous than such an impression. The causes which led to the settlement of the American colonies, and afterwards to the revolutions of 1648 and 1688, were the results of a social movement, hardly less important than that of the Reformation of the preceding century. Protestantism restored vitality to the Christian church—Puritanism was destined to complete the work of religious reform, and relieve mankind from the bondage of civil despotism. Indeed, in its historic character it must be regarded as social rather than religious; as aiming to secure the well-being of man, as a member of the state, and as a worshiper in the church, rather than as the champion for any particular forms of faith or worship. If it became a sect, it became such by being persecuted, and expelled from the church, which it sought to purify and reform. Driven forth into the wilderness, it established for itself those forms and usages of which our New England churches and states are the depositories.

As soon, however, as the Puritans had secured the establishment of their own institutions, they granted toleration to all forms of Christian doctrine, in strict accordance with their principles. Indeed the mission of Puritanism every where has been to ameliorate the social condition. Speaking of the Puritans of the sixteenth century, in the days of Elizabeth, Dr. Arnold, in his lectures on modern history, says, "If we examine the case closely, we shall find that in strictness they were a political party, and that the changes which they wanted to introduce were political; political, it may be said, even more than religious, if we apprehend the distinction involved in these words more accurately than seems to be done by the common usage of them." Thus we find, that in its earliest as well as latest developments in Eng-

land, Puritanism embodied the genuine ideas of Saxon liberty, and the exalted patriotism of the British race. It was for that reason, rigid and resolute in the maintenance of its rights, but liberal in the administration of authority, and never the advocate of injustice and oppression, not even of its enemies. Hume, the defender of the Stuart dynasty, and the most inveterate opponent of the manners and religious tenets of the Puritans, has honored their love of liberty in an eulogium as remarkable, considering the source from whence it comes, as it is historically just.

The origin of Puritanism, and its results during that most eventful period of English history, to which we have referred, are to us chiefly important, as they enable us to estimate correctly its triumphs on a wider field. The Puritans of England, two hundred years ago, were destined as the chief means in the political renovation of Europe. At least they were the prominent pioneers in the great work. The pilgrims of Lincolnshire had entered on their mission but a few years before, and in the world of Columbus a new civilization was to be born. Love of liberty burned in the hearts of both alike. The Puritans, during the reign of the Stuarts, were true Englishmen, with hearts beating high with the pride of a people who had been a thousand years distinguished, and not one jot or tittle of the same precious inheritance, did their brethren, the Pilgrims, renounce, when they came hither to found an empire of their own. But while they sought objects that were similar in their nature, and while they sympathized warmly for each other, the courses allotted by Providence for the attainment of their ends, were as diverse as can well be conceived.

The progress of English liberty was attended with all the difficulties which always arise, when the pre-

judices and manners of an old people are assailed. The friends of freedom, in their zeal for innovation often misjudged, as to the temper of their times. They often attempted to subvert when they could only modify and ameliorate. They sometimes contended as earnestly for the forms as for the principles of popular institutions. The nation at length became weary of the conflict, and the popular party compromised much in the revolution of 1688, for the sake of which some of the best blood of England had been shed. Such men as Hampden, and Vane, and Milton, would have been satisfied only with institutions which, in their external costume would have much resembled the popular constitutions of American Puritanism. But the existing state of European society, rendered the ideas of these men impracticable. In their enthusiasm, they anticipated the universal regeneration of mankind as near at hand, and like the millenarians of our day, appear not only to have misunderstood the prophetic chronology of the Scriptures, but also to have greatly overestimated the importance of their direct agency in hastening on the latter day of the Lord. Yet they performed a great work, although they least of all anticipated the events which were introduced by their labors, and which now stand revealed to our eyes, by the light of two centuries. They made England the home of a free people, although they could not destroy the regal establishment. The monarchy sustained by the loyalty of the realm, and the recollections of its ancient glory, was united with the strong power of the popular element, and thus formed, the British constitution soon gave Great Britain the predominance among all nations. Mankind are yet to rejoice in the consummation of that high destiny, by which Providence seemed to have designed her, as the almoner of her

laws and the blessings of the Protestant faith to the most distant dependencies of her vast empire.

In tracing the progress of American Puritanism, a succession of events is presented, which finds no parallel in English history; not even during the commonwealth. The pilgrims appear as the founders of states. They wished to enjoy those institutions which they had labored in vain to establish in the land of their fathers; and they labored to plant the wilderness with wholly a right seed. They fled from their oppressors before the great battles in defense of English liberty had been fought. The constitution of Robinson's church was revolutionary in relation to the prelatical pretensions of the establishment, and therefore opposed to the authority of the civil power. The noblest spirits of the British islands could not longer remain on their native soil, and their pilgrimage was commenced. In Holland they found the field circumscribed. They needed a world for their habitation, for they had a world of work to do. They founded states where the highest degree of rational liberty was entirely consistent with the rigid restraints of just laws. They provided for the instruction of all classes of the community, and established colleges for the cultivation of letters. They made liberal provision for the religious training of the people, relying mainly on the divine precepts of the Scriptures for controlling the conduct of men. They loved the primitive forms of Christianity, preferring the garb in which she first appeared to mankind when she came down from heaven, and caring little for the trammels and fantastic drapery which the traditions of the elders and the superstitions of the monasteries had thrown around her, and which had almost concealed the beauty and glory of that simplicity which belongs to whatever is di-

vine. Thus they brought with them to this place of their refuge, *liberty, letters, and religion in its purity*, and with these elements, they laid the foundation of what may properly be called the highest style of Christian civilization. Their enterprise was begun in weakness, and for a long time was carried on in obscurity; but it was the fit mode to ensure success. Such a work needed centuries to unfold and perfect the great design. A nation's founders, if they are just and wise men, are from their station and labors, the greatest of its benefactors. Hence among the ancients, the earliest heroes of a people were numbered among its tutelary deities, and even in the early annals of the present leading nations of Europe, where the records have been obscured by time, romance and song have not less clearly expressed the feelings of national pride and partiality. Our ancestors require no apotheosis to commemorate their virtues, other than the eternal remembrance of them. They need as little the aids of romance to set them in their proper light. Let only a perfect record of what they did, and what they designed, be made by the historian who would honor them most. The truth will be stranger than fiction. They will need no higher deification.

Among our fathers, the name of Robinson stands conspicuous, for he must be regarded as the great apostle of American Puritanism—although he was never permitted to accompany his flock in their pilgrimage to "freedom's holy land." Indeed, none of the great reformers of the preceding century is more deserving of celebrity. He was not surpassed, even by Luther himself, in many of those qualities which belong to a master mind. Nor was the work he was destined to accomplish, of much less importance in the blessings it was to confer on

mankind. He had not that striking, commanding impetuosity of character, which belonged to the great German reformer, and it would have proved fatal to his cause if he had possessed it; but he had equal integrity, with more mildness, and with a moral firmness the most uncompromising. He swerved not from the path of right in the days of persecution, attended with imminent perils. He was alike unmoved by the voice of praise, and declined the honorable proposals made to him by the Leyden professors, who would have induced him to accept emolument and place for himself in the university. He chose rather to suffer affliction, and refused to be separated from his beloved pilgrim flock. His disinterestedness is perhaps the most prominent of his virtues. Although he may be called the founder of a new church, he was entirely free from the ambition of apostleship, and did every thing in his power to discountenance a bigoted attachment to himself, which the great excellence of his character might have very naturally produced among his followers. Especially did he renounce with great earnestness, all pretensions to be regarded as an authority in matters of religious faith, although he was learned in all the religious controversies of the day, and a powerful disputant with the most eminent theologians of the period when Arminius and Episcopius flourished, as the doctors of Amsterdam have borne ample testimony. His liberality deserves honorable mention, which was especially displayed towards those, who, on account of his faith, had driven him into exile. This appears from his controversy with the Brownists, with whom some respectable historians have erroneously identified the church of Robinson. He denounced their exclusiveness, and declared his readiness to commune with the church of England and

his approval of her doctrines, and expressed his opposition only to her prelatical pretensions.

Who among the great names we are accustomed to venerate, displayed greater moral firmness than Robinson in the execution of his purposes? Both his object and his plans seemed to be attended with almost insuperable difficulties. In the general estimation of the world at that time, the realization of his hopes was at least as problematical as the existence of another continent before the days of the great Genoese mariner. But he was set for the defense of principles which he knew to be true, although the world denounced them as delusions, and the belief of them as a sin. Banished from his native land, with peril of martyrdom if he should return, he was doomed to dwell among strangers, not having the sympathies of whole provinces, nor receiving the smiles and safe conduct of princes, as did Luther when he went forth to war with wickedness in high places. He was compelled to suffer reproach without commiseration. Not only the Catholics, but the Protestant world also looked on with indifference, or to ridicule the man who dared to assert the necessity of a progressive reformation in the church, and who had started the chimerical project of a church-state on the bleak barren coasts of North America, "amid wilde beasts and wilde men." Yet he failed not fearlessly to point out the defects of the Reformation, in an age when the influence of its burning and shining light was at its spring-tide, and especially to plead against hierarchical oppression. At length discouraged with the dark prospect which shut out all hope of the farther progress of religious reform and freedom in the state, he earnestly set himself and his faithful followers, to prepare for their great mission to the new world. And now there was wanting something besides the zeal of a reformer, to

inspire a consistent as well as undying devotion to the cause in which they had engaged. Mere enthusiasm might indeed have led them to embark in an enterprise far more hopeless. There was needed the sound wisdom of the philosopher, combined with what is much more rarely met with, the patience and practical discretion of the great statesman, to render successful this novel scheme of colonization. The memorials that yet remain, though defective, are enough to show that he possessed all these qualifications in a high degree. For eleven years he instructed his people in Holland, and then they were ready to depart. That probationary period of the pilgrims, under the tuition of such a pastor as Robinson, is a chapter in their history, full of "hidden meaning," and crowded with the most important consequences as to the future character of the colonists, and the institutions they were to establish. When we subsequently witness the wisdom of Carver and Bradford, the approved piety and meekness of Brewster, "their ruling elder," the courage of Standish, and the patience and fortitude of all, even the weakest of the pilgrims, when perils and perplexity came upon them, we can be at no loss to discover the grounds of that attachment and reverence which they always expressed for "the excellent Mr. Robinson," as well as the nature of the instructions he had given them. It was during this period also that Mr. Robinson stood in the relation of the great Jewish law-giver to the children of Israel in the wilderness, being the founder of the civil polity as well as the religious code of his people. He did not indeed prescribe for them definite formularies for their social organization, but he had most thoroughly imbued their minds with all the great principles of civil and religious liberty. Like Moses, also, when he had long led his chosen

flock in their pilgrimage, he was not permitted to enter with them the promised land. But he accompanied them to the water-side on the day of their embarkation, to give them his benediction, and to comfort them in the sorrows of that separation, which they, the first of their emigrant race, were the first to suffer. Had we no other memorial than the address he gave them when they left the city of Leyden, that alone would be sufficient to immortalize his name. We venture to say, that no document in the religious history of Europe is more worthy of consideration, and that no assemblage ever convened under circumstances of more thrilling interest, than did the church of Robinson on the day of fasting and prayer preparatory to the embarkation. They were not assuredly an assemblage of enthusiasts, although the occasion of their coming together was so unwonted and strange. Emotions too deep for tears pervade their solemn meeting, whilst those who are to remain behind are thinking of the separation on the morrow, and the adventurers listen for the last time to the counsels of their faithful pastor. So appropriately does his address accord with the true nature and destiny of their expedition, that we might almost be justified in the idea, that it was inspired by a presentiment of the glorious results as they stand unfolded to our own view. The loftiest principles of religious liberty, are uttered in language of impressive brevity, of matchless pathos, of the most catholic spirit, and without one word of railing accusation toward those who had been the occasion of all their sufferings.

"Words," says Prince, the venerable New England chronologist, "almost astonishing in that age of low and universal bigotry, which then prevailed in the English nation; wherein this truly great and learned man seems almost the only

divine, who was capable of rising into a noble freedom of thinking and practicing in religious matters, and even of urging such an equal liberty on his own people. He labors to take them off from their attachment to *him*, that they might be more entirely free to search and follow the Scriptures."

This address of Robinson is well worthy to be regarded as the Magna Charta of the conscience, till the end of time. It should be forever taught in all the schools and churches of the descendants of the Puritans. It should be read at the ordination of every New England pastor. We lately heard it on such an occasion. Nothing could exceed its appropriateness. It has already become the creed of a mighty people. It will, ere long, triumph over the proudest spiritual dominations of the world.

If the last act of the pilgrims, on bidding adieu to the old world, was most befitting their great undertaking, their first transaction was no less appropriate and significant, when they approached the shores of the new. This was the formation of their civil compact, in the cabin of the Mayflower. We will not here describe its provisions or its principles. The eloquent words of De Tocqueville declare, respecting it, that "a democracy more perfect than any which antiquity had dreamed of, started forth in full form and panoply," and that American civilization was so constituted by its founders, as to be "the result (and this should be constantly present to the mind,) of two distinct elements, which, in other places, have been in frequent hostility; but which, in America, have been admirably incorporated and combined with each other. I allude to the spirit of religion, and the spirit of liberty."

It is often said, by those who would withhold due praise from such men as Robinson, Carver, Bradford, and Davenport, that they could not com-

prehend the results of their own labors, nor even understand fully the nature of the principles they professed; and therefore their merits are to be estimated by what they accomplished for themselves and their contemporaries. Let it be admitted that success is the proper criterion of merit, and that praise should be awarded to great actions, and not to good intentions never executed; still a just view of the American Puritans, will assign them a high place on the catalogue of illustrious names. The success of their enterprise depended on time, as one of the elements in their original designs. Their glory consists, then, in having begun the work in the right manner; and their merits are to be measured by their ideas and anticipations, wherein they could not complete what they commenced. Their ends were clearly apprehended, and their deliberations as to the future, were in the main, directed by the convictions of a cool reason, and a religious regard for their posterity. The results which they themselves lived to witness, do not fill up the measure of their glory. The sailing of three small ships from the port of Palos, was an occurrence no way distinguished, except in the unheard of object of the voyage; and when at length land was descried, it was but an insignificant island, a mere appendage of the boundless continent. But the praise of Columbus, is in no way proportioned to the extent of his own actual explorations, nor aught diminished by the fact, that other European eyes first beheld the main land. So when we recur to the embarkation at Delfts Haven, or the civil administrations of Carver and Davenport, we shall witness transactions in little keeping with the pageantry and costume, which clothe even the trivial acts of princes and parliaments, with an adventitious consideration. The hut of the Missourian emigrant may be a

comfortable abode, compared with the wretched shanty in which the adventurers of the Mayflower first found refuge, and in which they held their early legislative courts. But there were men of might even in those primitive assemblies, and in their simple discussions, the identical doctrines of liberty were recognized, which, in the stirring times of the Revolution, a hundred and fifty years after, were heard from the lips of the Adamses, and Franklin, and Hancock, in the hall of independence—a fact which has not escaped the notice of the philosophical Guizot.

We do ourselves, as a people, not only great mischief, but great injustice, when we count the past the day of small things, in comparison with what we hope to be. A more proper view of the subject, would lead us to the conclusion, that from the point we now occupy, the past is to assume, in the minds of all reflecting men and true patriots, an importance as deeply interesting as is the value of our dearest hopes of the future. "The past," says Mr. Webster, "is at least secure." It can not but be treasonable, to treat it with scorn or ridicule. For that people can not be destined to a long or a prosperous career, who are regardless of the names and virtues of those who laid the foundations of its NATIONAL MANNERS, and its NATIONAL RENOWN. The manners of the American people, are at once the origin and only security of all their popular forms of government. They are the resultants of national associations, habits, prejudices, and opinions. They are not the growth of a day, or subject to sudden vicissitudes. They belong to the necessary laws of national existence, and will continue so long as it has within its constitution, any of its original vitality. Amid all mutations and improvements of its external condition, these will be retained and grow more vig-

orous, with the maturity of the national life.

It is not uncommon, however, to meet with speculations sanctioned by those for whom a high degree of respectability is claimed, which countenance the idea that something better is needed, as a predominant element in American manners, than the Puritanism of New England. Hence at home and in foreign countries, it is spoken of by its enemies with reproach, and as the means of doing this most efficiently, the effort is made to confound it with sectarianism; keeping out of sight as much as possible, the fact of its historical character, as being social, rather than as the index of a particular system of religious faith. Thus its great achievements and important destinies, in the progress of American civilization, are concealed by the ambition of real sectarians, or by the hostility of heartless demagogues, who dread the social restraints exerted by its unbending morality, and whose only hope of distinction is in the universal degeneracy of manners.

We hear it said by some, that a revolution is at hand, or already in progress, that is to effect great changes in the religious usages of our fathers. Particularly has it been affirmed beyond the Atlantic, by those who have taken it upon themselves to manufacture opinions and facts, for our special benefit, that Puritanism is fast losing ground among us, as appears most evident from the rapid advance of papacy and prelacy of all sorts, in the United States; and there are not wanting those on this side of the water, who respond to the notion that all Protestant Christendom is becoming weary of its restless search of novelties, and is longing to return to that repose where the law of deference to the Vatican, or perhaps to some more "ancient universal hierarchy," was every where respected and obeyed.

From another class of writers, perfectly the opposite of this, comes the announcement, that the end of Puritanism draweth near. They are dreamers of dreams, and such as love to listen to them; the makers and venders of philosophical fancy-work of the latest fashion. They profess to be well versed in German literature, and are perfectly entranced with the rhapsodies of Jean Paul Richter. They speak of great social revolutions, and philosophical millenniums, and the reign of "liberal Christianity." Not long since, a band of the most resolute of these world reformers, emigrated from the capital of New England, and penetrated as far into the wilderness as the town of Roxbury, where, according to the latest accounts, the colony is still surviving, although in a sickly condition. Its future prospects seem endangered by the later project of the Fourier associations. These men have little true reverence for the past, although they dwell among the earliest graves of the pilgrims. They and those who hold a literary fellowship with them, speak of the Puritans as merely the pioneers of the bright day of which they are the luminaries. They do even garnish the sepulchers of such as were distinguished for their early "liberality" to Harvard University, and the oldest "religious societies" in Boston and its vicinity, and may honor them as the "great, earnest men of their time," whose political views were indeed well enough conceived and adapted to their social condition. But their philosophical and religious speculations were "according to the light they had," and must now retire from the presence of more "rational" and "liberal" dispensations.

If it is true that their religious tenets were the delusions of weak and wayward minds, or their works were temporary in their benefits and good influence, then verily they had their reward in the enjoyment

of temporary success, and temporary honors. If the pilgrims of the Mayflower, and their successors, did not do something for the cause of civil liberty, that will endure; if they did not do something for an immutable morality, and the "permanent" as well as "transient" in Christianity, then let oblivion hide from our sight men of short perspective, and small undertakings; and as for ourselves, we will become either the abettors of foreign "tractators," who would again bring back into the world the obsolete wisdom of past folly, or we will fall down the devoutest heroworshippers of the latest illuminati, who would have us believe they have discovered all past wisdom to be folly.

It is most true that the Puritans lived and labored with the firmest faith, that what they accomplished would endure. They sought not the world's approval of their conduct, for a banishment, ocean wide, had quite separated them from all European sympathy. They knew, however, that the eye of posterity would be ever on them; and under the full conviction that they were to be patterns of holy living and dying for all time to come, it was not unnatural for them to adopt laws and a system of manners, the rigidity of which was shocking to the liberalism of the court of Charles II. But, however far short of our standards of perfection they may have come, they have a right to the veneration of all parties and sects among their descendants, for what they actually accomplished in behalf of civil liberty, and for the example which they gave of devotion to truth, to God, and to the welfare of unborn generations. The vast structure of American civilization was mainly reared by their instrumentality, and we think it can be said with entire truth, that the influence of no one sect of Christians, at the present time, does more to preserve and per-

fect our social system, than that which is the representative of the genuine old fashioned Puritanism of Plymouth rock.

We would not be understood as treating lightly the veneration which Christians of other lands have for their patril forms of worship, many of which are more ancient and venerable than our own. Our temporal life, how varied soever it may be in its external circumstances, will be closely allied, by a thousand associations, with the life that is to come. And these may be as strong and salutary within a Puritan sanctuary, as under Gothic arches, consecrated with a lord prelate's blessing. Nor do we oppose the existence or prosperity of sects in our own New England, founded on a conscientious difference of opinion or taste. We have no desire to see realized again in the world's history, the idea of a universal church. The expectation of such an event in the universal domination of any one of the numerous Christian sects, is a chimera. That the peace of mankind, and the prosperity of vital religion, depends upon denominational divisions, is a far more rational idea. The millennium of church supremacy, is most clearly discernible in the past, and not in the future. American Puritanism will accomplish one great end of its destiny, if it shall prevent a recurrence of what was so disastrous to true Christian liberty—that liberty which imparts to every sect and every conscience, independence upon earth, while at the same time,

"The pledge is given,
One monarch to obey, one creed to own,
That monarch, God; that creed, his word
alone."

We have alluded to opinions which oppose the spirit and usages of Puritanism, on the ground that the Puritan influence is not an essential element of American society, and that something better can be substituted in its room. These errors being

the offspring of an erroneous philosophy, or of a superstitious attachment to the antique usages of foreign countries, may prevail so extensively, as at length to excite serious apprehension. But a greater and more immediate danger is to be feared from a more numerous class, who are under no such influence as has been referred to. We mean those who deny the necessity, and even the utility, of the conservative restraints of any form of religious belief, in any department of the social system. We mean those, especially, who, in matters of civil legislation, "mean license, when they cry liberty." We mean, also, the multitudes of those who are almost entirely ignorant of the true history of New England, and who can not, therefore, appreciate the real character of those who, in weakness and peril, laid the strong foundations of the happy society, under which we now live. We mean those, moreover, who seem to be born only to be repositories of the errors and faults of their ancestors, instead of their virtues. A generation hath arisen, with many of whom it would seem our *heroic* age is likely to be remembered, only to be ridiculed and reviled. In this work of desecration, it forms no part of their purpose, to award the tribute of merit to the principles which, in the main, actuated those whose conduct could not always be approved, inasmuch as humanity is frail; but the conduct of the men of a former age, is scanned by the light of the present, for the obvious purpose of reviling the best of principles. With the recklessness of political partisans, in assailing the public and private reputation of their living rivals, the holy dead are dragged mercilessly from their tombs, to answer for the errors of former centuries. Thus in the frequent charges we hear against the Puritans, for a want of conformity to the present standard of legal toleration, the object is to

cast reproach upon the faith they loved, and which is still cherished with affection by the mass of their descendants. But mention is not made of the fact, that the Puritans themselves, broke down the barriers which they had at first set up, to protect their own churches, in the infancy of the colonies, and that in the state of Connecticut all sects were admitted to equal privileges with the Puritan churches, a long age before these nineteenth century champions of toleration, could possibly begin their labors of liberality. The same class of persons always select the Puritans of Massachusetts as subjects of malediction, for believing in witchcraft, and the inhabitants of Salem and Boston are regarded as sinners above all men of that generation, because they hung sundry persons, supposed to be witches, in conformity with a doctrine deemed scriptural throughout Christendom, alike by Papist, Churchman, and Puritan, and in conformity with legal maxims, approved by the highest judicial authorities in England, more than a century later. In this case, also, the fact is withheld, that the Puritans were the first people in the world to detect this delusion, and that the Puritan ministers in general were the foremost in denouncing it, and that it was banished from New England more than a hundred years before these modern denouncers of dead men's prejudices, were born. In claiming so much for the honor of New England manners, as being the origin and principal conservator of American liberty, we are aware that our declarations conflict with the opinions of many of our contemporaries, who have honestly enough come by them. In the hostility of rival sections; in the never-ceasing strife of political parties; in the acrimony and jealousy of a thousand interested sects, it is not strange that many things in the past should be overlooked or misrepre-

sented, in the common struggle for notoriety and dominion. But surely it does not become those who are devoted to literary pursuits, or political ambition, to be the victims of prejudices, which tarnish the bright honor of that country which is to be the home of their labors, and in whose archives is to be enrolled the record of their fame. Nor should those who resort to institutions of learning, for the lessons of practical life, or to prepare for a professional career, depart from those seats of wisdom, in profound ignorance of this necessary condition of society in our own country, and indeed in every country, that there is hardly an object of solid worth, either in the private possessions, or patriotic associations, or the religious institutions of mankind, for which they are not very much indebted to the generations that have preceded them. But New England is not to be in future, the representative of the national manners; she has already become a small portion of the great Union of states, to which she has given her own free constitutions. Her institutions were planted on bleak and barren hills, by the hand of patient toil. What will be the effect of the rich soil of the Mississippi valley, even if it should be wholly planted by New England emigrants? And again, what is to be the effect of a reflexive influence of the west, occasioned by its political power, and boundless wealth?

There is something, indeed, in the onward progress of our civilization to the great central seat of its habitation, which is more impressive than the heavy tread of arrayed battalions. A great people have commenced their career of conquest and acquisition,

"In life's morning march, when the bosom is young."

But its aggressions are peaceful, and not those of violence. It is an

invasion of unbroken solitudes, and smiling villages and cities, active with the "hum of busy life," not rapine or ruins, mark its footsteps. This phenomenon, so extraordinary in the world's history, has attracted the attention of all eyes, and they are anxiously turned to see the distant goal towards which it is directing its way.

Who can determine the remote consequences, in a political point of view, which must flow from the energies of a people whose population doubles every twenty-three years? What form of government can control the conduct, or satisfy the wants, or please the tastes of the hundred millions, among whom many now in childhood will live to be numbered? Every will, and voice, and arm, is to be free in the eye of laws enacted and administered by those who are to obey them. Will the spirit of true liberty "rule the free?"

In that wide field, so soon to be filled with thinking immortal intelligences, will there be an arena where the human intellect, in its sway of moral power, shall win some of its noblest triumphs? The rapt inspiration of Berkeley, more than a century ago, announced the consummation of the great historic drama, by "time's noblest offspring," in an empire of the west. Can we at this day more distinctly descry such a terminus, as the result of the toil and conflict of nations in their search after social happiness? Or must we consider such ideas as poetic fancies, and the highest attainments of the social condition to be that which provides for man's physical wants in the greatest profusion?

If the Puritan element in our civilization shall be lost in the overwhelming current of opposing tendencies, we do not say that in a comparison with other nations the American republic may not maintain a conspicuous rank, and that great events may not mark its his-

tory. But they will be such as belong to the past civilization of the old world, while we shall have lost that characteristic which so strikingly distinguishes our own civilization from all that have yet existed—a civilization antichivalric, antimonarchical indeed, but which has for its great ends whatever is useful and true—a civilization whose annals record the triumphs of peace, not those of war and conquest; and which honors even Washington more for his wisdom as a statesman, than for his prowess in the field—a civilization to which even Napoleon himself, in the height of his power, paid homage, not less than to the brightest name it has produced, when he said “the fame of Washington would be immortal among all men, and constantly brighten, while his own would vanish away and be forgotten.” Did he, with the presentiment by which minds of the highest order read the future, perceive that he was to be the last of the great heroes of the old civilization?

These considerations lead us back instinctively to study the institutions of our fathers, and especially their conservative elements. Dangerous opinions and prejudices prevail, but we believe they may be counteracted by a timely opposition. The memory of the New England fathers will be cherished forever by such as choose to dwell by their graves, and are trained after their models. The moral and intellectual power of New England will still remain unimpaired, and by these means she can still sustain with a strong arm the institutions she had the honor first to establish. She can also set forth their true nature and history, so as to attract the notice of all beyond her borders who would search for the light, and so as to compel the attention of all who would willingly shun it. To this end measures should be taken to cultivate a strong New England sympathy in

the hearts of all her sons. We do not wish a spirit of exclusiveness or sectional jealousy should be cherished. There is nothing more liberal than genuine New England patriotism, while it is not inconsistent with the strongest local attachments. This feeling can be promoted especially by the pastors of those churches who are the representatives of the religious faith of our ancestors. It is a mistaken idea to suppose that Puritanism was ever antisocial in its tendencies. The Puritan pastor will deem it his first official duty to instruct his flock in the way to heaven; but he is not a monk or an anchorite. In his private relations he is a citizen, and is entitled to all the sympathies of his fellow citizens. In his public capacity he may not mingle in the petty conflicts of politicians, or contend for the honors or spoils of office. In all that relates to the permanent interests and moral improvement of his people, he has a deep concern, and is invested with a solemn responsibility. He may address the public conscience, and defend the public morals. He may rebuke wickedness in places of power, and denounce every species of oppression. A religion that does not require all this at the hands of its ministers, is not worth the having. Especially is he, by virtue of his office, made the repository of the “traditions” of the New England “church,” and these he should on all *proper occasions* and “festivals” faithfully portray.

The anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims, or the sabbath nearest to it, might be observed as one of those festival occasions. The event which it commemorates, in its relation to the American church and civil polity, is analogous to that which led to the observance of the passover among the Hebrews; and to every true son of New England it would seem that the occasion would recur with equal interest. At Plymouth, the 22d of December

has long been known by the endearing appellation of *forefathers' day*, and for more than seventy years it has been generally observed with appropriate ceremonies, and honored by some of the finest specimens of American eloquence. On this day, also, the "New England Society," in the metropolis of the Empire State, have for many years paid their tribute of remembrance and affection.

"They have lingered round
Each spot of consecrated ground,
And hill and valley blessed;
There where our banished fathers strayed,
There where they loved, and wept, and
prayed,—
There where their ashes rest."

Why should not this day be generally observed as a New England festival? In the "sunny season" we celebrate the anniversary of our national independence with civic processions and rejoicings, and we do well. The idea of "the most eloquent defender of the Declaration, on the floor of the continental congress," should be carried out till the end of time. But when the

"midnight of the year" has come, and the winds of the winter solstice freeze

"The bay where the Mayflower lay," why should not the New England pastor commemorate an event which awakens associations equally patriotic, and far more rich and dear to the friends of the faith he loves? The voices of the dead would then be once more heard among the living, disarming a thousand prejudices, and disclosing to all, even the most prejudiced and illiberal, the truth and the whole truth as to their labors, their patience, and their hopes. They would tell us of our present duties, and while they would reveal to us their own bright visions of the final triumphs of our Christian civilization, which they saw two centuries ago, they would censure with the severest rebuke, those of their recreant sons, who dwelling on intermediate ground, between the sufferings of the distant past and the glories of the distant future, are alike indifferent to the patience and the faith of their fathers.

MANNERS AND SOCIETY.

PERHAPS there has never been a time since our ancestors came to this country, when a sound national prosperity, and a healthful national character, were in so fair a way of progress, as during the few years immediately after the present century had left its *teens*. At that period, it seemed to be a pretty general opinion that respectability depended in some small degree upon personal qualities. Talents, information, moral uprightness, and freedom from awkwardness and affectation, were qualifications for good society, indeed, the best society. Wealth had influence, birth

had influence, but not more than it was natural and right they should have. Fortunes were gradually accumulated, and education had time to keep pace with the increase of luxury; so that wealth, and cultivation, and refinement, were generally found associated; and the latter were considered not only as indispensable to the former, but as raising their possessors to an equality, even to a superiority, when they were found disconnected.

But the great flood of what was called *commercial prosperity*, proved, in its results, highly unfavorable to this mode of estimating the merits

of individuals. On this flood, multitudes who had no claim to the above-mentioned qualifications found themselves lifted from their original obscurity, and carried upward and onward, until, to their surprise and delight, they were wafted to the very doors of sumptuous dwellings, on which they found their own names inscribed, and which they were exhorted to enter and enjoy. They did so, and for a while the gratification of the senses in their new situation, was sufficient for their happiness. The imperial carpets were soft to the tread; the damask sofas yielded delightfully to the pressure of the form; the rich and gorgeous hues of silk and velvet furniture were marvelously pleasant to the eye. It was pleasant, too, to fare sumptuously every day, and to ride in gilded carriages, drawn by sleek and well-fed horses. It was pleasant to dress in the richest products of the East; and for less than the rubbing of a lamp, to find a shower of gems and pearls upon the toilet.

This was all very natural; and it was natural that a feeling of pride, and complacency, and self-importance, should grow out of the possession of these things. Had the rise been more gradual, or, instead of being extended to whole classes, had it been confined to here and there an individual, the general face of society would have remained unchanged. The "new" people, finding that a certain degree of cultivation and refinement was necessary to their being well received in society, and to their feeling as comfortable abroad as they did at home, would have hastened to acquire it, and things would have held their natural, relative position. But it was irksome to learn by slow degrees, and painful to submit to a feeling of inferiority. They had obtained that which all respected and wished for; why not dispense with other things, and make this the

only test of superiority? Numbers found themselves in the same predicament; they had pressed forward into the van of society, they kept each other in countenance, and they carried the day. A philosophy literally and strictly material came to pervade society. Things were turned topsy-turvy. The five senses enjoyed a distinction which it was never intended they should have; and the head and the heart, that which was merely mentally and morally good and beautiful, were degraded from their proper place in general estimation, and cast quite into the shade. Wealth and its appliances came to be considered the only rational pursuit, the only means of happiness, and indeed, the only proper test of worth and importance. Society flourished; all was apparently good humor and complacency. The leaders of *ton* never doubted that what they did was and must be right. Had they not seen how things were done in Birmingham and Manchester? And supposing they varied a little from these standards, were they not rich, and had they not a right to do so?

Thus the gales of prosperity continued to blow, as did the strong east winds, and the latter were almost synonymous with the former, for they drove along the ships that bore the elements, the very foundations of their happiness and importance. But, alas! who can tell what a ship may bring? Among cases of Italian silks, and boxes of French laces, and hampers of Spanish wines, and droves of English traders, all of which were gladly welcomed to our shores, came an article of quite another description, an English traveler; and he was most gladly welcomed of all; for would he not see the glory and the splendor which reigned among us? And would he not publish it in a book, and would not distant nations read, and wonder, and admire? And should we not become a pattern

for them, the very mirror in which they should all dress themselves?

The bookmaker's speculation proved fortunate, and he was succeeded by others; and woman, gentle woman, followed in the train, and opened wide her eyes and ears, and plied her pen, and the press groaned with the products of their teeming brains. But, alas! for the expectations of their feasters and entertainers, who looked for the dulcet notes of praise, the fragrant incense of adulation. Instead of these, came strains of most discordant music. Captain Hall thundered and growled in deep and monotonous tones of grave disapprobation. Major Hamilton struck in with a tenor in the same key, but with different time and expression; now gay and frolicsome, now satirical and jeering, and anon, blustering in a tornado of wrath and indignation. Higher, louder, shriller, and in a different key, followed Miss Martineau, in a resolute and overpowering alto. But harsher, more discordant than all the rest, and sounding like the mirth of midnight witches in their horrid glee, came the loud, fearless laugh of Mrs. Trollope, causing strange misgivings in many a hitherto complacent and self-satisfied breast, and making some such accompaniment to the trio, as would a Chinese gong to a trombone, a Kent bugle and a flag-elet. This concert was thought rare music by the English, and apparently by the performers themselves, who carried it on *con amore*. Not so the Americans, who, instead of the diamonds, and pearls, and roses, which they had looked for, when these travelers should open their mouths to speak or to sing, saw a strange and disgusting compound of tobacco-spittle, muddled eggs, steel forks, military titles, political quacks, drunken ladies, forward girls, and premature old women; awkwardness, ignorance, and prejudice, with not a single grace or courtesy of

life in the shape of a finger-glass or a clean napkin, to cover and relieve the nauseous and incongruous mixture. Then men began to look strangely in each other's faces, and women's hearts failed them for fear. They gazed around them with bewildered and distrustful eyes. Of what avail were all the glittering and gorgeous things by which they were surrounded, when instead of one Mordecai they beheld half a dozen?

A loud and simultaneous cry of anger, and denial, and defiance, burst forth, but it was affectation, not genuine courage and self-reliance; *these* would not have shouted so loud. And when the shouting was over, and men were red in the face and hoarse in the throat, what did they do? Did they go quietly on in their old way; or did they look about them to see if haply there might not be some among themselves who had been overlooked, but who yet were worthy of imitation in the science of manners? Did they ever think of recurring to first principles, and adapting them to their own condition, strive to improve their manners by the assiduous cultivation and improvement of their minds? No; this would not do. They had been horrified at the idea of eating their soup and drinking their wine in a different manner from the fashionables in — Square. The ghosts of egg-shells, whose contents had been scooped into a glass or cup, appeared in long array before their eyes, and spoiled their breakfasts; and who could tell if at every meal they did not sin against some rule of polished society, equally important with that which decrees that an egg must be eaten directly from the shell? So, many packed their trunks and set off bag and baggage for England or France, to learn exactly how things were managed there. Foreign waiters were at a premium, and became the instructors of fam-

ilies. Foreigners were anxiously observed and imitated, and books of etiquette began to be written and studied. In the course of four years no less than eleven grave, didactic works, were issued from the American press, the sole object of which works was to give rules for behavior in society. Several of these books went rapidly through many editions. In consequence of all this, a new principle was gradually introduced. Matter lost something of its importance; mode became also a touchstone of gentility. Wealth alone no longer gave the very highest claim to distinction; it was a knowledge of conventional usages—not such usages as might have grown out of the habits of a refined and intellectual class among ourselves, but such as belonged to the fashionists abroad.

But the passion for wealth was by no means confined to the merchant, the speculator, the mechanic, those whose occupations might have led them to an undue value of the objects of their traffick or their toil; the physician, the lawyer, the judge, the author, the divine, were found willing to sacrifice the superiority which has generally been conceded to them as the consequence of their more intellectual pursuits, to abdicate their high position, and to place themselves in the ranks of those who were running the race of mammon. The idea of *good* came to be generally limited to the external advantages of life; to the possession of fine furniture, houses and carriages, to the name of fashion, and the reputation of a miscalled superior breeding. The poetry of life was almost lost.

“The still, sad music of humanity,”

was drowned in the din and bustle of sensual pursuits; and those who would have withdrawn at times from the ignoble strife and turmoil, were generally doomed to find themselves alone, without the sympathy which

cheers, and soothes, and sustains, and which is frequently the most necessary to the purest minds; till, at length, they became disgusted with society, or, yielding by degrees to the current that swept around them, their high aspirations were lost, and they followed, albeit with many regrets and self-upbraidings, the common and universal impulse. As wealth continued to flow in, the general mind seemed more and more to turn itself outwards, and to live in externals; and as people became familiarized to the idea of splendor, the mania of fashion seemed also to increase.

But there were other causes beside the facility with which fortunes were acquired, and the sneers and jeers of English travelers, which tended to throw the general mind off its balance, and to lead to an undue estimate of wealth, to an extreme anxiety concerning manners, and to erroneous principles in their cultivation. Literature, especially light literature, though its character may generally receive a bias from the spirit of the age, reacts with tenfold force upon it, strengthening particular tendencies, and directing the various modes of thinking and feeling into one general current. Never was this fact more apparent, than at the period of which we speak. The moralists seemed all at once turned into political economists. The class of minds that were formerly devoted to the culture of our spiritual and intellectual nature, were now teaching us how to make the greatest show upon the smallest means. Instead of inciting us to burnish our minds till they were bright as the gold of Ophir, they were now instructing us how to polish our mahogany tables and Egyptian marble slabs, in such manner as to produce the most brilliant effect. Instead of being stimulated to preserve purity and transparency of character, we had receipts for clarifying jellies and ta-

king stains from silks. We were flooded with essays upon housekeeping, domestic economy, agriculture, horticulture, floriculture, the grape, the mulberry, the silkworm. Almost every authoress in our land, as soon as she had acquired a little reputation by her *tales of fashionable life*, appeared, first, with a treatise, professing to contain a system of education, but which was in reality confined almost exclusively to maxims and directions for behavior in society; and, after that, with a work on *cookery*. Books of etiquette for men, women, and children, appeared simultaneously in all our large cities. It is true that numbers of standard works continued to be published and republished in this country; but, alas! they were seldom made the sweet, domestic friends, a constant intercourse with whom, would have improved our tastes and dignified our leisure; whose deep and earnest, yet gentle and unobtrusive teachings could not have failed to lift the mind at times above the mere objects of sense, and to open a world where the higher parts of our nature might expand and grow. In seven instances out of ten, they were purchased and placed in book-cases, beautiful mahogany or rose-wood book-cases, and there they remained, as bright and glittering as when brought from the bindery. They looked well in a room; they were useful as furniture. But the eager, changeful, restless spirit of our countrymen and countrywomen, stimulated by the excitement of rapid changes and new situations, was more than ever averse from quiet, persevering study. Novelty must be had, and time must not be wasted on that which could be of no directly practical use. The last new work was sure to be the topic of conversation for a few days, and the ignorant could judge and speak of its merits as decidedly as the well-informed; there-

fore the last new work must be read.

To minds unaccustomed to the splendor and gayety of fashionable life, pictures of foreign society had a fascination not to be withstood. The newly rich lady, buried in her velvet *fauveluil*, loved to lose herself in the contemplation of those scenes of splendor and elegance, the enjoyment of which she longed to realize, and for acting a part in which she prepared herself by the study of these precious productions. Lords and ladies flitted before her enraptured fancy, with their loves, their hates, their emulations; and when she arose from the contemplation of these charming representations, and mingled in the society of her peers, no wonder that she strove to imitate the models which had been so vividly pictured upon her imagination. Her furniture, her dress, her very language seemed vulgar, if not in known accordance with this foreign standard. Hence, Hannah More, and Miss Edgeworth, and Miss Hamilton, were thrown into the background by Lady Blessington, and Mrs. Gore, and the *Honorable Mrs. Norton*. Sir Walter Scott was displaced by Sir Edward Lytton Bulwer, and the younger D'Israeli.

It is by no means our intention to discuss the various merits of these authors. We shall simply allude to their influence on prevailing modes of thinking, and their consequent effect upon manners. They all dwell mainly upon outward and artificial life. They may collectively be called the school of fashion, passion, and expediency. A certain kind of worldly wisdom may be found in them—wisdom useful to him who wishes to thoroughly understand his own inferior nature, and to learn the secret springs by which the minds of others may be swayed to his purposes; who would know the power and extent of the passions, and the influence they may be made to exert in forwarding the

designs of aspiring and ambitious men. But let one analyze and define the idea of *good*, as it is represented in these works, and he will uniformly find that it consists in the gratification of the passions, success in life, pleasure, wealth, and worldly honors; above all, in belonging to a certain exclusive set in society, and being in the height of the fashion. Of that higher wisdom, that holier light, that purer principle, which is at work among the affairs and in the souls of men; the beauty, the dignity, the independence, the peace-giving power of true virtue; that which makes its possessor superior to circumstances, and though neglected and solitary, not melancholy and dejected, we obtain but a faint idea. The great character is he who understands all the conventionalisms of polished life, and who has trained himself to repress every outward expression of feeling or emotion. The reader of these works rises from their perusal with the belief, not only that wealth and pleasure are absolutely necessary to happiness, but that man's highest dignity and felicity consist in adopting the fashions, and practicing the manners and habits there described.

Concerning Mr. Dickens, people have gone almost mad. He is certainly a man of genius, and if, as some say, laughter is good for indigestion, the whole tribe of dyspeptics should unite in raising a statue to his honor. Yet his school, which may be called the school of *fun*, is also a school of horror, and, we feel constrained to say it, of vulgarity. If he has improved the Yorkshire academies and the English parish poor-houses, which is said to have been in some degree the case, let us give him honor due. Let us honor him, too, for having, in two or three touching pictures, however unnatural, created a sympathy for the poor and unfortunate of our race. He deserves great credit for

some portions of his writings; but it is and it ever has been our opinion, that their general effect is unfavorable to manners, and to the development of true principles concerning them.

We love the spirit of gayety and mirth. The benevolence of nature has furnished much food for this spirit, in our domestic and social condition. It springs spontaneously in the hearts of the young and the happy, and the brow of age is softened by its genial influence. An active and playful imagination finds food for it, in the every-day occurrences of life, as well as in rare and uncommon incidents. The kind of mirth we mean, is perfectly consistent with refinement of manners, and delicacy of sentiment. But the coarse caricatures of low life, the ludicrous and improbable adventures, the vulgar and ungrammatical talk with which these books abound, have no tendency "to mend the manners, or refine the heart." On the contrary, it is evident that such an incessant "dancing Jim Crow;" such a constant exhibition of the excessively ludicrous, mingled as it is with virtue, vice, and misfortune, and glaring forth under every aspect of life, particularly of common and low life, has the effect of hardening the heart, and preventing the spontaneous flow of generous, natural feeling. The spirit of ridicule, than which none is more averse to true politeness, though it is ever the handmaid of fashion, is fostered and grows apace. We learn to look at the things around us, not with a kindly benevolence, a sympathy in our common nature, nor yet with an ever ready smile for the gleams of genuine humor and originality; we are not content to smile, we must laugh; and no accident, or distortion, or caricature, is too gross for an occasion. It is a great convenience, no doubt, to a certain class of readers, those who live upon borrowed wit, the lovers of cant phra-

ses, to have a broad and perennial supply of pithy and humorous sayings to quote from. To this class, Sam. Weller must be an inestimable treasure; and it is worthy of remark, that the oftener repeated, the more witty both the sayings and the repeaters of them seem to grow, until they become quite overpowering, to one who is content with that kind of wit which darts its rays into the mind, and startles it with a delightful consciousness of a bright, original idea; but which often produces little more external effect than an intelligent, beaming smile, that eager lighting up of the features, which generally attends a sudden and pleasurable excitement of the imagination.

To Mr. Dickens' imitators, the great class who write droll stories for the periodicals, the above remarks will apply still more strongly. It must be observed that in these productions, even where satire is evidently the object, it is seldom the faults or follies of the world that are aimed at. Their remarks are confined to manners and external observances, and their object seems to be to flatter the higher and more exclusive classes, by placing every thing beneath or apart from them, in a ludicrous point of view, or, in homely phrase, by *making fun of them*. Does a tradesman or mechanic invite his friends to dinner, and are they joyous and happy in their honest and homely pleasures, they become, forsooth, a most delightful subject for quizzing, to the highly polished and refined circle in the next square. The picture is taken in excessive caricature, and presented. And what are the objects of ridicule? The lady who was obliged to leave her parlor, that dinner might be properly arranged; the accident that spoiled the soup; the scantiness or redundancy of some particular dish; the mistakes of a raw footboy, or a new servant-girl from the country; every thing

is food for merriment. The sincerity, the hospitality, the heartiness and cheerfulness of their enjoyments, go for nothing; they are not in high style; they do not understand *bon-ton*, and, therefore, are they to be derided, and either to renounce their social enjoyments, from fear of offending against some law of etiquette in their entertainments; or to spend their lives in a vain and fruitless imitation of the exclusive classes, which, if succeeded in, would rather lower, than exalt them in the scale of moral and rational beings. Who does not perceive that the disproportionate importance attached, in these works, to mere externals; the ridicule thrown upon every thing that differs from the arbitrary rules of a particular class, must have the effect not only of destroying all originality and variety of character, but of lowering the scale of intelligence, of morals, and particularly of manners, since a fearless and independent originality is far less vulgar than a timid and servile imitation. It is said that improvements have been made in English poor-houses, since the appearance of *Oliver Twist*. It is also said that certain comfortable, and formerly respectable streets and squares in London, have been almost depopulated, in consequence of the ridicule attached to them, by being made the supposed residences of some of these unfortunate people, so distressingly ignorant of the conventionalisms of high life. Such was the character and tendency of the greater part of the English literature, imported among us at the period of which we speak.

We have alluded to our own cookery books, our etiquette books, &c. But among the most remarkable phenomena of the time, was the change which came over two of the most popular and influential of our authors, Mr. N. P. Willis, and Mr. J. Fenimore Cooper. The former of these had acquired fame

as a poet. Perhaps there is nothing in the compass of American literature, which shows genius of a higher order, than the early poems, the scripture pieces of N. P. Willis. There is an elevation of thought, a chastened brilliancy of imagination, a depth of feeling, a beauty of expression, which mark the true poet, and indicate clearly enough what his vocation ought to have been. Had he persevered in his poetical career, he must have taken a high stand, perhaps the highest among the authors of his country; and he might have done much to preserve and foster in the general mind, the pure and elevating influences which poetry of a high order, always sheds around it. But he lowered himself to the yoke of popular opinion. The mere externals, the trivialities, the barren practicalities of life, took possession of his fine mind, his noble fancy, and fashion and high life became the objects of his ambition, and the themes of his pen. He went to Europe. But the thousand associations with the venerable past, the mighty dead, the fame, the glory, the poetic beauty and grandeur which fill the very atmosphere in which he moved, had now no power to stir his imagination. Inkings of Adventure, Letters from under a Bridge, descriptions of breakfasts, dinners, suppers, furniture, dress, and, above all, fashions, modes and customs; these were the subjects which filled his soul, and which, he rightly judged, would prove more acceptable to his countrymen and countrywomen, than mere abstract idealisms, romantic nonsense, as it was the fashion to call every thing which had not an immediate practical bearing on the interests and pleasures of outward life. It may be said that Willis could not have lived on poetry. He could not have lived as he wished to live, as all wished to live, in splendor, in luxury, in the odor and sanctity of exclusive fashion. He followed the

general current; and it shows how strong that current must have been, when such minds as his, were not only drawn into it, but led to bend the whole strength of their genius and their talents, to foster and encourage the trivial, sensuous, material taste and spirit of the time.

Halleck, before this, had ceased to write, and had taken to the counting house. What might not the author of Fanny and of Marco Bozzaris, have done to check the mere pride of wealth, and encourage the pride of noble feeling. Percival, too, shrank more and more from a society which grew more and more uncongenial to his taste. He could not write that which would not be read and approved; so he, for a time, left the haunts of men, and betook himself to the rocks and lonely fields; and in studying their secrets, and collecting their treasures, in communing with wild and solitary nature, found a solace which he sought in vain from the sympathy and appreciation of his fellow men.

Mr. Cooper, the author of high and spirit-stirring tales of the forest and of the deep, works eminently calculated to cultivate the taste and imagination, and to enrich the literature of our country; he, too, forsook his high vocation, and on returning from his residence abroad, where he had assiduously striven to obtain the honors and distinctions of *ton*, produced his famous *Home as Found*, a book remarkable for many things, but for none so much as for showing how the naturally fine mind of the author had become enthralled to the prevailing low, contracted, mechanical spirit, as evinced in his strictures on society and manners. Mr. Cooper had it in his power, at this time, to do much to elevate the standard of manners, for all eyes and ears were open, looking for what should be said and done by those who had been abroad. Had

he written a book inculcating self-respect and independence of thought and action; had he shown how our new and peculiar position enabled us to throw off the burden which time, and prejudice, and opinion, had thrown around an old and artificial society, and instead of imposing fashion and prescription as a guide, had directed us to the principles of fitness, of convenience, of true politeness, of genuine taste, he might, by his influence, have increased our true respectability, both at home and abroad. But instead of this, much as he complained of provincialism, and want of independence, he certainly did his best to frighten the Americans (already, as we have seen, timid and anxious to a ridiculous degree,) into a belief that all manners were shocking, and vulgar, and unbearable, unless they were formed upon one particular model, and that model, not founded as it should be, upon benevolence, nature, and fitness, but drawn from the arbitrary rules and customs of a cold-hearted and artificial foreign society. Miss Effingham is an impersonation of etiquette, and so is the elegant Mr. Effingham, her father. The French governess, who seems to have been introduced to utter oracles on fashionable usage, rings changes through the whole book, on *relénue*, *good tone*, and *savoir vivre*. The faults of our society, the manifold deficiencies in manners, are represented as springing from want of a *capital*, containing a circle whose customs shall be a law unto all the rest. Nothing is left to good sense; nothing to peculiar circumstances, institutions, and habits of life. Wine must be drunk, eggs must be opened, puddings must be helped, rooms must be entered in a particular way, the way that Mr. Cooper had been accustomed to see in — Square, or at the Hotel de —, or the unhappy wights were branded as *naïve*, *provincial*, *unfinished*—terms, in Mr. Cooper's

vocabulary, the most humiliating and degrading.

Thus every thing, both from abroad and at home, conspired to raise the value of wealth, and the importance of mere externals, and to make manners an object of universal study and anxiety. Many circumstances were favorable to their cultivation, particularly the leisure, and the means of increased social intercourse, which were the concomitants of sudden and general wealth. How then did it happen that the springs of society did not work more easily? That there was not more of grace and elegance, of enjoyment, of ease and freedom, of gentle courtesy, of self and mutual respect among men and women?

In detailing the prevailing influences of the time, this question has been already almost answered. The influx of wealth had raised multitudes to situations, for which they were not by previous education and habits prepared. Where wealth and accidental circumstances were the only or principal objects of respect, society could not be otherwise than vulgar. Not having the resisting and self-directing power, which a cultivated judgment and taste would have bestowed, the severe strictures of foreigners caused an undue degree of distrust, and led to a servile spirit of imitation, than which a power more destructive of dignity, of ease, of grace, of variety, of elevation of any kind, does not exist. Add to this the effect of a whole literature of direct or indirect ridicule. The larger cities became afraid they should not resemble, in every particular, the state of things in London and Paris. The smaller cities and larger villages were in a panic, lest they should be supposed to differ in any of their modes and customs, from New York, or Boston, or Philadelphia. The old families of the country were frightened and disgusted at the encroachments of the *new* people, and retired with

as much haste as their dignified habits would permit, from an arena that was desecrated by the presence of *mushroom* gentility; while these last, uncertain of their position, and each anxious and determined to be greater than the other, sought to increase their consequence, by all sorts of airs and pretension. Ambition became the ruling passion, even of childhood. The lovely freedom and unsuspectingness of that interesting period was, under maternal tuition, tinged with the spirit of sordid calculation; and the little things in pantalettes, instead of yielding to the joyous and trusting confidence and love, natural to their age, might be seen and heard eagerly discussing and settling, often laughably enough, the exact grade of gentility of some little playmate, and the precise degree of attention and respect which she was entitled to receive, in virtue of her mother's fashion, or her father's wealth or office. Jealousy, distrust, and fear, took the place of honest confidence, and generous friendship. There seemed to be no settled principles of action, except a general determination in each one to be first. People were much in society, but the communion of mind with mind and heart with heart, was deadened and interrupted by some ambitious desire, or some latent fear, connected with the wealth or the standing of those by whom they were surrounded. Instead of the genuine demonstration of respectful and kind feeling, which is the result, where honor is paid to character, there was the variable and fitful expression, either of strong regard, or of entire neglect, as expediency, or a desire for popularity, or some other temporary motive, swayed the ambitious mind, and led it for the moment, to wish to ingratiate itself with individuals or with classes. Tender, delicate, sincere natures, were of course unsatisfied with this selfish and variable regard; and

what wonder if such, unwilling to enter upon the strife of competition, and incapable of perpetual simulation, shrank away from this heartless intercourse, and came, very unjustly, to be considered as cold and unsocial.

In the work of Mr. Cooper to which we have alluded, he repeatedly makes the remark, that while the manners of the inhabitants of our larger cities, were inferior to the same class abroad, those of our villages and retired country places, were vastly superior. This was probably true; and where shall we find the solution? Was it not that the latter, being more free from the immediate pressure of artificial modes and foreign opinions, and having, as they all had, leisure, literature, and the means of general cultivation, (and be it remarked, that the literature of refinement and taste was not so soon displaced by the literature of ridicule and fashion, in the country as in the city,) exhibited the natural result of such a state of things, in increased refinement and self and mutual respect? They were not tormented with the fear of being in bad taste, or out of the fashion. Somehow or other, they had acquired the idea that they had a right to judge of these things for themselves; and the consequence was, an easy dignity and self-possession, a mental sprightliness and independence, which the anxious and trembling imitator of fashion would have given the world to possess, but which she could never attain. It was not necessary for these persons to send to a foreign land, to learn how to arrange their furniture, and in what part of a room they should stand when they received company.—Where there is cultivation and refinement of mind, and an opportunity to mingle freely with equals, there will naturally be found politeness and good breeding. When there is no strong counteracting ten-

dency, the principles of a just taste are developed simultaneously with the intellect and the imagination; for they depend upon a good judgment, and a delicate perception of the beautiful; a union which it should ever be a main point in education to form.

After Mr. Cooper wrote, things in the country were not improved. The spirit emanating from the metropolis, extended its influence, in some measure, into remote places. It is true that the material comforts and elegances of life were increased. But the eagerness to acquire these envied distinctions, wrought a change unfavorable to real elevation, purity, and benevolence of character. There became less of elegant, literary leisure; of refined, social intercourse; of kind and liberal reciprocation of neighborly offices; less of quiet, modest independence of thought and feeling. The objects of life were show and ostentation rather than personal improvement and happiness. While the appliances of luxury increased, life itself became coarser and more practical. The cultivated and reflecting mind lost some measure of its influence, and the characters which came to be held up for imitation in the domestic circle, were those who were most assiduous and skillful in all the little arts of gradually elevating their social position.

It will be observed that we have all along been speaking of what *has been*, of what *was* at a certain period. We have described a state of things which was general, but, happily, not universal. Good judgment, good taste, independence, and a just appreciation of the objects of life, and what constitutes the charm of society, were by no means wanting in individuals or in families, among the newly rich as well as others; but they were not sufficiently numerous, to feel the comfort of extended congeniality and sympa-

thy, or the power and influence of combined force. Here and there was one of sufficient strength to give the tone to a circle or a neighborhood; but the coarser and more daring minds generally usurped the prominent places in society, and in the jumble of life, and struggle for precedence, the finer particles were shaken out of sight.

Mr. Cooper says that with us, two years constitutes antiquity; and if, as has been observed, time is long, in proportion to the important events and changes taking place in it, then may the last five or six years be called indeed an age, for manifold have been its revolutions. We need not describe the great commercial calamity, which took place at about the commencement of this period, when thousands who had rested upon their wealth as upon a sure foundation for themselves and for their children, found it suddenly crumbling to dust beneath them; but we may examine its bearings upon the subject we are considering; we may try if we can not discern a jewel in the head of this ugly monster.

And we rejoice to say that the germs of a truer and better philosophy of life and manners may be perceived, though, as yet, struggling with old influences, and not developed into visible and tangible form and proportion. Experience, the great teacher, though her lessons have been rudely given, and quite in the reputed style of a step-mother, has taught some deep and important truths, and none more forcibly than the importance and necessity of self-dependence; the virtue and comfort that is to be found in activity; and the dignity and happiness which may be thrown over the domestic or social circle, without the aid of extreme wealth, or high fashion. Those who have retained their wealth, have been startled by the shock which has vibrated every where around them;

and many of those who have lost it, have been surprised to find how much of that which gives contentment to the mind, and beauty and grace to life, still remains to them. An old, imported prejudice, that it was in some measure disgraceful for a lady to exert her talents for her own support, that idleness was necessary to gentility, has been in a great measure exploded, and with it what a world of helpless unhappiness, how much cramping of noble powers. Work, activity of all kinds, is coming into repute. Misfortune has brought individuals more into contact with the better parts of each other's nature. People are discovering that the blessing and charm of social intercourse, is not all in splendor and show; and they are beginning to have the courage to entertain their friends with greater simplicity; to depend more on the mind for enjoyment, and less on the lights, and the music, and the supper. *C'est le premier pas qui coute*. If we can think for ourselves on one subject, we shall soon do so on many subjects. Symptoms of independence of thought in modes and customs, are here and there discernible; and we are sometimes referred to what is beautiful, and becoming, and proper, rather than to what is fashionable. These improvements may be referred to experience and reflection; but a new feature in our literature is decidedly showing itself, and a new taste and turn of thinking springing up in consequence.

The fashionable novel, the burlesque caricature, and the tissue of ludicrous adventure, no longer constitute the sole reading of any class. Old English literature and history, have been gradually coming into vogue. The finest minds of our age have been devoted to the production of essays, biographical, critical, moral, and philosophical. These essays, written with wonderful force of thought, and marvelous power of

expression, are made by their subjects and their style, of deep and universal interest; while their shortness and condensation, invite to general perusal. Many of them, appearing first in reviews, have been lately published in collective volumes, forming a precious little library of wisdom. They were not intended to make profound scholars or deep philosophers, but it may be reasonably asserted that they have done more, and will do more, to form the general mind to correct habits of thought, upon character, life, and society, than all the other literature of the last fifteen years combined.

New and better views of life have also arisen spontaneously from the discipline of misfortune; which has overtaken thousands of families, and driven others by necessity or fear into habits of economy. There has been less extravagance of expenditure, less frivolity, less show, and less love of show. Serious thoughts of a future world, and of the high ends of existence, have gained admission to minds that were before wholly engrossed either in schemes of ambition or in a round of heartless pleasures.

But what has this new philosophy to do with manners? How are manners to be improved by new modes of thinking? Manners more than any thing. Whatever tends to render the perceptions clear and acute, to lead the mind to think and judge for itself, to refine the imagination, to inspire a love of beauty, and order, and fitness, to give just ideas of what we owe to others, and what to ourselves, to impart to the taste an accurate power of discrimination, must of course have a favorable effect upon our modes of communication with those around us. And let us not be understood as placing a small value on the courtesies, and amenities, and graces of society—on whatever tends to render intercourse with our equals easy and

agreeable—or even on ceremonious modes and forms when such are necessary. The communion of mind with mind is a precious privilege, on which many of our virtues and much of our highest happiness depends; and whatever is connected with it deserves careful study and attention. All we have contended, or would contend for, is the right to free ourselves from the thralldom of exclusive fashion, the pitiful spirit of servile imitation, particularly of every foreign custom, whether adapted to our condition or not. We would be glad to see more ease, more polish, more refinement, more variety, more freedom, but we are convinced that in order to attain them we must have more self-reliance and independence; that we must permit ourselves to think and act without constant and timid subservience to an arbitrary standard; that we must refer to first principles, to taste, and not alone to fashionable prescription. Neither let us be understood as deprecating foreign criticism, or in all instances rejecting foreign customs. So far from it, we felt truly obliged to the writers and travelers mentioned above, whether friendly or unfriendly. They undoubtedly did much good in pointing out and lashing what few among ourselves would have had courage to attack; and if the habits of filthy spitting, of rapid eating, and of foolishly bettling every male biped in our land, could be done away by any number of Mrs. Trollopes, we would gladly welcome one every month. But we think there was no necessity for being so much frightened at criticism; of giving up our claim to the right and power of self-guidance and self-improvement, particularly when the principles of society and of taste lie as open to us as to them. It was originally our intention to enter into a discussion of these principles, and to prove that taste is a thing separate from and independ-

ent of fashionable usage, but the subject has been so well treated in an essay recently published in this magazine, as to leave nothing farther to be said in the way of explanation; and we have, therefore, used the terms in their distinct and recognized meaning.

We would not discourage those who have it in their power to visit foreign countries. The delight and improvement of traveling abroad, if undertaken with proper objects, must be great indeed. Our heart leaps within us at the very thought of standing on the soil of England, of gazing on the "lilled fields of France," of sailing up the "storied Rhine;" of beholding the glorious works of nature and of art, concerning which we have heard so much. But the same heavens are over us here as there; we have the same literature upon our tables, we are from infancy familiar with the same ideas. Here as there we are surrounded by human beings who need our love, our pity, and to whom it is our duty to make ourselves useful and agreeable. And here as there, and perhaps more easily here than there, we can drop and discard whatever encumbers and deadens social intercourse, and make it what it was intended by heaven to be, a solace and a blessing; a help to morality and religion; an improver of whatever is good and beautiful in our nature and condition; a perennial fount of enjoyment in the pathway of life.

We had intended to take a more particular notice of some of the books of etiquette, and essays on manners, to which we alluded on a former page, but our limits will not permit. There is one branch of our subject, however, which, from the importance attached to it, and the efforts made to improve in it, with not always a very favorable result, demands a more particular exemplification. We mean *manner*, individual carriage or bearing, and

particularly as applied to females. No one can think this subject unimportant who knows, as we do, that it is considered the very first point in female education, taking precedence even of a knowledge of etiquette; that those schools are most popular where most attention is paid directly to it; that from infancy upward no phrase is so often repeated in the girlish ear, as "be lady-like in your manner;" and that there is more care and effort expended upon this one point, than upon all others put together. All acknowledge the influence of a pleasing manner; it is important that it should receive attention and culture. But we are, probably, singular in our opinion, that indirect teaching by example, by general cultivation of the powers of taste and observation, by instilling an early knowledge of the fundamental principles of grace, would have more influence in forming a pleasing manner, than the teasing, didactic rules and lessons so incessantly insisted on, and in general with so little effect. We would not paint the petals of a tulip to increase its beauty; we would enrich the soil in which it grows, we would expose it to the smile of heaven, and all genial influences; we would guard it from insects, and clear it from noxious weeds; and we would let nature do the rest, confidently expecting that the unfolded flower would possess beauty of form and richness of coloring.

But our greatest point of difference lies not so much in the mode of culture as in the thing itself. What we have seen admired as the perfection of manner, struck us as something very different, and we have sometimes thought that we were farther from the summit of cultivation and refinement in this respect, than is altogether agreeable to our self-love to admit. The styles of manner most admired and imitated, have appeared as something too distinct from the character

and the person, too much a thing put on for show, as must ever be the case where manner is trained to a particular standard, without any reference to peculiar disposition. The perfection of manner consists in its being an easy and natural expression of the feelings and the character, divested from awkwardness by careful training, and kept free from art and affectation. When this is done, if the material is naturally of any degree of fineness, the result will be a beautiful simplicity, which is the very highest charm of manner, and which is always acknowledged to be so, even where cultivation has reached its extremest point of perfection.

The progress of taste in regard to manner, may not unaptly be compared to that of the fine arts; and to prove and illustrate our position, that the highest culture leads us back to nature and simplicity, let us glance at one or two of these. The first step in civilization is a departure from nature; the last is a return to it. The rough farmer of the west, the pioneer of the wilderness, despises the wealth of foliage and of shade, with which nature has embowered the soil, and not till he has cleared the spot where his cottage stands from every tree and shrub, does he think it wears an air of comfort and civilization. When all is bare, and the forest has receded to a respectable distance, then, and not till then, does he congratulate himself upon having made an improvement. He is satisfied with this, not for the mere purposes of cultivation; his taste is gratified by seeing something different from, and, as he thinks, superior to the primeval wilderness from which he has redeemed it. Look at him, and at the English nobleman who has brought into requisition the finest talents of his country, and expended thousands in the effort to surround his habitation with what shall appear like a simple, natural land-

scape, and you have the two extremes of taste and cultivation. Between these two are many gradations. Ornament is early sought, but it is all of an artificial kind. The Lombardy poplar, with its stiff, straight stem, planted in rows, the circular pond, the oval grass-plat, the long rectangular beds of flowers, have their day and are admired. But improvement rests not, and increasing taste is shown by a still farther departure from nature. Flower beds must be made in all sorts of scientific and fanciful shapes; trees must be cut into regular form, or dwarfed to diminutive size; figures which have not their likeness in heaven or on earth, are arranged as ornaments; and zizzag walks, and prim, round temples, and terraced gardens, are in their turn esteemed the perfection of beauty. It is not until some fine, original, independent mind, with an eye to perceive the vast superiority of a brook tumbling wildly over its bed of rocks, to the straight, insipid canal; of undulating glades, embowered in the thick foliage of spreading maples, to clumps of straight and nicely trimmed trees; of flowers scattered through an irregular border, and lifting up their sweet faces unexpectedly and by stealth, to circles, and rhomboids, and trapeziums fitting into each other like a joining map; of an arbor of young trees interlaced with vines, to the eight-sided board temple, placed on the spot most exposed to wind and rain, and crowned with its pert, little weathercock, that the genuine principles of taste in the laying out and ornamenting of grounds, begin to be perceived. From this moment, however, improvement is rapid. Art assumes her proper place as the handmaid of nature. She removes blemishes and heightens beauties; she brings into harmony and keeping the various features which nature has impressed upon the scene, but she attempts not to counteract

or remodel them. Vistas are opened to furnish views of a distant mountain; groves are thickened to hide an unsightly or incongruous object; and thus an effect is obtained, natural, or like the most beautiful nature. In this, as in manner, the finer the taste, the more correct the eye, and the sounder the judgment which directs the necessary improvements, the more beautiful and perfect will be the result.

Let us turn to another of the arts, namely, architecture. The first rude dwellings of man are constructed on the most simple plan. Trunks of trees cleared of their branches, and overlaid with rough beams, are made to support a roof, which sheds the rain, and affords shelter to the family within. The most beautiful temples of Greece are built upon the same plan, and with very nearly the same proportions. The trunks of trees are represented by tall and taper columns. The plinth on which they rest corresponds with the rude, square stone, brought by the herdsman from the mountain, to give stability to his habitation. The beams, with their projecting ends, though made smooth and regular, are seen in the Doric and Ionic orders; and even the very channels worn by the rain, are preserved in the triglyphs of the Doric, where, with their depending drops just ready to fall, they form the principal ornament. In the majestic order called the Ionic, what do we see for its crowning ornament, but the common twisted horn? And in the Corinthian, where the elements of beauty and grace are all combined, we behold in the most conspicuous place, the simple wicker basket with its covering of board, in the midst of the flowing acanthus leaves. All succeeding ages have attempted improvements, and have striven, by splendor of coloring, or by profusion of ornament, to produce something that should be more admirable; but the highly refined

taste turns from them all to the models of the most cultivated nation in her most cultivated age, and finds in their beautiful simplicity, their symmetry, their fitness and adaptation, the perfect beau ideal of its finest conceptions.

The manner of persons engrossed in the necessary business of life, is generally plain, direct and simple; and we venture to assert, that when we arrive at the perfection of breeding and refinement, the same epithets will apply—improved, of course, by a generally cultivated taste, by tact and judgment, and by that easy dignity which a consciousness of cultivation gives; in short, with some such difference as there is between the taper trunk of the hickory tree, and the finely carved column, which is considered the more perfect, the more nearly it resembles it in form and proportion. But before this natural and beautiful result is gained, there are many trials and many mistakes. With wealth and leisure, comes the desire of shining in society; of appearing something different from and superior to, the common mass. This leads us away from nature, and the farther we advance upwards until we arrive at a certain point, the thicker and more abundant do all sorts of airs and affectations grow. It might be supposed that manners would be as various as the shades of individual character, and to a certain extent this must be the case; but not even in dress, is the power of fashion and imitation more apparent than in this. Some admired model, some intimation of a fashionable custom abroad, some innovation of a dashing belle at home, has power to sway the more ambitious part of the female community, like a gale of wind sweeping over the tall grass of the meadow.

Take, for instance, the mode of walking. A few years ago, a fashionable aspirant might be known by her peculiar gait. The short, quick,

flat, plumping step; the shoulders and bust thrown forward, and the lower part of the body ostentatiously protruded and carried from side to side with every movement; the elbows thrown out and forward, and the hands meeting in front. But some keen-eyed traveler pronounced this not to be true fashion, and, therefore, not real elegance. It was discovered to be the exact mode of walking of the Paris *soubrettes*, and was abandoned. The manner which succeeded, was entirely different. The person was carried as upright as possible; the hands, especially if a muff was used, being placed as low as the arms would permit; while the knees seemed to take the lead, the feet languidly following. This style has also disappeared, and the firm, decided, old English, marching step, with head erect and folded arms, is coming into vogue.

So also in entering a room. At one time, it must be done with a quick, running step, and a manner all eagerness and empressment. At another, the mien must be cold and stately, and every movement measured and methodical.

It has been observed by scientific men, that owing to the peculiarities of our climate, the newness of our country, or some other reason, the sanguine temperament, that which gives gayety of spirits and personal activity, prevails among us. This, with its rounded form, its brilliant complexion, and its mellow hair, is decidedly the temperament of beauty, and under proper culture it would be that of grace also. But we have heard that the prominent characteristic of the highest class of English society is a cold, apathetic indifference of manner; one which, wrapped in the contemplation of its own perfections, is quite above and beyond the sphere of common feeling and sentiment; and into this manner our misses and school-girls are carefully trained.

It is painful as well as ludicrous, to enter a room of young ladies, whose rosy cheeks and sparkling eyes indicate the vivacity of their dispositions, and to see them sitting in starched, and affected, and unchanging attitudes, striving to look languid, and indifferent, and lady-like; to see them practicing the stately, supercilious courtesy, or extending the two permitted fingers in the most exact of curves. Think not, fond mother, or teacher, that any degree of practice is to make this style of manner natural, or even habitual. Nature repays herself for the violence done her, by going to the other extreme when the pressure is taken off. These incipient fine ladies, when escaped from your surveillance, are the veriest hoidens on the face of the earth.

Would it not be better to allow a natural expression of feeling and action in consonance with the age and character; restraining rudenesses, and correcting awkwardnesses, but giving scope for the thousand nameless graces which would play around the youthful form in unconscious ease, if art and fashion should yield part of their power to nature and taste?

In the formation of manner, reference should be had to the physical as well as to the mental character. The movements of large bodies in order to be graceful, must be slow; smaller bodies can and should move quicker. In contradiction of this rule, how frequently do we see small people despising their peculiar advantages, and endeavoring to give themselves importance and dignity by a heavy, measured tread, and a stiff, erect carriage; while the portly dame, fearful of being thought heavy and clumsy, throws aside the dignity which would sit so gracefully upon her, and which nature would be sure to teach her, and skips and dances about like a frolicksome

kitten, to show that she is not at all encumbered by her superior weight. Where nature has given a joyous expression of countenance, the sunny hair, the rosy cheek, the light-hearted laugh is beautiful, is graceful; but with the pale intellectual brow, the dark, thoughtful eye, the features of classical repose, a hearty laugh seems incongruous; it is against nature, it is distortion, and instead of joining in it with earnest sympathy, we feel uneasy until the mocking disturbance has passed away, and the features have settled into their expressive stillness, or into the mind-illuminated smile playing gently over them, like southern moonlight on a group of sculptured marbles. Yet we have seen, with a Hebe face and figure, a gravity and demureness that mocked all efforts to awaken the springs of gayety which were intuitively believed to lie concealed beneath those roses and dimples, and while so occupied, have been paralyzed by a hearty laugh from a neighboring statue of Minerva, or what had, until that moment, appeared like one.

Dr. Johnson observed, that a woman was well dressed when, after seeing her, one could not remember what she had on. A similar remark will apply to manner. Is a lady's dress wanting in neatness, is it ill-fitting, or tawdry, or too highly ornamented for the place and occasion, it strikes us at once, and we are sure to observe and remember it. So in manner, it is awkwardness, it is affectation, it is incongruity, which forces itself upon our observation. Where there is propriety, and adaptation, and ease, we are conscious of a feeling of high gratification and pleasure; we are charmed, scarcely knowing why. It is like harmony in music, or a happy union of colors in painting. It is true, there are those who like a tawdry and over ornamented style of dress, as there are those who

admire manners evidently artificial and overwrought; but they are not to be found among the most highly refined and cultivated. They are generally those who have begun to study the graces when their education has been nearly or quite completed; who have been smitten with a desire for superior elegance, and have supposed that the more widely they departed from nature, the more evident it would be that they had made it a peculiar study. They have not studied wisely; that is, they have not gone far enough to perceive that the principles of true taste would lead them far beyond this limbo of cold, fantastic, unreal shows, which they have entered from fear of being confounded with the vulgar, into a genial and kindly region, where they are permitted, nay, required, to unite the beauty of truth with the charm of grace.

There are many among us in this state of half progress; and they are generally most prominent where the *fashionables* or *would-be-fashionables* most do congregate. Satisfied with their attainments, they display their airs and affectations, apparently quite unconscious that some whom they see around them with quiet, simple, unobtrusive manners, which they would stigmatize as *no manners at all*, and yet whose influence they can not but feel, and are provoked with themselves for feeling, are in reality practicing that which would be instantly recognized as good breeding by the most refined class of any cultivated nation.

It will be perceived that in this slight essay, we have used the term, society, in a very limited sense. That we have merely glanced at its surface, and at some of the lighter and more obvious influences, which have been, and which are affecting it. In our present state, when there seems to be a breathing time from overexertion and excitement, a time for reflection, for new prepara-

tion for the future; it were well if some one fitted for the task, should probe to its very depths; should show the tendency for good or for evil, in many of our incipient habits and modes of thinking; should examine into our present systems of education, and suggest improvements.

A few years ago, it would almost have appeared that it were better to bring up our daughters in ignorance, than to endeavor to expand their minds, to give them superior accomplishments, and open to them an elevated range of thought.—Among a community where the general mind was bent upon dress, and eating, and furniture, and carriages, a rational course seemed likely to place them without the pale of that sympathy and congeniality, which every human heart requires. But the changes in society are working a corresponding change in opinion. Many who, a short time since, were nodding their plumes to each other, from splendid chariots, may now be seen some feet lower upon the *trottoirs*. Many who had set up as leaders of *ton*, on the strength of an elegant house and fine furniture, are now to be found dusting their own chairs, and washing their own tea-cups, in the unaristocratic “two story.” The circumstances which gave them their consequence, in their own eyes and the eyes of others, have disappeared, and that wealth which does not depend upon banks and sub-treasuries, is again rising into some esteem. The class is daily becoming larger, who think that a cultivated taste, and a well-stored intellect, are advantages worth possessing; for they see that those who are thus prepared, generally meet and sustain a change of fortune, with far more cheerfulness and equanimity, than the empty and the vain. And well they may; for the reverses which take all from the mere worldlings, leave the others rich in resources for making themselves and

their friends happy. In such circumstances, they have the advantage greatly on their side, even supposing that both had cultivated the social and domestic affections with the same fervor, which, however, can not be the case. The passion for mere wealth and show, is a disorganizing and disuniting principle in its very essence; and to suppose that the kindly and humane affections as readily unite themselves with its selfish nature, as with those of a more elevated kind, is preposterous. Whom do we see, with the placid brow and the gentle smile, laying aside the tinsel trappings with which affection may have decked her in the hour of prosperity, and betaking herself to the humble employments which a change of circumstances requires; but her who, by force of a judicious education, or by natural strength and enlargement of mind, has been led to perceive and appreciate the true relations of things; that there is a higher and a better good, than any the externals of life can furnish; that mind is superior to matter, and of the same value, wherever placed; and that sympathy and affection are the very jewels of life, the pure and in-born gems that give light even in darkness?

Let not then the timid and wavering mother be misled by a too short-sighted view of things, into a belief that she consults the best welfare of her daughters, by restricting their education to a low standard. We trust the time is coming, is come, when those who act from no higher

motive than mere expediency, will see the advantage of cultivating all the highest powers of the mind, and warmest affections of the heart. They will see that the commercial revolutions to which our country is subject, will from time to time, come to lay waste the fair fields of prosperity, and that then, she who has been best prepared by education, will be most likely to preserve her own respectability, and the happiness of those around her. And it is to be hoped that the sad experience of the past, will open so many eyes to the value of this better wealth, that in the golden days of prosperity, superior qualities shall retain the ascendancy and the estimation they deserve; that airs shall not again take precedence of graces, flippancy of wit, rudeness of refinement, inanity of intelligence, nor apathy and indifference of warm and generous feelings. We even venture to hope that improvement may be carried to such an extent, that the pleasure and benefit to be derived from the exercise of elegant accomplishments and useful employments, shall be thought fully equal, and even superior to that obtained from gossiping, scandal, and worsted work.

Then will manners become what they should ever be, the beautiful index and exposition of character, and will flow from it so naturally, and with so little study, that we may confidently expect our stores of waste paper to be very considerably increased by superfluous pages, here and there, from even our best digested systems of etiquette.

THE TREE OF LIFE.

WHEN the Lord had created man, he prepared for him "a garden eastward in Eden, and there he put the man whom he had made." It would seem from this, and the parallel passages, that the terms Eden and garden are not of precisely the same import. Eden appears to have been the name of a country, within the limits of which the garden was situated. The exact location either of the garden or country, it is impossible now to ascertain. We only know that it was "eastward" from Palestine or Arabia, where Moses was when he wrote this history, and that it was in the neighborhood of the Euphrates and the Tigris. The garden, we are told, contained "every tree that is pleasant to the sight, and good for food; the *tree of life*, also, in the midst of the garden, and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil."

We have further mention of "the tree of life," in the following chapter. It was *lost* fallen, doomed man should "put forth his hand, and partake of the tree of life, and eat, and live forever," that he was "sent forth from the garden of Eden, to till the ground from whence he was taken." "So the Lord drove out the man; and he placed at the east of the garden of Eden, cherubim and a flaming sword, which turned every way, to keep the way of the tree of life."

Before attempting an explanation of this difficult portion of Scripture, it will be necessary to consider some of the various expositions which commentators have given of it.

The first is that which regards the narrative, in the first three chapters of Genesis, as a *mythus*, an *allegory*, an interesting and instructive *fable*. The whole account of man's creation and apostasy, it is said, is not veritable history, but allegory, and

is to be interpreted accordingly. This view of the matter we reject; and for the following reasons:

1. The language here used, is not that of poetry and fiction, but of *sober, historical prose*. Here are no startling figures, and bold personifications; none of the imagery and drapery which belong to oriental verse; but all has the appearance of *simple, historical narrative and truth*. Judging from the style, merely, if the first three chapters of Genesis are not history, then is there no history in the Bible. But

2. The first three chapters of Genesis are to be regarded as history, because in their proper, historical sense, they furnish a rational account, and the only rational account, of many known and important facts. Among the facts here referred to, are the creation of the world; the origin of the human race; the institutions of marriage, and of the Sabbath; the division of time into weeks; the introduction of sin and misery into the world; the natural sterility of the earth, and the consequent necessity of labor; the subjection of the woman to her husband; the sorrows of child-bearing; the natural antipathy of the human race to the serpent, &c. Here is a long train of acknowledged facts, (to which several others, we presume, might be added,) all which are satisfactorily accounted for, if we admit the historical truth of the first chapters of Genesis. But if we reject this truth, and substitute an allegorical sense, no rational account of them, and indeed no account whatever, can possibly be given.

3. That the first three chapters of Genesis are to be interpreted as history, is certain from the allusions to them in other parts of Scripture. Our Savior refers to one of these chapters, and quotes expressly from

it, in his discourse with the Pharisees, on the subject of divorce. "Have ye not read, that he which made them at the beginning, made them male and female; and said, for this cause shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife, and they twain shall be one flesh." The apostle Paul refers to facts recorded in these chapters, in his repeated *contrasts* between Adam and Christ, and in numerous other passages. "The man is not of the woman, but the woman of the man;" referring to the circumstances of her creation. "Neither was the man created for the woman, but the woman for the man." 1 Cor. xi, 8, 9. "I fear lest, by any means, as *the serpent beguiled Eve, through his subtilty*, so your mind should be corrupted from the simplicity that is in Christ." What are we to make of this passage, if it is not literally true that the serpent did beguile Eve, through his subtilty? Again; "I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence; for Adam was first formed, then Eve; and Adam was not deceived, but the woman, being deceived, was in the transgression." If these allusions of the apostle are correct, or his reasonings just, then the facts to which he refers, and from which he reasons, actually took place, as recorded in the first chapters of Genesis.

4. In proof of the literal, historical interpretation of these chapters, we urge again, that on them are founded some important *doctrines* of the gospel. Among these doctrines are that of the primeval *innocence* of man; that of the *apostasy*; and that of *natural depravity*, in consequence of our connection with a fallen father. These doctrines, on account of their intimate connection with the great subject of redemption, may be regarded as essential in the Christian system. Yet if we set aside the literal interpretation

tation of the first chapters of Genesis, we leave them utterly without foundation.

For these reasons, we reject the mythical, allegorical interpretation of these chapters, and insist that they must be received in the *literal, historical* sense. The first human pair were literally brought into existence, as here described; and were placed in a literal garden in Eden; in which were literal trees; as the tree of life, and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. And here our first parents were literally seduced, through the subtilty of the serpent, and fell into sin; after which they were severally doomed, as the narrative relates, and driven out from the garden of Eden, to subdue and cultivate the rugged earth. These and other things narrated in the first chapters of Genesis, are plain historical *facts*, and as such, are to be received, on the authority of the infallible word of God.

But if there was a *literal tree of life* in the midst of the garden, what was it there for? What was the *design, object, import, and use* of this remarkable tree?

Some have supposed that the tree of life was the *token of the first covenant*—the *covenant of works*. It has been said, that "when God had created man, he entered into a covenant of life with him, upon condition of perfect obedience, forbidding him to eat of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, upon pain of death." In other words, God proposed to man, if he would continue perfectly obedient, that he would give him eternal life; but if he failed of such obedience, that he should die. The man consented to the proposal, and thus a proper covenant was formed. The token of this covenant was the *tree of life*, which, standing in the midst of the garden, was a pledge and an assurance to man, of that endless life, which, on condition of obedience, God had promised.

In reference to this theory, we remark, in the first place, that we have never yet been able to discover any evidence in the Scriptures, of a proper *covenant transaction* between God and Adam, previous to the fall. God created our first parents rational, intelligent beings—free moral agents—the proper subjects of law and government. As such, he placed them at once *under law*—a dispensation which imported that if they obeyed, they should be rewarded; if they disobeyed, they should be punished. The language of God to Adam, on this occasion, was that, not of proposal, of condition, of covenant, but of *imperative law*. “The Lord God *commanded* the man, saying, of every tree of the garden, thou mayest freely eat; but of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, *thou shalt not eat of it*; for in the day that thou eatest of it, thou shalt surely die.” Certainly, this is the language of *strict law*; and except, as law is sometimes loosely called covenant in the Scriptures, there was no covenant with Adam, before he fell. Manifestly, there was no *literal, proper* covenant. But if there was no proper covenant made with Adam in the garden, then the tree of life could not have been the *token* of such a covenant; and the theory above stated, as to the object and import of this tree, is without foundation.

There is another objection to the theory in question. Man needed no token, to assure him that God would reward the obedient, more than the angels now need such a token in heaven. The proper import of law is, *obey and live; transgress and die.** And this was the

very dispensation under which Adam was placed—a dispensation of *pure law*, to confirm which no public pledge or token was necessary.

Some have thought there was a connexion between the tree of life, and the *trial*, the *probation*, on which our first parents were placed. If they persevered in holiness to the end of their trial, they were to be *confirmed* in holiness; in assurance of which they should then be permitted to eat of the tree of life. Its fruit should be to them a pledge, a token, that their probation was happily accomplished, and that an unchanging state of holiness and happiness would now be their portion.

We have no doubt that our first parents were on trial before the fall, and that, had they persevered in holiness for a limited time, they would have been, like the angels, confirmed in a state of holiness and happiness forever. But we much doubt whether the object of the tree of life is truly stated in the above theory. This theory supposes, that the fruit of the tree of life might not be eaten, until the probation of our first parents was ended; whereas it is plain, from the narration, that it might be eaten at any time. There was but one prohibited tree in the garden; and that was the tree of knowledge of good and evil. Of every other tree (and consequently of the tree of life) it is expressly said that our first parents *might freely eat*. How, then, can it be made to appear that they might not eat of the tree of life, until their trial was accomplished, and their confirmed state of holiness and happiness commenced?

But if neither of the above theories as to the import and design of the tree of life is to be admitted, what supposition shall we form in regard to the subject? What was

* We do not suppose, indeed, that the obedient *merit* a reward at the hands of God, in the same sense that the disobedient *merit* punishment. Still, they are *proper subjects* of reward. It is *suitable* that they should be rewarded. They have the merit of *congruity*, (if not *con-*

dignity.) on the ground of which the goodness of God has always rewarded them, and always will.

the object of the tree of life? For what was this remarkable tree planted in the midst of the garden?

Before replying to these questions, let it be premised, that *temporal death*—the dissolution of the connexion between soul and body—is to be regarded as one of the bitter *consequences* of the apostasy. It is so represented in the Scriptures. "By man came death." "In Adam all die." "By one man, sin entered into the world, and *death by sin*." (1 Cor. xv, 21; Rom. v, 12.) It is not at all likely that man would ever have been called to endure the pains of temporal death, if he had not sinned. He might not, in that case, have lived in this world always, but some easier exit out of it would have been provided for him, than that to which he is now subjected. He might have been translated, as Enoch and Elijah were. At any rate, he would not have been doomed to pass through the iron gate of death.

But if man in his innocence was not to die, then some provision must have been made for counteracting and removing the sources of disease and decay within him—the ordinary *causes* of death. As he was not to lead a life of indolence, but one of cheerful, healthful industry, being commanded to "dress the garden and to keep it;" he was subject, as man now is, to casualties and injuries. As he was on *trial*, too, he must have been placed in circumstances fitted to try him; to try his faith, his fortitude, his submission, his patience, his self-denial. He was moreover subject, inherently and naturally, to hunger, thirst, lassitude, weariness, disease, decay. And these causes must ultimately have worn him out and resulted in death, unless some method had been devised to counteract their influence, and repair those wastes in the physical constitution which they were calculated to make.

And here, we think, we have the precise *object and use* of the tree of life. It was planted in *the midst* of the garden—in a situation easy of access from every part of it—that it might be a perfect and universal *restorative*; that it might heal all maladies, overcome all the causes of disease and decay, and preserve innocent and happy man in perpetual health, strength, and maturity, till his trial should be ended, and he should be removed to his final and glorified state in heaven.

That this was the design and use of the tree in question is evident, first, from its *name*. It was called the tree of *life*; thus indicating that it was intended to preserve and perpetuate life, and to deliver from death.

The same is still more evident, secondly, from what was said of this tree subsequent to the apostasy. Of the curse pronounced upon fallen man, temporal death constituted a part. "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, *till thou return unto the ground*; for out of it wast thou taken; for dust thou art, and *unto dust shalt thou return*." Of the doom here denounced, there *was* to be—there *has been*, no remission. With the exception of Enoch and Elijah, the dread decree has been rigidly executed, and will be, upon all the generations of men. But the tree of life is upon the earth, and how is man ever to die, if he may have access to this verdant tree? If he may pluck and apply its healing leaves, and partake of its life-giving, health-restoring fruit; how is the inexorable curse of temporal dissolution ever to be executed? It *can not be*. Man must be shut out from the tree of life, or he can never return to dust. He must be rigidly kept from it, or he will live forever. Accordingly, we find him instantly driven out from the garden of Eden; and driven out for this express and

specific reason, "lest he put forth his hand, and take also of the tree of life, and eat, and *live forever*." What force or propriety in the reason here assigned for the expulsion of Adam out of Eden, except on the ground that the purpose and use of the tree of life were actually such as have been stated? If this tree were intended as a universal *restorative*, a *catholicon*, in the use of which man could feel no disease, could suffer no decay, could *never die*; then was it necessary that doomed, dying man, should be driven away from it, and kept away from it. On this supposition, and no other that we can imagine, was it necessary that there should be placed at the east of the garden of Eden, cherubim and a flaming sword which turned every way, to keep the way of the tree of life.

That the proper account has been given of the tree of life is evident, third, from the *figurative* uses of this phraseology in different parts of the Bible. As the figurative use of language is founded on the literal, it is common first to ascertain the literal sense, and then determine the figurative from it. But in some instances we reason the other way. We may be essentially aided, often, in ascertaining the literal sense of a word or phrase, by first considering how it is used figuratively. And this is what we propose to do here. The phrase, *tree of life*, is used frequently, and in a highly figurative sense, by the writer of the Proverbs; and it will appear, on examination, that it is used, in every instance, in the sense of *healthful*, *saving*, *salutary*, *life-preserving*, &c. Thus, of wisdom it is said, "She is a *tree of life* to them that lay hold upon her;" in other words, she is *healthful*, *saving* to them. She will be a means of preserving and prolonging their lives in this world, as well as conferring immortal life in the next.

Again, it is said, "The fruit of

the righteous is a *tree of life*; and he that winneth souls is wise." By the fruit of the righteous may be understood their good examples, their pious conversation, their wise and faithful instructions, their fervent prayers. And these are a *tree of life*; that is, (as before,) they are *saving*, *salutary*. They tend to the preservation and salvation, temporal and spiritual, of those who enjoy them.

"Hope deferred," says Solomon, "maketh the heart sick; but when the desire cometh, it is a *tree of life*." The desire when it cometh, removeth that sickness of the heart which is the result of hope deferred. It delivers from it. It *restores* and *preserves* the soul.

Still again it is said, "A wholesome tongue is a *tree of life*." Here the same meaning is very obvious. A wholesome tongue, full of wise and good counsel, is exceedingly *salutary*. It preserves from a thousand ills in this life, and confers often immortal blessings.

From all these instances, taken from the book of Proverbs, it is evident that Solomon must have had the same idea as to the purpose and use of the *literal* tree of life, with that given above. He must have regarded the literal tree as designed for the *perpetual health* of man—for the preservation and indefinite prolongation of his physical life; since on this single idea all his figurative applications of the words are based.

We only add, fourth, that with this idea corresponds exactly the *symbolical* use of the phrase, *tree of life*, in the Scriptures. In the last chapter of the Apocalypse, we have a symbolical description of the celestial paradise, in which the drapery, the imagery, is borrowed extensively from that of the terrestrial paradise, or the garden of Eden. "In the midst of the street" of this celestial paradise, "and on either side of the river, was there

the *tree of life*, which bare twelve manner of fruits, and yielded her fruit every month; and the leaves of the tree were for the *healing of the nations*." Yes, "the leaves of the tree were for the *healing of the nations*." Who can doubt, after this, as to the design of the *literal tree of life*? It was for the *healing of the nations*. It was for the preserving, prolonging, and perpetuating of that *natural life*, which God had imparted to his innocent offspring. As the presence of the symbolical tree of life in the heavenly paradise, is equivalent to an assurance that, in that blessed world, there shall be no disease, no pain, no death; so the presence of the literal tree of life in the earthly paradise conveyed a similar assurance to its primeval inhabitants. If they held fast their integrity, and continued (as they had occasion) to have recourse to the tree of life, they were never to die.

There is another passage, parallel to that in the Apocalypse, in which the same idea as to the purpose of the literal tree of life is shadowed forth. It is in Ezekiel's vision of the holy waters issuing out from the sanctuary, on the banks of which grow trees, whose leaves never fade; "and the fruit thereof shall be for meat, and the leaf thereof *for medicine*." These trees are not expressly called trees of life, but they are evidently the same, in design and import, as those described in the Apocalypse. The imagery, in both cases, is borrowed from the terrestrial paradise, through which flowed a river, and in the midst of which grew the literal tree of life. And as these mystical trees, in both cases, are represented as possessing a *healing efficacy*, who can doubt that the same was true of the literal tree of life? It was intended to remove all disease, decay, and suffering, from the innocent beings who partook of it, and secure them in the possession of an

endless life. Consequently, when they lost their innocency, and were doomed to revert back to their parent dust, they were sternly debarred from the tree of life, lest they should put forth their hand to it, and eat, and the curse pronounced against them should never be executed.

The literal tree of life has long since ceased from the earth. Its leaf has faded, and its root has withered. It could not long flourish in this infected, doomed, accursed world. And while it remained here, there was no access to it to apostate man. Cherubim and a flaming sword guarded every avenue, and forbade all approach to the literal tree of life. The curse pronounced upon the race, immediately subsequent to their fall, must be inflicted. Of this, there is no remission, either to the good or the bad. Dust we are, and back to the dust must we all return.

But let us rejoice and be glad, that there is *another* tree of life, the approaches to which are guarded by no flaming sword—whose leaf does not wither, whose fruit does not fail, which lives, and flourishes, and blooms forever. It grows not in the earthly Eden, but in the paradise of God above. And the way to it is open to all the obedient children of God. "Blessed are they that *do his commandments*, that they may have a right to the tree of life, and may enter in through the gates into the city." Yes, such as return to God, through the merits of his Son, and *do his commandments*, may have a *right* to this tree of life—a right to its healing leaves and its health-giving fruit, and may enter in, through the opened gates, into the heavenly city!

And now what a *gracious* assurance is this, to be published to a sinning, sorrowing, death-waiting world! And should not the assurance be as *grateful* to us as it is gracious? Should it not be hailed

and welcomed every where with rejoicing and praise? True, we are doomed to go down to the dust; but if we are Christians even death has no sting for us. And we are expecting to go, shortly, where there is no death, no pain, where all tears are wiped from all faces, where sorrow and sighing are "known no more forever. Let us then rejoice in present tribulations, and triumph over the temptations and ills of life, while we press onward and mount upward in pursuit of the glory which is to follow. The paradise to be gained is infinitely superior to that we have lost. The tree of life which remains, and is open to us, is infinitely preferable to that which was guarded and is dead. Let all our readers, then, see to it, that they secure a *right* to this precious tree; that they may have the unutterable

privilege of sitting under its shade, and applying its leaves, and eating its blessed fruits forever. They may fail to secure it.

This tree, like that which once grew in the terrestrial paradise, *may be forfeited*. It *will* be forfeited by all who continue in their sins. It is only "those that *do his commandments*" that "have a right to the tree of life." And this heavenly tree, like that which stood in the garden of Eden, when once forfeited is forfeited forever. The approaches to it will be guarded, not only by cherubim and a flaming sword, but by the inexorable gates, both of the upper and the nether world—both of heaven and of hell. They will be guarded by all the horrors of the impassable gulf; so that there can be no access to it for lost souls forever.

CHAPIN'S PRIMITIVE CHURCH.*

WE give below the title of a book, on which we propose to bestow some little attention. The author of it is evidently a man who loves accuracy. At least he seems determined that there shall be no mistake about his identity. Among all the A. B. Chapins that inhabit this terraqueous globe, that individual one who wrote this book on the primitive church, is so pointed out by an enumeration of individual marks, that the reader who shall

confound this one with any other of that name, must stand convicted of an inexcusable blunder. There is something interesting in this particularity. It leads the reader to suppose, that the man who on the title-page of the book is so exact in defining his own identity, must be a man of the greatest accuracy in all things; and that whatever he may say about the primitive church, the Fathers, and the apostolical succession, may be received without hesitation as infallibly correct. Besides, it has a picturesque and poetical effect. Had the name stood simply A. B. Chapin, according to the prevailing fashion of writers in this republican country, it would have conveyed to thousands of readers, instead of a definite image or visual conception, only something like Crambe's idea of a lord mayor in the abstract. But surround the name with these additions, and immedi-

* A View of the Organization and Order of the Primitive Church: containing a Scriptural plan of the Apostolic Church; with a Historical Outline of the Church to the end of the second century: to which is added, the Apostolic Succession, connecting it with the Church of the present day. By Rev. A. B. Chapin, M. A., Mem. Conn. Acad. Arts and Sciences; Mem. Conn. Hist. Soc.; Hon. Mem. R. I. Hist. Soc.; Hon. Mem. Hist. Soc. Penn.; Mem. Yale Nat. Hist. Soc. New Haven, Hitchcock & Stafford, 1842.

ately, in its connection with the other matters on the title-page, the reader catches a glimpse, as it were, of a white surplice, and of a venerable man with a pocket full of diplomas. It is somewhat as when we hear the heralds greeting Lord Marmion with all his titles,

"lord of Fontenaye,
Of Lutterward and Scrivelbays,
Of Tamworth tower and town ;"

we feel at once that Lord Marmion is not a mere name, an algebraical symbol, but a man of substance and command.

Passing over, for the present, the miscellaneous information touching the book and its author, which we find in the "epistle to the reader," we turn to the first chapter, entitled "state of the question." The question is, "*What was the organization and order of the apostolic church?*" This question is in our author's view of great importance, because all religious denominations, as he says, "claim to be exclusively patterned after the apostolic model,"—because "a large proportion believe the apostolic practice to be binding on all succeeding generations;"—and because "the few who deny its obligation, show by their constant endeavors to prove their conformity to that model, that they consider its sanction very desirable."

It is not doubtful what view our author takes of the nature and bearings of this question. He is one of the many who "believe the apostolic practice to be binding on all succeeding generations." He does not indeed say so expressly in this connection, but the whole drift of the book makes it clear what view he takes of the importance of church organization and order. Thus in closing his prefatory "epistle to the reader," he says, "It is hoped that the sincere inquirer after truth will find essential aid in this volume; and that he who is anxiously seeking to know what is that church

which hath been declared to be 'the body of Christ,' will be helped forward in his investigation." In plain words, all those persons, whatever their faith and practice in other respects, who do not belong to some ecclesiastical organization "exclusively patterned after the apostolic model," do not belong to "the body of Christ." If this is the right view, the question touching the "organization and order" practiced by the Apostles, is, beyond all doubt, a question of unspeakable moment. No truth is of more importance than the true answer to the question, What is the body of Christ? And if the body of Christ is an ecclesiastical organization, exclusively patterned after the apostolic model, no truth can be more important than the true answer to the question which our author proposes as the theme of his discussion.

"This examination," our author proceeds to say, "is one of *pure history*, and is to be considered like every other question of that nature." But let us not forget so soon the importance of this question. A question of pure history! Let our author say if it is not, in the view in which he discusses it, a momentous question of doctrine and of duty? In one sense, every question of what Christ and his Apostles taught, is a question of pure history. The question whether Paul and Peter preached that all who will may be saved through the death of Christ, and by the renewing influence of the Holy Spirit, is, in that sense, as truly and purely historical, as the question whether the Apostles wore long beards, after the manner of the Orientals, or shaved themselves after the manner of the Romans. The former, however, is a question concerning the nature and being of Christianity, and we have a right to expect that the inspired records of the Christian revelation, will give us an explicit answer. The latter is a question respecting "apostolic prac-

tice" merely; and it would not be at all strange if it could not be answered without a great deal of ingenuity and some tradition.

Another of our author's remarks, by way of describing the "state of the question," and preparing the ground for the direct discussion, is that "in this examination there are two distinct kinds of evidence, wholly independent of each other, and both equally relevant;—the Scriptures, and the writings of the primitive Christians, usually referred to by the appellation of *THE FATHERS*." Equally relevant! Equally relevant to what? To the question, What constitutes the body of Christ, is the testimony of Hermas, or whoever else wrote the pitiful book which bears that name, equally relevant with the testimony of Paul, of Peter, or of Luke? We have thought that "the Bible, the Bible alone, is the religion of Protestants." We hold that in an investigation, the result of which is to bind the conscience of a Christian, our only resort must be to the record of inspiration. The testimony of Tertullian is pertinent enough to an inquiry concerning the ecclesiastical forms, usages and theories of the African churches about the year 200; but to bring in Tertullian as a witness to the practice of the Apostles considered as "binding on all succeeding generations," is a grand impertinence. That apostolic practice which is not laid down in the Scriptures, even though it were *proved* to be apostolic practice, is, to a Protestant, certainly, no part of the Christian religion.

But relevant as Mr. Chapin esteems the testimony of the Fathers to the inquiry before him, and willing as he may be for his own part to yield his faith and conscience to what they say, he has so much "respect to the feelings of those who deny its relevancy," that he proposes to confine the discussion "to such points as may be made out by

Scripture, citing the Fathers merely in confirmation." "And for the same reason," he says, "we shall confine ourselves to the time when it is acknowledged by all that the church remained uncorrupted; that is, to the two first centuries." Here we are compelled again to put in our protest. That the church—by which we understand Christianity as believed, understood, and practiced by the Christian community—remained uncorrupt till the year 200, we do by no means acknowledge. On the contrary, we hold that as soon as Christianity ceased to be uttered and expounded by inspired lips, it could not but begin to be corrupted. The Apostles were taught by the Savior personally; yet it was not without a miraculous inspiration that they were qualified to teach the gospel to others. What sort of a Christianity should we have had, if we had received from the Apostles nothing better than those impressions and apprehensions which they had received from Christ's teaching, before the advent of that Holy Spirit which was to lead them into all truth? Those very societies, the members of which received their knowledge of Christianity from the lips of the Apostles, did not retain that Christianity without corruption, even while the Apostles were yet living. The churches of proconsular Asia were growing corrupt as early as when the Apocalypse was written. What sort of a Christianity should we have had, if the Christianity of Sardis, or of Thyatira, or of Ephesus, had come down to us, body, soul and spirit, as it was, say in the year 68? The church at Corinth had become corrupt, sadly corrupt, in doctrine, discipline and practice, before the date of Paul's first epistle to that church. A sorry Christianity the world would have, if we had not something less corrupt than the Christianity practiced in the Corinthian church, within a few months after its founder,

Paul, had for the first time ventured to leave it. Let any intelligent man consider the symptoms of degeneracy of which there are so many intimations in the New Testament itself, and the elements of corruption which could not but exist in the primitive Christian community—elements the operation of which the Apostles foresaw and predicted; let him consider who the primitive Christians were—converts from Judaism or from heathenism, with the remains of their old prejudices cleaving to them still; let him consider their circumstances, living among pagans, under a pagan government, surrounded by the influences of a state of society of which paganism was the soul, obnoxious to the laws, and frequently assailed by the most active persecution; let him consider their disadvantages, with no Christian literature, with no libraries of theological learning, with no press to multiply books and readers, with no suitable schools for their children, and no colleges for the training of their ministry, compelled even to hold their religious assemblies under the protection of night, and in the deepest privacy; and then let him say whether any thing but a constant miracle could have kept the church uncorrupt for a longer time after the days of the Apostles, than the whole period from the days of the first settlers of New England till the establishment of the federal constitution.

"In every subject which men discuss, or examine," says our author, "there must be certain things which are assumed, or agreed upon, by all parties. These, like the axioms in mathematics, are the starting points of the argument." All this is true; and it is also true that almost every successful sophism, may be resolved into the trick which dextrously assumes, at one step or another in the course of the argument, some definition, some axiom, or some general proposition, which directly

or indirectly includes the point in dispute. It is with great propriety, therefore, that Mr. Chapin undertakes to state distinctly, at the outset, what are the points assumed, from which his argument proceeds. We transfer to our columns his account of the starting point of his whole inquiry.

"One of the points thus assumed, or agreed upon in this matter, and which the common sense of every person must approve, is, that the apostolic history, as contained in the Acts of the Apostles, was written to acquaint us with the fact, that the gospel was preached, and churches were formed; but not to detail the peculiarities of their organization;—that the apostolic epistles were written to confirm the churches in the faith; but not to give them a platform of church organization and order. Hence, we are obliged to infer, as we know the fact to be, that the New Testament gives, in no one place, a detailed account of the organization and order of the apostolic church. This point being assumed, it is necessary to assume another, before we can proceed at all in the argument; and that is, that the apostolic churches, when fully established, had a uniform system of organization; and that the Apostles, in their writings, allude to, and speak of that form, with sufficient distinctness, to enable us to determine what it was." pp. 19, 20.

This paragraph, to our eye, consists of two parts; first a concession on the part of the author, which virtually subverts every particular form of church organization, claiming to be *jure divino*; and secondly, an assumption which we, on our part, utterly refuse to concede.

The concession is, that no part of the New Testament was written for the sake of making known the constitution and organization of the Christian community, in the days of the Apostles. And in the face of such a concession as this, will any man ask us to believe that the writers of the New Testament were all Episcopalians of the *jure divino* school? If that glorious saint and martyr, Archbishop Laud—if Bishop Seabury, or Bishop Hobart—if Queen Elizabeth, or King Charles first or second—if Dr. Pusey, or

Prof. Newman, or Bishop Whittingham, or the editor of the New York Churchman—if the Rev. A. B. Chapin, had written the New Testament, or even one book of that collection—could the Bible have been found so deficient in respect to an explicit “platform of church organization and order?” True Episcopalians could not have left this important matter in so neglected a condition. Accordingly, when Episcopalianism had grown to something like maturity, not far from the year 300, some writer or writers attempted to supply this glaring deficiency. A book was forged, entitled “the Constitutions of the Apostles,”—a most Episcopalian book; Laud himself could hardly have made it more so. It professed to have been written by Clement of Rome, as the amanuensis of the Apostles assembled in council, for the express purpose of prescribing all sorts of regulations for the churches. “The Canons of the Apostles,” was another work of the same kind, though much more compendious. During those glorious ages before the Reformation, which the Oxford doctors and their American co-workers are so anxious to restore, both these books had great authority, being considered almost if not quite genuine; though now they are universally regarded as forgeries, got up not far from the beginning of the fourth century. But if these are forgeries, how happens it that we have no genuine article of the same kind? If the Apostles made no canons at all, besides what we find in the New Testament, and if the New Testament was not written to give to Christians a platform of church organization and order, what ground can there be for the claim, that any particular form of church government, in distinction from others, exists by the divine law? So much for the concession.

The *assumption* which our author says he must make “before we can

proceed at all in the argument,” is “that the apostolic churches, when fully organized, had a *uniform system* of organization.” We do not volunteer to prove the negative of the proposition thus assumed as the basis of all argument; we only say that for our part, we do not at all concede what our author presumes to be conceded. We wait for proof on this point. Nor are we to be satisfied by being told that the assumption is not peculiar to Mr. Chapin, or to his party. We know that Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and Episcopalians, have all made the same assumption. We know that this assumption lies at the foundation of the Cambridge Platform and of Thomas Hooker's Survey, as really as it lies at the foundation of Mr. Chapin's argument. But all this is not proof. We want proof that the church at Jerusalem, in the days of the Apostles, and the church at Antioch, were organized and governed on precisely the same system. We want proof that the church at Corinth and the church at Babylon, had just the same officers, with just the same functions. The Christian assembly in each city which the Apostles and their fellow laborers visited, grew up by the side of the synagogue; its original and leading members being a secession from the body of Jewish worshipers. Who will prove to us, in the first place, that the Jewish synagogues of that age, in all parts of the world, in Egypt, in Syria, in Chaldea, in Cappadocia, and in Italy, were all constituted and regulated precisely after one pattern? And this being proved, who will prove to us in the next place, that, in every instance, the seceding body of Christians, deviated from the institutions and regulations to which they had been accustomed in the synagogue, just so far and no farther? We commend this inquiry to the attention of those learned men, who have more leisure for it than we have, and especially

to Masters of Arts, and the members of the Yale Natural History Society.

The author of the work before us, has a highly original way of accounting for the troublesome fact, that the New Testament nowhere lays down a platform of church government. Having assumed, as we have seen, "that the churches planted by the Apostles, when fully established, had a uniform system of organization," he goes on to assume other fundamental propositions as follows.

"2. That, whatever this form was, it must have been tangible and visible; known to all the members of the churches; and, therefore, could not be mistaken or forgotten.

"3. For this reason, the Apostles did not address epistles to the churches, in relation to ecclesiastical organization; that being a subject about which there was no possibility of mistake. But they did address epistles to the various churches, on matters of faith and doctrine, which not being thus visible and tangible, but depending on recollection and memory for their transmission, were liable to be forgotten or misremembered." pp. 21, 22.

Now we can not but think that if any thing ought to be reduced to writing, instead of being left to the uncertainties of remembrance and tradition—if any thing would certainly be reduced to writing by men of common sense, acquainted with the use of letters—the constitution and laws which were to be the "uniform system of organization," for a confederacy of newly formed religious societies, extending over the known world, ought to be, and certainly would be made "tangible and visible," by being written upon parchment, if not upon "tables of stone." Nay, may we not say that the only unwritten laws and institutions which are possible in a community that has the art of writing, are such laws and institutions as have grown up by usage, slowly and unobserved, with the tacit consent or the tacit submission of that community—laws and institutions which, never having been positively

ordained by any recognized authority, can be referred to no lawgiver, and to no precise date at which they came into existence. Yet we are gravely requested to admit as a "fundamental principle," that the Apostles established in all their churches, from the Euphrates to the Guadalquivir, a uniform body of regulations, which they neglected to commit to writing, for the reason that the system was, intrinsically, and independently of all records, so "tangible and visible," that it "could not be mistaken or forgotten." Is this the way in which "uniform systems of organization," Episcopalian, Methodist, or Presbyterian, are set up and kept up in these days? Besides, if we take this for a fundamental principle, why are we not to adhere to it in our practice? If the "uniform system of organization," invented and put in practice by the Apostles, was a system which needed no written constitutions or canons, how can we admit, as identical with that, any system of uniformity, to which a written code of laws is indispensable? The church of England, the kirk of Scotland, the various national churches of America, which have for their essence uniformity of organization, present themselves before us, each with its own voluminous canons and constitutions, without which its uniformity would be impossible; and each of these various churches claims that its own organization is in precise accordance with that established by the Apostles. Why shall we not be allowed to tell them that, according to Mr. Chapin's "fundamental principle," they are all wrong? For, as he teaches us, the "uniform system of organization," established by the Apostles, was one which needed no writing to record it or define it; but without canons or constitutions, it was "tangible and visible, known to all the members of the churches, and therefore could not be mistaken or forgotten."

Another point in the passage above cited, is equally remarkable in its bearing on the whole subject of inquiry. According to the fundamental principles from which our author's argument proceeds, the Apostles had no occasion to write any "epistles to the churches, in relation to ecclesiastical organization; that being a subject about which," even in the absence of all written constitutions and canons, "there was no possibility of mistake." We will not dispute this proposition. Let it stand confessed that the Apostles, from the day of Pentecost till the latest of them finished his course, never had occasion to address a single epistle to a single church, on the subject of church organization. Let it stand confessed that in that primitive and forming age, when there were no settled usages, no precedents, and no written regulations, the organization of the churches, whatever it was, was such, so "tangible and visible" a thing, so known and comprehended of all men, that in all the churches there arose no serious question as to its principles or details—no dispute respecting the relative rights, powers, and functions of members, and of different officers—at least, none of such a nature as to require any explanation or decision from an apostle. In one view, this fact, admitting it to be a fact, is a most significant phenomenon. Why may we not shut up the book here, with the conclusion that the system of ecclesiastical organization set up by the Apostles, was just about no system at all? How can the phenomenon be explained, but by supposing that wherever converts were made, under the teaching of the Apostles, and a Christian society or community was thus originated, the Apostles left those Christians to manage their own matters, as a society, in their own way, only charging them to keep their communion pure, and to hold fast those inspiring

truths, which were the object of their faith, and the basis of their hopes. To suppose that the Apostles established in all the churches a uniform hierarchical system, with a distribution of powers and duties among various ranks rising one above another; and to suppose at the same time, that while that hierarchical system remained unwritten, and while the communities over which it was established, were all new, there arose, in a full quarter of a century, no occasion for the founders of it to give any explanation of an obscure or disputed point, is a supposition so near to an absurdity, that we might be excused from arguing against it.

The author seems to feel that after all his preliminaries are settled, and all his assumptions are granted, the inquiry upon which he is entering will not be without its difficulties. To illustrate the arduousness of the investigation which must ascertain the constitution and uniform organization of the apostolic churches from the New Testament alone, he supposes that a man born and educated in a South Sea island, and entirely ignorant in respect to the institutions and usages of civilized countries, is called to the task of ascertaining the organization of the American army in the revolutionary war, from a collection of General Washington's private letters, together with a few of his proclamations addressed to the army—the letters being written, during the progress of the war, to a few of the General's familiar friends who had left the army and were residing in a remote part of the country. "Such a man, under such circumstances," says our author, "would be situated very much as we are when attempting to determine the entire constitution of the apostolic church, from Scripture alone." This is a strong, but on the whole, not an unfair illustration so far as it goes. Yet it is somewhat defective.

To complete the analogy between the two cases, it must be supposed that by some fundamental ordinance of the government, all the rights of every citizen to his franchises as a citizen, to his property, to his liberty, to his life itself, are made to depend on his ascertaining, under all these disadvantages, what was the organization of the old continental army, and thus enrolling his name in some regiment organized and disciplined exactly after the revolutionary model. It must also be supposed that learned and ingenious men, who have given much attention to the documents, have arrived at different conclusions; and that accordingly, there are in existence several distinct bodies of troops differing from each other in various particulars. There are some who hold that no organization is complete, or truly revolutionary, or can have any validity in securing the rights of those who enroll themselves under it, unless it is commanded by a field-marshal; and such as hold this opinion, organize themselves accordingly. Others succeed in keeping up a very respectable discipline, with no officer of a higher rank than general. There are some who maintain, that the word of command must always be read out from a book, or else all order in the army will go to ruin. Others hold, that if the word of command is rightly given and promptly obeyed, the actual presence of a book is of small consequence, and may be, in some emergencies, a positive inconvenience. Some insist, that it is necessary to wear on parade a certain grotesque old fashioned uniform, with prodigious white facings. Others insist, that as the revolutionary armies appear to have been in no condition to bestow much attention upon their uniforms, and were generally glad to wear whatever coats they could get, the most suitable imitation of their practice, in that

particular, is for every man to appear on parade in plain clothes, as decent as he can afford to wear. Amid these distractions, the inquirer, as ignorant of all such matters as a South Sea islander, is to judge from a few of Washington's private letters, and a few of his general orders, which of these various organizations is the true "ancient and honorable" revolutionary army. And the question is not to be decided by inquiring which corps has the most of the old revolutionary patriotism, or which maintains in the greatest purity those political principles on which the revolution turned—such inquiries might lead him wide of the mark; the whole question, he must remember, is a question of order and organization only. He is to secure his rights as a citizen, only by enlisting in that corps which is officered and drilled after the true revolutionary pattern. However pure may be his patriotism, however enlightened and sound his political principles in all other respects—if he fails in this point, he has no rights as a member of society, but is thrown absolutely on the "uncovenanted mercy" of the sovereign power in the commonwealth.

Such are the preliminaries of the investigation—such the explanations which our author gives of the nature and arduousness of the inquiry through which he proposes to conduct his readers. We are now to observe his manner of conducting the inquiry itself—"What is the Scriptural draught of the apostolic church?"

This general inquiry he divides into the following particulars: "1. What was the apostolic church? 2. Who composed it? 3. What were the powers and duties of its members? 4. What were its officers? and 5. What were the qualifications required of, and the power and duty belonging to each?"

First, then, "What was the apos-

tolic church?" Our author answers, "It was a regularly organized society." He tells us that the apostolic idea of the church was, "that it included all the actual and professed subjects of the king of heaven, whether on earth or in heaven." And he goes on to argue with much iteration, and with emphatic variety of typography, that "the church is one; but twofold in its nature;" first, there is the "church outward and visible," which is nothing else than "the church militant" on earth; and secondly, there is the "church invisible and spiritual," which is nothing else than "the church triumphant" in heaven. The first of these two is designed to prepare men for the second, of which it is a type. And these two are one.

Of course, we shall not be expected to give in detail the argument by which the author attempts to make out these positions. For that we refer the reader to the book itself. It belongs to us rather to say, how far the argument commends itself to our judgment as conclusive. We say then, outright, that the author has not made out his positions; and that his argument on this main point—a point so fundamental to his whole book, and indeed to the entire high church theory of Christianity—is little else than a tissue of all sorts of sophistries. In particular,

1. He resolutely avoids the distinction which lies upon the surface of the Scriptures, between the literal use of the word 'church,' as denoting an actual assembly or meeting, and the figurative use of it, as denoting the universal commonwealth of God's people. It is hardly necessary to say that we are speaking of the word 'church' in the New Testament, or rather of that Greek word (*ἐκκλησία*) thus translated by order of King James I, in the common English version. All that Mr. Chapin finds occasion to tell us

touching the New Testament usage of the word 'church,' is that, in the English translation, "it is used in place of the Greek *Ecclesia*, which denotes an *assembly* legally and properly convened, whether common or religious, signifying either the *place* where the assembly meets, or the *persons* assembled." And then, as if nothing more could be said on that point, he runs off into a cloud of learned dust, "Latin," "Greek," "Gothic," "old German," "German," "Dutch," "Scottish," "Anglo-Saxon," "Icelandic," "Swedish," "Russian," "Bohemian," "Lusitanian," "Dalmatian," "Polish," and "Portuguese." But in the face of all this learning, we must be allowed to say that, in the New Testament, the word (*ἐκκλησία*) taken by itself, never means the *place* of meeting as distinguished from the meeting itself. Nor does it denote an "assembly *legally and properly convened*," but only an assembly or meeting, without any reference to the regularity or irregularity of its coming together. Thus even that assembly which was most illegally and improperly convened in the theater at Ephesus, is called by Luke a church, (*ἐκκλησία*), though King James's translators have called it simply an assembly. (Acts xix, 40.) And from this one example, if there were no other, it is evident that the word 'church,' standing by itself, does not mean a "regularly organized society," nor indeed a society at all in our ordinary use of that word.

The disciples at Jerusalem, from and after the day of Pentecost, at least till persecution grew active, were wont to meet daily at the regular hours of the temple worship, under the shelter of one of the magnificent colonnades of Herod's temple. (Acts ii, 46; iii, 1, 11; v, 12—14.) At the appointed hour, the twelve were to be found in the portico which was called Solomon's, and the multitude of their

fellow disciples naturally flocked around them; while the greater multitudes who still rejected Jesus of Nazareth, as naturally withdrew from them, and stood in other parts of the great enclosure. This assembly in Solomon's portico, the Apostles and their followers denominated "the meeting," using, no doubt, as they could not but use, the identical Hebrew or Aramean word (קהל) which in the Old Testament is translated "congregation." So when there began to be disciples in other parts of Palestine, they too had their "meetings," weekly, or more frequent; and the same Hebrew or Aramean word which was applied to the meeting at Jerusalem, could not but be applied to the meeting at Joppa, at Ceserea, and at Samaria. That word the Hellenist disciples translated by the Greek word now in question, which is one of the two words used interchangeably for that purpose by the Septuagint translators of the Old Testament. 'Church' (ἐκκλησία) and 'synagogue' (συναγωγή) are originally, and in the Septuagint, two exactly synonymous translations of the same Hebrew word. As the word 'synagogue' seems to have become among the Hellenist Jews the more ordinary word to denote the places of their assemblies for prayer and the reading of the law, the other word was naturally appropriated to denote those new assemblies, the members of which were believers in Jesus. The word thus applied, was used in its literal meaning.

But there is also a figurative use of the word in the New Testament, equally obvious to the reader of the original text. When Christ says, "Upon this rock"—the rock of Peter's confession of faith—"I will build my congregation," (Matt. xvi, 18,) he uses the word (ἐκκλησία) not literally but figuratively. So when Paul says that Christ "is exalted to be head over all things to the congregation, which is his body, the full-

ness of him who filleth all in all," it is palpable that instead of speaking of some actual meeting or assembly, he is speaking figuratively. Nor is the exact association of thoughts which leads to the use of this figure, and determines its significance, difficult to be discovered. The ancient "commonwealth of Israel" was a kingdom. The great commonwealth of God's true Israel—the spiritual fellowship of God's redeemed people—is therefore styled a kingdom, the kingdom of Christ, of God, of heaven. In like manner, the ancient commonwealth of Israel was denominated "the congregation." While that commonwealth sojourned in the desert, where it received the law and all its national institutions, it was literally a "congregation;" and therefore it received that name. And afterwards, three times in every year, when all the nation presented itself before God at Jerusalem, it was literally a "general assembly and congregation," (πανήγυρις καὶ ἐκκλησία, Heb. xii, 23,) and thus the name retained its primitive significance. In conformity with this mode of speaking, the spiritual Israel, the great and eternal commonwealth of those who worship the Father in spirit and in truth, under the kingly power and priestly intercession of the Son of God, is called "the congregation," the "general assembly and congregation of the first born, enrolled in heaven."

Our first objection, then, both to Mr. Chapin's statement of "what was the apostolic church," and to his argument in support of that statement, is, that he entirely avoids this obvious distinction between the literal and the figurative use of the word 'church' in the apostolic writings.

2. But this is only the beginning. He mystifies the distinction which common sense makes between the visible church and the invisible. Take the word 'church' in the large

and figurative use, of which we have just spoken, as signifying the kingdom of Christ on earth—the great communion of the redeemed and holy; and in one view the church is invisible, while in another view it may be said to be visible. It “cometh not with observation.” It “is within,” not an outward kingdom. It “is not meat and drink,”—not ordinances and institutions—“but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Spirit.” It includes all those, and only those, whose character in the sight of God comes within the conditions of salvation through Jesus Christ. It is “the fullness of him who filleth all in all.” It is the commonwealth of those “who are enrolled in heaven.” It is the dominion of truth and love, the reigning of God in the hearts of men. Its actual extent and boundaries—its actual existence and progress “within” each chosen soul—are *seen* by no other eye than his who looketh on the heart. This is the true “congregation of the first born,” the spiritual body of which an invisible Christ is the head. This is the “holy universal church,” out of which there is no salvation. On this idea of an invisible church of God, a spiritual Israel unseen by the outward eye, Paul’s reasoning in the epistle to the Romans, continually turns. “They are not all Israel who are of Israel.” (Rom. ix, 6.) In the days of Elijah, the true Israel, the invisible commonwealth of God, were those “seven thousand men,” unknown to the desponding prophet, and unknown to each other, “who had not bowed the knee to Baal.” (xi, 4.) “He is not a Jew [one of God’s peculiar and covenant people] who is one outwardly; neither is that circumcision [in the sense of obtaining a participation in the spiritual promises made to Abraham] which is outward and in the flesh; but he is a Jew who is one inwardly; and circumcision is that of the heart, in

the spirit, and not in the letter, whose praise is not of men, but of God.” (ii, 28, 29.)

This invisible kingdom of God on earth—which is simply God’s living and spiritual temple, “as God hath said I will dwell in them, and walk in them, and I will be their God, and they shall be my people”—is in another view visible. It is visible in the means by which it is set up and extended. Wherever the inspired oracles hold forth their light; wherever the living servant of Christ bids men repent and believe, and says to them “the kingdom of God is come nigh to you;” wherever there is the visible worship of the true God, who is a spirit,—there the kingdom of Christ is visible, at least in its first rudiments. The kingdom of God is visible in the professed and recognized repentance, faith, and love, and in the manifested holiness of those who have felt its power. It is visible in the institutions of spiritual worship—not in forms alone, for these may be in their highest perfection where no kingdom of God is visible; but in forms animated and glowing with manifested life. It is visible in all the outward results of the doctrine which is according to godliness—in the peace and happiness that fill a Christian land—in the calm and holy beauty of a Sabbath morn, smiling upon city, hamlet, and field—in the modest spire that rises from among the embowering elms of a village green—in the sepulchral stone that tells of consolation, and of victory over death. The visible members of Christ’s “holy and universal congregation,” are all those who give evidence of a renewed heart—all who in any way make it manifest that they love God, that they walk after the Spirit, or that they hunger and thirst after righteousness. That church does not exclude on the one hand the groping-papist, blinded and burthened in his servitude to

forms, if he gives evidence of a heart in which God reigns; nor on the other hand does it reject the erratic Quaker, who knows no baptism with water, if amid all his errors it appears that he "holds the head," and has experienced a baptism of the Spirit.

This distinction between the visible kingdom of God on earth, and the invisible, is fundamental to a spiritual understanding of the Scriptures. But our author's statements and arguments respecting the apostolic church, mystify and even annihilate this distinction. According to him, the invisible church is nothing else than the church triumphant in heaven; the only church on earth is a church outward and visible; and through this outward and visible church below, men must pass into that invisible church above. Such is his theory—such the "high church" theory of Christianity. This theory has been well named *churchianity*. It is antagonistic to the gospel of peace, the law of liberty. It contains the seminal principle of a complete system of superstition and spiritual despotism; and that system is the gospel of Oxford and of Rome.

3. It is little more than a matter of course to add, that our author violently misconstrues and misapplies the Scriptures. This he could not avoid doing, if he must needs make the Scriptures support such a theory. One or two examples of this shall suffice.

To prove that "the apostolic church was a *regularly organized society*," his first point is, that in the language of the Scriptures the church "is one fold, having one shepherd;" and he cites John x, 16, of which text it is enough to say, that the only "organization," or unity of the "one fold," expressed or implied in those words of Christ, is that which connects it with the "one shepherd." The next citation is from John xvii, 21—23, the

sublime passage in which the Redeemer prays that his redeemed "may be one, as thou Father art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us." What a perversion—we had almost said, what a profanation—of the tenderest, sublimest, holiest words ever uttered by the Son of God! As if that prayer of the interceding Immanuel, were a prayer that all his disciples might belong to one "outward," "visible," "regularly organized society!" Turn to the passage and read, "that they all may be *one*,"—how one?—one in outward organization as a body politic?—one in the observance of forms and disciplinary regulations?—one in subjection and obedience to a human hierarchy? How impertinent the intrusion of such notions upon the deep flow of thought and feeling which the devout reading of this prayer awakens in every spiritual mind! No! when the Redeemer prayed that his redeemed might all be one, his spirit was not thinking of "uniformity" or "organization," but of an inward, vital, spiritual unity;—"as thou Father art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be *one* in us." The unity spoken of, is a *unity in the Father and the Son*. Let us read again. "The glory which thou gavest me, I have given them, that they may be one,"—how one?—"even as we are one; I in them, and thou in me, that they may be perfected into one, that the world may know that thou hast sent me, and hast loved them as thou hast loved me." What unity is this? Unity of affection and of mind, unity of aim and purpose, unity of spirit and of life, unity in God and in Christ. So far as this unity exists, it will be, like light, and like life, self-manifested; and it will give the clearest of all testimonies to that power and love of a redeeming God, from which alone it can originate.

Other examples of Mr. Chapin's

mode of using the Scriptures are in our eye, but we must forbear to notice them particularly. We will only say in general, that if we may judge from the mode in which he applies those texts which speak of the spiritual union of renewed and holy souls, whether with each other or with their head, he has no idea of any union of believers with Christ or in Christ, distinct from an ecclesiastical union—a union in the church considered as an organization.

4. Some notice must be taken of the kind of logic by which this church-theory is supported. Mr. Chapin's logic may be no worse than that of other advocates of the same system; for our part we do not see how the system could be maintained by any logic much more rational. Probably much that is quite as bad in the way of reasoning, may be found in writers of much greater celebrity. Our time, just now, will not permit us to verify our impressions, but, at a venture, we dare be bound to show, from the writings of the Oxford tractators themselves, specimens of logic no better than that of Mr. Chapin's, which happens to open upon us in this connection.

Having quoted many of the texts which speak of Christians as constituting "one body," with "many members," and having "one head," even Christ, the author suddenly interrupts the chain of his Scripture testimonies, and gives free scope to his reasoning powers. "The practice of the Apostles," in speaking of the church as a body, seems to him highly significant. And accordingly, upon this simple figure of speech, he proceeds to erect a sweeping argument, before which he evidently thinks no opposition can stand.

"If the church be 'one body,' having 'one head,' 'with many members,' the members having 'various offices,' then it follows that it is a *perfect body*. And

if a perfect body, it will be attended by the following particulars:

"(1.) The head will be *the eye*, that is, the *overseer* of the body. This follows, both from the analogy of the Apostle's figure, and from the office and object of the eye. Hence the duty of *overseeing* can not be any where but in the head.

"(2.) The head will be *the ear* of the body. And if the ear, then it will have the power of *hearing*, and consequently of *judging* all matters relative to the wants and duties of the body.

"(3.) The head will be *the mouth* of the body. And if the mouth of the body—the church—then it will have the power of *speaking on behalf* and in the name of the church.

"From the foregoing it follows, that in every apostolic church there was a head, having the power of *overseeing*, *hearing*, *judging*, and *speaking*, for and in behalf of the church. No church, therefore, can be formed after the apostolic pattern, to which these allusions are not applicable, or which has not such a head, having these powers, and performing these duties." p. 32.

The first step in this argument is, "If the church be one body," etc., then "it is a perfect body." But what is a *perfect body*? Surely, unless there is something in the conclusion which is not included in the premises, a "perfect body," as words are here used, is neither more nor less than "one body, having one head, with many members, the members having various offices." But when we look to the uses which the author makes of this conclusion, we see at once that by "a perfect body" he means a body between which and the human body there is a *perfect analogy*—or at least an analogy just as perfect as is necessary to answer his purpose.

Accordingly, the next step of the argument is, "If the church is a perfect body, it will be attended by the following particulars." See the particulars as quoted above. The clearness and cogency of the conclusion, which constitutes this second step, demand some deliberate attention.

The beauty of the reasoning here is twofold—not to say manifold. In the first place, who can help won-

dering at the ingenuity that can deduce so great a "body" of dogmas from a simple rhetorical figure? And the wonder is increased by considering that this is done not smilingly, and as a playful exercise of fancy, but with a profound scholastic gravity. As we have already intimated, it does by no means appear to our obtuseness, how the fact that the commonwealth of the redeemed is by an easy figure called "one body," having "many members," with various functions, and "one head," even the Redeemer and King of the spiritual Israel, involves the reality of any more minute analogy between the church and the human body. To draw out such an analogy into all sorts of fanciful details, seems to us to be "riding a metaphor to death,"—an operation the cruelty of which towards the innocent metaphor, somewhat impairs the enjoyment we might otherwise find in seeing the ingenuity with which it is executed. The only use which Paul makes of this figure, (and in the New Testament it is exclusively Paul's,) is to illustrate, in some places, the mutual dependence and mutual sympathy and helpfulness of Christians; and in other places, to express the common dependence of all upon their Savior as their head. To spin out of this figure such a series of ecclesiastical canons, seems to us to be extraordinary logic, as well as a violent misapplication of the Scriptures.*

* We can not refrain from proposing to Mr. Chapin, in passing, a piece of exegesis and logic quite parallel to that of which he makes so much. He may, perhaps, wish to incorporate it with his second edition. If so, he is welcome to use it as his own.

The church is called by the Apostle Paul "one bread," and the bread is said to be "broken," which implies that it consists of many pieces. If, then, the church is "one bread," consisting of many pieces, it follows that the church is a *perfect* bread. And if perfect, it will be attended with the following particu-

In the second place, the only church which the author has proved to be one body, having one head, and many members with various offices, is the one universal church, the one head of which is Christ himself. This difficulty has not escaped the prudent eye of our logician. And, therefore, in order to apply his reasoning to "*every* apostolic church," that is, to particular and actual assemblies or societies of Christians, he adduces a passage in which Paul, having in mind, perhaps, a familiar old Roman apologue, illustrates the common interest and mutual dependence of Christians living in one community, by showing how each part of the human body has no other interest than the common interest of the whole, to which interest each in its proper place and function, is subservient. In that passage, (1 Cor. xii, 27,) the Apostle, having spoken of the foot in opposition to the hand, of the ear in opposition to the eye, of the function of hearing in opposition to that of smelling, and then again of the eye in opposition to the hand, speaks also, just in that connection, of the head in opposition to the feet. This word "head," thus introduced, Mr. Chapin presumes to be used as denoting some particular functionary in and over the church; and incom-

lars. (1.) It will have an "upper crust," for no bread is perfect unless it is perfectly baked, and an upper crust is a necessary part of that process. But "upper crust" is a familiar figure for aristocracy, and aristocracy in the church signifies hierarchy. (2.) The upper crust will be the *protector* of the bread. This follows from the analogy of the figure. The duty of protecting, then, can not be any where but in the upper crust. (3.) The upper crust gives *uniformity* to the bread. We can tell how many odd shapes bread might assume if it were not for the formation of the upper crust in the process of baking.

But we will not pursue this analogy. The vein which we have merely struck is obviously a rich one, and might bear much working, especially if our author, with his peculiar ingenuity, would undertake to explore it.

tinently he sets it down for an all-demolishing proof that, as Christ is the invisible head of the universal church—or more exactly, in his view of the matter, as Christ is the invisible head of the invisible church triumphant in heaven, so “every apostolic church” on earth, will have its visible and human head. And then he introduces his great theory, from the Fathers, that every church on earth is, in its organization, a type or visible representation of the invisible church in heaven. But look; if from the language of Paul, in the passage referred to, it follows that some one man in the church was known as the head of the body, then from the same passage it follows that in the same church, and consequently in every apostolic church, there were two other men who were known as the feet; and that the functions of hands, ears, eyes, and nostrils, were all distinctly assigned to so many different pairs of members, thus constituting “a perfect body”—a body with one head and many members, having various offices.

As yet, however, we have given only three of the eight particulars which Mr. Chapin enumerates as involved in his memorable conclusion, that the church is a perfect body. It is no more than fair to give the other five, though we must be more sparing in our commentaries.

The fourth particular resulting from the perfection of the church as a body, is “that if every church must have such a head, then there can be no such thing as a head over these heads.” A hard blow at the pope. Luther never struck such blows as these.

The fifth application of the principle is, that “there must be a spirit in this body. And that spirit is CHRIST. He is the life-blood of the church.” “Take away this spirit, and the body ceases to be a living body, and becomes a corpse.”

Very good, and very true. It is refreshing to meet such a passage here—not unlike to manna in the wilderness. These words are as if Flavel, or some other spiritualizer of the seventeenth century, had written them. But in point of logic, they are of a piece with the rest of the argument.

“All churches should agree in their general organization.” This is the sixth corollary. Bodies may differ in complexion and features, but all perfect bodies must be organized alike.

Corollary the seventh is, “that there should be but one church within a given space.” This results, irresistibly, from the laws of matter; for if the church is a perfect *body*, it is of course subject to all the laws and conditions of matter. Hence if two churches attempt to occupy the same place, there will be a collision, and probably a concussion. On this point, the author might have confirmed his reasoning, had he chosen to do so, by an appeal to facts. But his philosophy is of the old sort, and does not stoop to the empirical methods of the *Novum Organum*.

The eighth application of this important principle, shows us “to what extent the body may be mutilated, without causing its complete destruction. It may suffer the amputation of a hand or foot, or possibly of both hands and feet; and though it would thus be rendered inefficient and defenseless, it might still continue to exist as a body. But deprive it of its head, and you take away that which is essential to its existence, and without which it would soon fall to pieces, and go to decay.” This is clear. *Quod erat demonstrandum*. ‘Consequently,’ says the reader to himself, ‘if the bishop is the head, and a church loses its bishop, by death or otherwise, that church is as much a dead church, as a man with his head off, is a dead man.’ No so, gentle

reader. The author seems to have anticipated the possibility that some illogical mind might make such an inference. And in another place, at the end of the chapter which contains all this reasoning, he says, "We must conclude that every church [in the apostolic age,] was so complete and perfect in itself, that it would remain a complete and perfect church, though every other church in the world had been destroyed"—a conclusion from which no Congregationalist, and probably no Protestant, will dissent. "Consequently," continues our author—and let the reader remark what a consequence this is, as derived from the simple proposition immediately preceding—"CONSEQUENTLY, the head of a church, within any given territory, was not only ruler over those within his territory, but was also *so* head of the church, that in case the head of the churches in all other districts, should be taken away, he would be the visible head over all the church on earth."

Such is the clearness and the power of high church logic. What preposterous trifling with common sense, and with the sacred records, under the pretense of argument.

An elaborate volume of more than four hundred pages, can not be dealt with, chapter by chapter, in the few pages which a periodical like ours can afford to a review of it. We shall, therefore, pass over without comment, all that the author says in answer to the second division of his inquiry, which is, "Who composed the apostolic church?"—and the answer to which leads him into a large discussion of the mode and the subjects of baptism. This we do with the more reluctance, because, though the chapters on baptism contain not a little of inconclusive reasoning, they contain also some things which we might commend. We pass over also all that he says, under the third inquiry, respecting the powers and duties of

members in the apostolic church; though much in those chapters seems to demand a notice; and though what is said about liturgies, in particular, is a remarkable specimen of the art, so useful to some writers, of compelling the Scriptures to testify to a predetermined conclusion. Nor will our scanty limits allow us to go into a detailed examination of that part of the work which treats of the old theme of the three orders, and the uninterrupted succession. From this last division of the work, we can only select two topics, to be separately and rapidly touched upon, viz. the alleged perpetuity of the apostleship, and the Episcopalian doctrine and ceremony of confirmation. In our remarks on these topics, the book before us will not be altogether neglected, though we cannot adhere to its arrangement.

First, then, we propose to offer a few simple thoughts respecting the alleged perpetuity of the apostolic function in the Christian commonwealth. On this, the whole question about prelacy, as now commonly argued by Episcopalians in this country, is understood to turn. Did the Apostles appoint any to succeed them, not merely as teachers and preachers of the gospel of Christ, but as apostles, with that style and title, and with the same authority which they themselves exercised in the Christian community? This is the question. Some points which this question is frequently supposed to involve, need not be argued.

1. It is admitted on all sides, that in the New Testament, the words translated, respectively, "bishop" and "elder," are used interchangeably. Accordingly, Mr. Chapin, we believe, does not even pretend, as some writers do, that among the plurality of 'bishops' at Ephesus, at Philippi, and in other churches, *one* may have been of a different order from the others, and may have been called 'the bishop,' by way of eminence, till the title of pres-

byter, or elder, came to be applied exclusively to those of an inferior order. His whole argument proceeds on the idea that the New Testament bishops were all, without exception, mere elders—of the second order in the ministry, and not of the third. He calls them “presbyter-bishops.” He might as well have called them Presbyterian bishops.

2. There is no dispute that beside the “elders”—the “bishops, and deacons,” who were appointed “in every city,” and “in every church,” there were, in the apostolic age, other ministers of Christ, not designated ordinarily by any of these names. The age of the Apostles was a missionary age; and many besides those whom we commonly call apostles, shared in the missionary work of publishing the Gospel abroad, of gathering and organizing Christian assemblies, and of superintending and aiding the first working of Christian institutions.

3. It is not in controversy, that after the close of the New Testament, no apostles appear, by the name of apostles, in ecclesiastical history; nor is there any doubt that from the earliest ages, after the close of the canon of Scripture, the name apostle was commonly used by the Fathers, as it is commonly used by us at this day, to denote the original twelve, with the addition of Matthias, who was elected to fill the place of Judas, and of Paul, who was called to that work by the glorified Savior, directly and miraculously.

4. It is admitted that, as early as the beginning of the third century, a distinction had arisen between the bishop and the presbyters or elders, not unlike that which constitutes the essence of modern episcopacy. The Christian community in each city had become a little state, at the head of which was the bishop assisted by a senate of presbyters or priests, and having at his

command a body of deacons for inferior services.

These are the principal facts of the case, so far as the facts are undisputed. The Episcopalian theory of these facts, at present, is that the bishop of the third century is the same thing—of the same genus and species—with the apostle of the first century; and that the difference of name is to be accounted for by the very great modesty and humility of those ancient prelates, who, lest they should seem to claim too much deference from their fellow Christians, laid aside their own official title inherited from their inspired predecessors, and assumed in its stead a title to which they had no right, and which by the original institution, belonged to an inferior order of the priesthood.

This, if the facts above recited are all the facts which can be considered as known in the case, is at the best only an unproved and quite improbable hypothesis—improbable, inasmuch as bishops of the prelate kind, from the days of Bishop Ignatius to the days of Bishop Doane and Bishop Whittingham, have rarely, if ever, been known to be hindered by any considerations of personal modesty, from the strenuous assertion of all the known titles, immunities, and dignities of their order—improbable, because the epistles of Clement and of Polycarp, (and those of Ignatius, if any inference can be made from documents which are either entirely spurious, or else intolerably corrupted,) which were written during the century that intervened between the death of the Apostles and the acknowledged existence of something like full blown prelacy—reveal nothing more clearly than the fact, that neither the degree nor the kind of deference due to ministers from their churches was in that age quite determined—improbable also, because the existence of prelacy at the earliest period at which it actually appears,

can be accounted for in other methods. To convert this hypothesis into an established theory, more facts are obviously necessary. These facts, it is the object of the Episcopalian argument to supply. Mr. Chapin's reasoning on this most important point, may be divided into three parts. First, he attempts to prove that the name apostle is applied in the New Testament to a large body of ministers, as an official title, indicating that they were of the same rank and held precisely the same office with the twelve; and that every church in that age had not only its own body of bishops and deacons, but a resident apostle of its own, known by that title. Secondly, he attempts to show that in what he calls "the transition period" between the death of the Apostle Paul and the date of the epistles of Ignatius, there were still three orders of a Christian priesthood, known as high priest, priests, and Levites. Then thirdly, he argues that in the age of Ignatius, early in the second century, all these titles, borrowed from Judaism, had been dropped again, and the same three orders were kept up under the then new style of bishops, presbyters and deacons. If these three positions were all ascertained as facts, there would still be a serious difficulty. The question would still demand an answer,—if the Apostles designed that their apostolic function should be perpetually transmitted through a succession of men to whom they gave their own official title, and whom they distinguished by that title from those inferior ministers whom they called bishops—how came it to pass that the sacred, original, Scriptural title of "apostle," was immediately and universally dropped? How came it to pass, that the name "high priest," so contrary to all New Testament usage, was substituted for "apostle," and "priest" for "bishop,"

and "Levite" for "deacon." And then by what process did it come to pass, that within a few years afterwards, the name "high priest" was abandoned as the designation of those who ought to have been called "apostles;" and that still another name which the Scriptures had employed to denote an inferior office, was so oddly, and for the Episcopalian argument, so unfortunately misapplied? Mr. Chapin's argument—even if we admit the facts which he labors so hard to prove—instead of throwing light upon this subject, seems to us rather to involve it in a more desperate confusion.

But we do not acknowledge that he has established his facts. In regard to the New Testament use of the word "apostle," (*apostolos*;) the truth remains very much as it was before his attempt. The word signifies "a messenger," "a person sent;" and in this signification it occurs in the Greek of the Old Testament. The corresponding word in the feminine form (*αποστολή*) translated in the New Testament "apostleship," occurs more frequently in the Septuagint as the translation of several Hebrew words, but generally in the sense either of "a thing sent," or of "a mission," or "sending." To this the New Testament usage of the two words is conformed. Jesus Christ, early in the course of his public ministry selected, from among his disciples, twelve whom he named by way of eminence his messengers, or missionaries, his "apostles." One of these twelve having become a traitor, and having perished in his wickedness, the eleven survivors, in consultation with the whole body of disciples that remained together at Jerusalem after Christ's resurrection, deemed it proper to fill the vacancy. Accordingly, from among those who had been in their company, through the entire public life of Jesus from his baptism to his ascension, they

with great solemnity and devotion selected Matthias; and thenceforward he was numbered with the eleven apostles. At a later period, after the death of James the son of Zebedee had made another vacancy in the number of the twelve, Paul, who had been miraculously called to the work of preaching the Gospel—who had become a witness of Christ's resurrection and glory—and who with Barnabas had been particularly designated to commence on an extensive scale the new and distinct work of propagating Christianity among the unpromoted gentiles—was also recognized as an "apostle." In one or two instances, Paul and Barnabas, traveling and laboring together in the missionary work, are together called, in the plural, "apostles." These are all the clear and undoubted instances of the application of this word, in any thing like that distinctive sense in which Christ applied it to designate the twelve.

Paul's right to be considered an Apostle seems to have been called in question extensively among the Hebrew Christians of Palestine, and among those elsewhere, who shared in the narrow views of "the concision." Accordingly, we find Paul frequently asserting and vindicating his own apostleship. The manner in which he does this, shows plainly enough what meaning he attached to the word "apostle" when used as a designation implying rank and authority in the school of Christ. He refers frequently to the fact, that he received his commission and his message not from man, nor by man, but by the will of God, and directly from the Lord Jesus Christ. He refers to the fact, that this commission of his, received directly from God, had been recognized as such by those who were apostles before him. (See Gal. i; ii.) He refers to the success with which God had crowned his labors. He refers to his authority as a personal

and original witness to the great facts of Christianity. (See 1 Cor. ix, 1, 2; xv, 8—11.) Having enumerated much at length his labors and sufferings in propagating the Gospel, and having apologized for so doing, as being compelled to it by those who had called his apostleship in question, he says, "In nothing am I behind the very chief of the Apostles, though I am nothing. Truly the signs of an apostle were wrought among you in all patience, in signs and wonders and mighty deeds." Miraculous powers then of the very highest order—and not these only, but a call and commission directly from Jesus Christ and not through any second hands—and along with this call, an ability to testify as an original and independent witness to the great facts on which Christianity depends—were essential things in Paul's idea of apostleship. The true way then to try those who say they are apostles and are not, and to find what they are, is to put them upon showing "the signs of an apostle." As for a merely transmitted apostleship, passing from hand to hand through ages of darkness and pollution, we utterly reject it. As for those apostles whose commission is "of men and by man," and not directly "by Jesus Christ," and whose boast is that their apostleship has been, not recognized merely, but created, by "the right hands" of those who, in the same way, were apostles before them,—they are neither Paul's "kinsmen" nor his "fellow-soldiers." As for those apostles who can not speak as original and independent witnesses to the resurrection and ascended glory of Christ, we owe them no deference. As for those apostles who give no proof of a divine inspiration, and whose authority is not confirmed by "signs and wonders and mighty deeds," we only think of them more respectfully than we think of those "whose coming,"

under the same titles and with the same pretense of uninterrupted succession, "is after the working of Satan with all power and signs and lying wonders."

But the author of the book before us builds much upon the application of the word 'apostle' or 'messenger,' in some two or three doubtful instances, which he would have us take for demonstration, that the word 'apostle' in the New Testament means just what Episcopalians now mean by 'bishop.' These instances are the following.

1. Paul in his epistle to the Romans, (xvi, 7,) says, "Salute Andronicus and Junia my kinsmen and my fellow-prisoners, who are of note among the apostles, who also were in Christ before me." According to one construction, Andronicus and Junia, (or Junias, if the person thus denoted was not a woman, which is quite uncertain,) to whom no other allusion is made in the New Testament, were not only apostles but were eminent, and well known in that character. According to another construction, these two persons, who were of the same tribe or family with Paul, who were converted to Christ before he was, and who on some occasion had been his fellow-prisoners, or fellow-captives, are spoken of as persons well known to the Apostles, and regarded among them with special respect. If the former construction is preferred, we have *one* instance in which the word "apostle" is used in a vague sense, as denoting those who were employed in missionary labors.

2. Mr. Chapin tells us that, "in 2 Corinthians viii, 23, the term 'apostle' is applied to Titus and several others, whose names are not mentioned." Now in the passage referred to, it so happens that though Titus is mentioned by name, and is called Paul's partner and fellow helper, he is expressly distinguished from those brethren not named, who are called "the mes-

sengers," or as our author would have us translate it, "the apostles" of the churches. Who were these unnamed brethren? Mr. Chapin would have us believe that they were prelates. We should have supposed it impossible for any man of common sense to read Paul's two epistles to the Corinthians, and misunderstand this matter. Paul was interested in raising a contribution among the churches of Macedonia and Achaia for the poor Christians at Jerusalem. (See Rom. xv, 26.) His arrangement with those churches, as well as with the churches of Galatia, respecting the conveyance of their charity to its objects, was, "Whomsoever ye shall approve by your letters, them will I send to bring your liberality to Jerusalem; and if it be meet that I go also, they shall go with me," (1 Cor. xvi, 1-4)—an arrangement exactly accordant with the practice of the Apostles, who, unlike some who claim to be honored as their successors, carefully avoided any responsibility in regard to the secular affairs of the churches. At the time when this second epistle to the Corinthians was written, the Macedonian churches had already made their contributions, according to the prescribed arrangement, with a liberality which Paul, in this chapter, is commending to the emulation of his Corinthian friends, to whom he is sending Titus to urge forward the completion of their effort for the same object before his own arrival at Corinth. (See verses 6, 16, 17.) With Titus he sends a brother whose praise in the Gospel is in all the churches, (ver. 18,) and who had been elected by the churches [of Macedonia] to travel with Paul to Jerusalem as one of the trustees of that contribution, (ver. 19,) so that Paul's character as an apostle might not by any possibility be implicated. (Verses 20, 21.) He also sends another brother of tried character, (ver. 22.) "And now," proceeds

the Apostle, in effect, "as to the character, in which Titus visits you, he is my partner and co-worker in respect to you—look upon him as coming in my behalf; and as to these brethren, they are messengers of churches, on an errand glorious to Christ." These 'messengers,' or 'apostles,' were less like prelatical bishops, than they were like Congregational deacons.

3. Epaphroditus is another of Mr. Chapin's apostles. The church at Philippi—one of those same Macedonian churches—had made a contribution for the relief of Paul in his imprisonment at Rome, and had sent it by the hands of Epaphroditus as their messenger, or special agent for that business. All this is obvious to every reader of the epistle to the Philippians. Yet because Paul, writing to those Christians who had sent Epaphroditus to Rome as their commissioner, calls him "your messenger and servant of my need," (Phil. ii, 25,) our author straightway consecrates Epaphroditus as the "apostle-bishop," or prelate of Philippi. Who can tell us of an instance in which a diocesan bishop has been sent as far as from Philippi to Rome, on so simple an errand as the safe conveyance of a charitable contribution. Surely, the cause which is made to depend upon such arguments, must either be despised as intrinsically weak, or lamented, as betrayed by the weakness of its advocates.

4. Sylvanus and Timothy are also to be added to Mr. Chapin's catalogue of apostles. Paul in his first epistle to the Thessalonians, associates Sylvanus (or Silas) and Timothy with himself in the introductory salutation; and afterwards, speaking of his labors at Thessalonica, he says, in the plural, (ii, 6,) "we might have been burthensome as the apostles of Christ." Silas and Timothy were therefore apostles in the same sense with Paul; so our author would have us reason.

But does not the same epistle also say, (iii, 1, 2,) "We thought it good to be left at Athens alone, and sent Timothy our brother" "to establish you?" Did Timothy therefore send himself? And after he was sent, did he still remain at Athens alone? The same reasoning which makes him an apostle, conducts us to these odd conclusions. Besides, these epistles to the Thessalonians were written within something like two years after Paul first lighted upon Timothy, (Acts xvi, 1—3,) and took him into his company to make a preacher of him; and two years, or even three, is a short time in which to mount, by successive examinations and ordinations, through all the stages of the hierarchy, from the humble position of a candidate for holy orders to the prelatical dignity.

But admitting that Silas and Timothy, Andronicus and Junia, Epaphroditus and the two Macedonian brethren, and even Titus, were all called apostles, as well as Barnabas, what does this prove more than that the word 'apostle' was sometimes used in the vague sense to denote persons employed in the apostolic work of itinerating in the service of the Gospel? Whenever these missions ceased, which was not long after the primitive age, that sort of apostleship ceased. Those apostles have, however, their successors in these days, not in the persons of sleek and stately prelates, sitting in Gothic arm-chairs, and reading the form of ordination like players at a rehearsal, who have been too indolent to commit their parts to memory—but in the persons of those who in India, or Burmah, or the Sandwich Islands, are "setting in order the things that are deficient, and ordaining elders in every city."

One piece of our author's philology in connection with this matter of prelacy, strikes us as quite original, and withal so curious as to

deserve a place in the cabinet of some learned or scientific society. Having made out, to his own satisfaction, the existence of a prelatial order in the New Testament under the name of 'apostles,' the author, as if sensible that all this is not diocesan episcopacy, attempts to locate his primitive prelates at their several sees—James at Jerusalem, Titus in the isle of Crete, Timothy at Ephesus, Epaphroditus at Philippi, Epaphras at Colosse, and Archippus somewhere. Here he makes a great discovery. Paul, writing to Philemon at Colosse, addresses a Christian salutation "to Archippus our fellow-soldier, and to the church in thy house." Now this simple salutation, like 'one of my lord Littleton's and-so-forths,' "containeth much weighty matter." Not only does the phrase, "our fellow-soldier," demonstrate to those who are able to receive it, that Archippus had attained to the highest order of the Christian hierarchy, and was thus Paul's fellow-apostle; but 'the church that was in his house' must also pay tribute to the Episcopalian cause. If Archippus 'ruled his own house' he must have ruled also the church that was in his house. This again makes him a bishop, for it is a bishop's prerogative to rule. But the true meaning of the phrase is as yet only hinted at; it is kept back for a while as if on purpose to sharpen the reader's appetite. It appears that in writing to Colosse, Paul mentions also "Nymphas and the church in his house." And again, Aquila and Priscilla had a church in their house at Rome, and also at Ephesus. Mr. Chapin admits that these phrases are 'generally understood' as denoting 'bodies of Christians accustomed to meet in the private houses of those individuals.' But this he pronounces "an unnecessary if not an unwarranted limitation of the Scriptural use of the word *church*," which he

says ought to denote either 'the church universal,' or 'the church on earth indefinitely,' or 'the church within a particular territory.' It is only necessary to know what 'house' means, and the whole difficulty vanishes. The Greek word used by Paul, (*οἶκος*), which Mr. Chapin writes "*oikos*," is of the same root with the Saxon *wic* and the Latin *vicus*; and the Greek verb derived from this noun signifies 'to inhabit,' 'to dwell.' Accordingly, the noun may be expected to signify any sort of a dwelling place, whether a country, a city, or a house; and in one instance, Christ, speaking in the highest poetic style of prophecy, says to the Jewish nation, "Behold your house is left to you desolate," evidently predicting the desolation, either of their boasted house, the temple, or of their city, Jerusalem, or of their country, Palestine. Therefore, 'the church that was in the house of Archippus' may be understood to "signify 'the church *throughout or within his dwelling place*,' that is, *throughout his city*; or as we should say in modern times, 'throughout his diocese;' So then not only is the dangerous idea of a stated meeting of Christians in a private house, like a Wesleyan class-meeting, or a weekly prayer-meeting, entirely purged out of the New Testament, but the doctrine of 'dioceses' may be considered as "proved by most certain warrants of holy Scripture."

The connecting link between those 'apostle-bishops' or 'apostles,' and the prelate-bishops of a later age, Mr. Chapin finds, or thinks he finds, in an isolated passage from the epistle of Clement to the Corinthians. That epistle of Clement is the only authentic Christian composition which has come down to us from the first century, out of the New Testament. In its occasion, in its form, in its object, in its matter, in its style, as well as in its direct testimony, it is most instructive in regard to the constitution and char-

acter of the primitive Christian societies. How the author of the book before us attempts to set aside the testimony of Clement, we can not now stop to show. We turn rather to the passage from which he attempts to prove the existence of a Christian hierarchy in that age, consisting of three orders, known as high priest, priests, and Levites. The passage, as quoted by Mr. Chapin, is this.

"*God hath himself ordained by his supreme will, both where and by what persons we should perform our service and offerings unto him. They, therefore, who make their oblations at the appointed seasons, are accepted and happy, for they sin not, inasmuch as they obey the commandments of the Lord; for to the chief priest, (bishop,) his peculiar offices are given, and to the priests, (presbyters,) their own place is appointed, and to the Levites, (deacons,) appertain their proper ministries; and the layman is confined within the bounds of what is commanded to laymen.*" pp. 251, 252.

Now this quotation from Clement for the purpose for which our author quotes it, and with the innuendoes which he throws in, is little better than an imposition upon the credulity of the unsuspecting reader. He who can turn to the original, or even to Archbishop Wake's translation of the apostolical Fathers, must either smile at the folly, or frown at the audacity, of this attempt to put upon the venerable Clement a meaning that he never thought of. The saint—for he was worthy to be so called—is, in that passage, merely referring to the Old Testament, for an illustration of the principle that every man is to mind his own proper duties, and to serve God in his own place and station. We will give an honest version of the passage in its connection, from the original.

"These things then being known to us, we, earnestly looking into the depths of the divine wisdom, ought to do in order (τάξις, every man at his own post,) all things, whatsoever the Lord has commanded us to perform. He commanded the offerings and services to be performed

according to ordered seasons, not at random and disorderly, but at prescribed times and hours. He by his supreme counsel defined both where and by whom he would have these things performed, so that all things being done with holiness in well pleasing, might be acceptable to his will. They then who perform their offerings at the appointed seasons are acceptable and blessed; for, following the precepts of the Lord, they do not err. For to the high priest his own ministries are assigned; to the priests an appropriate place is appointed; and on the Levites their proper services are incumbent; the man who is only of the multitude is confined to such things as are enjoined on the multitude. Brethren, let every one of you, in his proper station, give thanks to God, being in a good conscience, not going beyond the prescribed rule of his own service, with due seriousness. Not every where, brethren, are the continual sacrifices offered, or the votive offerings, or the sin offerings and trespass offerings; but only at Jerusalem. And there, the offering is not made in every place, but before the temple, at the altar, the offering being duly inspected by the high priest and the aforesaid ministers. They therefore who do any thing otherwise than according to his will, incur the penalty of death. Consider, brethren, that as much as the knowledge with which we have been honored is more complete, so much the greater is the danger to which we are exposed." *Cotelerius: Patres Apostol. tom. i, pp. 170, 171.*

If any thing can add to the unaccountableness of the violent misconstruction which Mr. Chapin has put upon what he has quoted from this paragraph, it is the fact that from this very point Clement proceeds to speak of the propagation of the gospel by the Apostles, and of the arrangements which they made for the orderly and peaceful government of Christian communities, in which respect he compares their conduct with that of Moses in assigning to the tribe of Levi the honors and duties of the priesthood. And in telling what the Apostles did for the government of churches, he says expressly that the first fruits of the various countries and cities where they labored, were by them constituted "bishops and deacons." This passage the author before us quotes, in order to explain it away. But the context, to which he makes

no allusion, shows that in this case Clement is speaking of the officers of Christian churches; as plainly as in the other case the context shows that he is speaking of the Jewish priesthood.

Clement of Rome, then, does nothing at all towards identifying the prelate-bishops of the third century with the New Testament apostles. His testimony indeed is quite the other way.

But the epistles of Ignatius! These, the prelatist tells us, say all that can be asked for. If they do—if their testimony is just what the Episcopalian wants in order to make out his case—then, for that very reason, when all the other circumstances are taken into consideration, they are not to be trusted. Ignatius died in the early part of the second century, A. D. 116, or earlier. Just before his death he wrote several epistles. The epistles now extant under his name, if not mere forgeries, are, as all parties acknowledge, greatly corrupted. They exist in two forms, one well charged with Arian opinions and phrases; the other being made conformable to the views of the Athanasian party in the Arian controversy. In either form, the text is corrupt to an indefinite extent; though the Athanasian edition, being the more compendious of the two, must needs be, in that proportion, less corrupt. No mortal man can attempt to reform the text, and give us an uncorrupted copy, otherwise than by conjecture. Now, independently of these circumstances, Ignatius has the appearance of a suborned and prepared witness. The advocates of prelacy have occasion to prove that the bishop of ecclesiastical history is not, according to the most obvious supposition, one of the bench of presbyters, who has been so fortunate as to acquire by gradual usurpation, a great ascendancy over his fellow presbyters, and to appropriate as exclusively his a name to which they have as good a right as he;

and that, on the contrary, he is the true successor and representative of the Apostles, having only laid down that august title out of modesty. To prove this, they call upon the New Testament. That, as we have seen, tells us of bishops and deacons, but refuses to say one word in favor of this transmitted apostleship. Next they call Clement of Rome; he being unquestionably cotemporary with the Apostles, and his epistle being of undoubted genuineness. He gives no testimony for their cause, but much against them; on this point, as on others, he agrees with the New Testament. He knows nothing of any successors to the Apostles except "bishops and deacons." Next they call Ignatius, cotemporary with Clement, though probably younger; and his testimony, professedly some fifteen or twenty-five years later than that of Clement, exhibits entirely another order of things. He discourses largely of the bishop, the presbyters, and the deacons. He represents Christian character as consisting to a great extent in the duty of obeying the bishop and reverencing the clergy. He associates the bishop with the altar. He even goes so far in making the bishop God's vicegerent, that Mr. Chapin carefully abstains from quoting his irreverent comparisons. Such a witness brings suspicion upon himself by the very amplitude and unsparingness of his testimony.* We cannot avoid inquiring whether he has not been tampered with. Upon making inquiry, we find that on other subjects he is known to have been corrupted, and to have given false testimony; and that whether what he says on this subject is true, must be determined either by the intrinsic probability or improbability of the thing testified, or

* Of course we shall not be understood as speaking here of the real Ignatius, the martyr of Antioch, who died in the Roman circus under the Emperor Trajan, but only of Ignatius as personated in these forged or corrupt epistles.

by additional testimony from some other quarter. No cause is firm which depends on such a witness.

But even if this witness is permitted to testify, and is regarded as as credible, what does he prove. Schooled and prepared as he has been, he has not been trained to say exactly the right thing for those who call him to testify. In the first place, for aught that appears, the bishop in every church, about whom he speaks so much, may have been a Presbyterian bishop; and his "council" may have been a "session" of lay-elders. In the second place, admitting that what he calls "the presbytery" consisted of clerical and preaching elders, officiating in various chapels, and all belonging to one church, we see not how it appears that the bishop was any thing more than a permanent president of that body, the *princeps senatus*, the first among his equals. In the third place, admitting that the presbyters of whom this Ignatius speaks, were merely Episcopalian priests; and that, in the churches to which those epistles were addressed, the clerical body was already divided into three distinct orders, it does not appear from the testimony, that a similar arrangement existed any where beyond the limits of Syria and Asia Minor. And in the fourth place, if we admit that the monarchical principle had already established itself in the churches on the European as well as on the Asiatic side of the Mediterranean, and that every where, even as early as A. D. 115, the bishops had become a distinct order from the presbyters; the main point is, after all, untouched. Ignatius, so far as we can see, testifies not one word to the point on which the Episcopalian argument turns, particularly as managed by Mr. Chapin. He does not say that the bishops of whom he speaks were apostles, or that they had the same rank and authority with the apostles of the preceding age. He com-

pares the bishop not with the apostles, but with Christ himself and with God the Father; and it is the presbytery which he likens to the "sanhedrim of God" and the "college of apostles." He says indeed, "that as Jesus Christ, our inseparable life, is sent by the will of the Father," so "the bishops, appointed to the utmost bounds of the earth, are by the will of Jesus Christ;"* but he nowhere alledges a divine warrant, or even an apostolical tradition, for a hierarchy subsisting in three orders. The modern doctrine of transmitted apostleship—and particularly that important part of it which teaches that the prelate-bishop is the same in order and authority with the New Testament apostle, having only laid down his proper title in excess of meekness—does not appear to have been broached in the days when the epistles of Ignatius were written.

The attempt then to set up the bishops of the Protestant Episcopal church in the United States, as having full apostolical authority not only over those who have agreed to conform to the conventional regulations of that respectable body, but over all Christians within these territorial limits—is a failure. The argument in their behalf fails, at the very point at which there ought to be no room for doubt. That old rusty chain of succession, along which the magnetic fluid is supposed to have been transmitted to their persons, seems glorious and golden to such eyes as Mr. Chapin's; but as for us, even though our faith were easy enough to admit that there is no "solution of continuity" under the depth of those dark centuries through which the chain is said to stretch unbroken, we find the first link wanting—the very link on which the whole series is alledged to depend—the link which ought to connect the whole with the original and undoubted

* Archbishop Wake's translation.

apostles. It is not enough to assert, what nobody denies, that the first bishops, so called in the New Testament, were ordained by the apostles; those are admitted to have been mere presbyters. The inquiry is not concerning a succession from or through New Testament bishops, but concerning a succession of apostles from apostles. It must therefore be proved, not that the apostles ordained bishops and deacons in the churches, and missionary preachers for the work at large, but that they ordained men to the highest of the three orders of the hierarchy; and that they ordained them to be apostles, and, under that name, to exercise in their own persons, and to transmit to other ages all the authority and power which belonged to the original twelve. Till this proof is fairly made out, the succession of prelates is any thing but a succession of apostles.

We promised to say something respecting the Episcopalian doctrine and ceremony of confirmation; but we fear that our readers, wearied with the unexpected prolixity of this article, will be too ready to excuse us. Our remarks then on this topic shall be confined to a brief exhibition of some specimens of our author's exegesis.

Confirmation, as it is prescribed in the ritual of the Protestant Episcopal church, is a public ceremony by which persons who have been baptized, and have come to years of discretion, may acknowledge and renew by their own personal act, the obligations involved in their baptism. It is equivalent to that public profession of religion, which a baptized person makes at uniting with a Congregational church. As represented in the prescribed "order of confirmation," we find little to object to it, except that one part of the form seems to involve, or at least to countenance, the monstrous dogma of baptismal regeneration. But as Mr. Chapin represents it, it

is an imitation—nay, a shocking parody of that laying on of the Apostles' hands, in connection with which the Holy Spirit was imparted to primitive believers, in the miraculous gifts of prophecy, of healing, and of tongues. For the texts which speak of such a laying on of hands by the Apostles, and which at the same time speak distinctly of the miraculous descent of the Holy Spirit as the accompaniment, (see Acts viii, 14—20; xix, 6,) are his first proof that the Apostles practiced this Episcopalian ceremony. His second proof is found in the word "confirm," where Paul and Barnabas are spoken of as revisiting the churches which they had planted, and "confirming" either "the churches," or "the souls of the disciples;" for to him it seems a plain case, that neither a church, nor a believer, can be really confirmed unless by the due performance of some rite of confirmation, which is both "outward and external." His third proof—and it is to this that we would particularly call attention—is found in the language of Paul, where he speaks so strikingly of the "earnest," the "seal," and the "pledge" of the Spirit. Let us not pronounce a hasty judgment on this piece of interpretation, however surprising; but let us rather turn to the two passages referred to, and give them a new and deliberate perusal.

The first of these texts is, (2 Cor. i, 20, 22,) "For all the promises of God in Christ,"—the promises of that gospel which had been preached by Paul and his companions to the Corinthians,—*"are yea, and in him amen, to the glory of God by us. Now he who stablisheth us,"*—(*ὁ δὲ θεοῦ*), he furthermore who is establishing us—"with you in Christ, and *hath* anointed us, is God, who hath also sealed us, and given us the pledge of the Holy Spirit in our hearts." Of this text our author deliberately says, "The whole passage most evidently [!] contains

a reference to the performance of some external rite, by which the recipient was consecrated or set apart to the worship of God through Christ, which [external rite?] was to them not the evidence of their Christian character, but a token of it, and not the Spirit, but a pledge of it in the heart."

The other passage, (Eph. i, 13,) is, "In whom"—that is, in Christ—"ye also trusted," [as we have done—see the preceding verse,] "after that ye heard the word of truth, the gospel of your salvation; in whom also, after that ye believed, ye were sealed with that Holy Spirit of promise, which is the pledge of our inheritance until the redemption of the purchased possession, to the praise of his glory." A well known parallel to this is found in the same epistle, (iv, 30,) "Grieve not that Holy Spirit of God by whom ye are sealed to the day of redemption." Of this passage, speaking so distinctly of that inward, living testimony to the truth of the gospel, which the believer finds in the progressive experience of its power, and in the indwelling of the sanctifying Spirit within him,—our author coolly says that it is "of the same purport," as indeed it is, with the one which he has just before construed into a mere recognition of a ceremony. "The reference [to the external rite of confirmation] is so direct, the allusion so distinct, as to be apparent to the most casual reader." What exegesis!

With what spectacles, it will be asked, does this man read his Bible? When it is so perfectly obvious that in both these passages the Apostle is appealing to that experimental proof of the truth of the gospel, which the believer finds in its quickening and sanctifying effects upon himself by the Holy Spirit promised on the condition of his believing—an experience which is at once the only true "seal" of the genuineness of his subjective faith, and the "earnest," the pledge, the begun

fulfillment, the first instalment, of those exceeding great and precious promises which are the object of his faith—when it so evident that Paul means, in both these passages, just what John means when he says "He that believeth hath the witness in himself,"—what must be the condition of that man's mind, who with the Bible open before him can see nothing here but an Episcopalian confirmation? How is it that he contrives to miss the plain meaning of passages so spiritual and experimental? How is it that in defiance of text and context, he is induced to force upon the Apostle a meaning so foreign to his language and his argument? The natural history of this abnormal condition of a mind not unendowed with common sense, nor unprivileged in respect to information, might be studied to advantage.

Such exegesis originates in the author's false or imperfect conceptions of the genius of Christianity. His mind is full of the visible in religion—the "outward and external." Organization and order, hierarchies, ordinances, rites, liturgies, ceremonies, and vestments, have occupied his thoughts and kindled his enthusiasm, till they rise before him, always and every where, like a morbid hallucination. Thus with him, the visible, or what he supposes to be the visible in Christianity, eclipses the spiritual; and when he reads his Bible, the images that are dancing in his brain seem to dance upon the sacred page. Thus if he finds Christ praying for the redeemed that they all may be one—one in their Redeemer and their God—one in that unity of holy purpose and desire, and that unmeasured communication of the Holy Spirit, in which the incarnate Son is one with the Eternal Father—he construes all that as if the Savior were speaking of an organized and outward unity. Thus, too, if he finds Paul speaking of believers as anointed and sealed with the Holy

Spirit, and as receiving in this fulfilment of a gospel promise a blessed pledge that all shall be fulfilled—this is to him “most evidently,” most visibly and palpably, a reference to the “external rite” of confirmation.

Such a habit of mind has been aggravated in the present case, if it was not originally induced, by an ill directed study of the Fathers. Our author probably values himself upon his patristic learning. We give him full credit for having expended much time, and much patient attention, on this particular branch of theological study. We think indeed that he has read the Fathers more than was good for him, unless he had read them in a different way and for a different purpose. He has studied them, but he has not mastered them. On the contrary, they have mastered him, and he has sat at their feet, and humbled his common sense to learn of their ignorance and superstition, till they have taught him to reason almost as childishly, and to misinterpret Scripture almost as wretchedly as they do.

We counsel him, therefore, to eschew the Fathers. To him they have been and will be blind guides. Let him study Baxter rather than Origen, Dwight rather than Irenæus, Chalmers rather than Tertullian. Instead of stumbling on the dark mountains of Clemens Alexandrinus, let him take a course of logic under the archbishop of Dublin. We do not recommend the archbishop's treatise on the kingdom of Christ to his present attention, but only the *Logic*, for we remember that “strong meat” is not for all, but only for those that are able to bear it. Let him get rid of his patristic logic, his patristic interpretation, and his patristic divinity, and ere long, it may be hoped that the mists which hang over his Bible, dimming its blessed light, and re-

fracting its spiritual revelations into a strange confusion, will clear away. Then he will understand that the Christianity of the Bible is larger than Episcopalianism, and more glorious than that chimera of organized “catholicity,” to which so many blinded minds are ready to do homage.

It is not in any hostility to that body of professed Christians of which this author is a member, and the peculiarities of which he has undertaken to maintain, that we have animadverted so freely on the book before us. We respect that sect, as we respect other sects, not for those matters of organization and form in which it differs from the rest of Protestant Christendom—not for its threefold hierarchy, its printed prayers, its white-robed priests, or the pretense of an exclusive ‘validity’ in its sacraments—but for whatever of simple Christian truth is proclaimed from its pulpits; for whatever of spiritual worship is breathed out towards heaven from its assemblies; for whatever of the power of godliness dwells in the hearts and glows in the lives of its members; and for whatever efforts it is putting forth at home and abroad, in love to Christ, to make known to all men that doctrine of the cross which is the wisdom of God and the power of God to salvation. Episcopalians ought not to imagine that they are assailed, or that we attempt to exclude their church from the visible body of Christ, when we expose the follies and the errors of a book like this. In showing what this book is, we are rendering to them, as a Christian community, a service, for which they ought to be grateful. If such books are to have circulation and authority among them, and are to operate in forming the minds and the hearts of their clergy and their laity, their church must be the sufferer.

STEPHENS' INCIDENTS OF TRAVEL IN YUCATAN.*

FEW travelers have found more inducements in past popularity, to continue their wanderings over the world, than Mr. Stephens. His earlier works on some parts of the eastern continent, although hasty and inaccurate, were so full of good nature and of entertainment, that the reader closed them with a feeling of personal friendship for the author. In his Central America, he attempted somewhat higher things. His preparation, indeed, for investigating the ruins of that country, was apparently but small; his accuracy in description, we suspect, was not equal to that of ordinary travelers. Still his enthusiastic ardor in exploring the architectural remains of Copan and Palenque, amid the greatest discomforts; his narrative of a dangerous journey through a country in a state of anarchy and revolution, together with his perpetual good nature, and disposition to make the least of all annoyances and hardships;—these valuable qualities of a traveler again ensured him success with his readers; while the really valuable results of his journey raised his work above the level of those which are written for mere amusement.

The work before us, is to be regarded as a continuation of Mr. Stephens' travels in Central America, which were broken off soon after he reached Yucatan, by the illness of the accomplished artist who was his companion. On their return to Yucatan, the Spanish gentlemen, with whom they had become acquainted during their first visit, did all in their power to promote their objects. Letters of recommendation, and fa-

vorable notices in the newspaper at the capital, gave them every encouragement at the outset of their enterprise. When they reached the interior, the country houses, and the laborers on the farms, were put at their disposal. The curates assisted them with information and advice, and became their most hospitable entertainers. And though few felt much curiosity concerning Indian ruins, and the majority, perhaps, wondered that men could come so far on such a business; still every kind attention was paid to them, except that of assisting them in their explorations. That would be too much labor to be expected of the indolent Spaniards of Yucatan:

But with all this, the embarrassments they met with, were little less than those of their tour in Central America. The rainy season was of unusual length, and instead of ending soon after they reached their field, hung on until their frames felt its worst effects, in fever and ague. When they came to a ruin it was overgrown with large trees, to say nothing of bushes, which must be felled, for the sake of the drawings. No surveyor of the route for a railroad at the west, or layer out of cities in the woods, ever had more to do, than our travelers; and certainly none ever had more inefficient helpers, than an ignorant Maya Indian. Among their troubles, not the smallest arose from the smallest cause. From the bushes which they brushed by, multitudes of garrapatas or wood-ticks dropped upon them, and penetrating the skin, produced such torment, that, between the fever and ague and these little animals, one wonders how they came away alive, and admires their resolution in not coming away *re infecta*.

* Incidents of Travel in Yucatan; by JOHN L. STEPHENS. Illustrated by 120 engravings. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1843.

The reader is pleased to find that such toils were rewarded by the discovery of a great number of remains. In his former tour, Mr. Stephens went over ground that had been visited before. Palenque had been explored; Copan had at least been known; but in Yucatan a multitude of places lay buried in the woods, wholly unknown to foreigners, and a large part of them unvisited by the Spanish inhabitants of the country. It was the high excitement of continual discovery, and the feeling of success, that enabled our travelers to fight with such good courage, against sickness and a host of discomforts; had they failed of their end, they might have returned with ruined health, or fallen victims to the climate. But the high spirits in which Mr. Stephens writes, prove that he at least is none the worse for the ague and the ticks; we doubt not that he will be soon longing again to break away from the dull life of New York, and penetrate into some new, unexplored field of discovery. May success attend him, wherever he goes, and may Mr. Catherwood be with him, to measure distances, and draw plans, and keep him down to the actual dimensions of things.

The features of the country described in these volumes, are rather monotonous; and the ruins themselves are sufficiently like one another, to diminish our interest in the latter part of the work. He who has read the description of Uxmal, need go no farther, if he wishes only to form a general notion of the ruined structures. Nor is there much of interest in the present degraded native race, who, having lost their old traditions and distinctive character, have sunk to the condition of mere serfs, however they may be dignified with the name of free citizens of Yucatan. With such materials before him, it might be feared that Mr. Stephens would fall below his past works, and, what

would no doubt be very grievous to him, would write a dull book; but the case is quite otherwise. He has succeeded better, in some respects, than in either of his foregoing attempts. His zeal and cheerfulness carry you along with him, without effort on your part; he seems more accurate and scrupulous in details, than he has been; and he finds a thousand things in the present manners and condition of the Yucatanese to speak of, when the old ruins are in danger of becoming an old story. According to the wish with which he closes the work, he may be assured "that there is nothing in these pages to disturb" the pleasant feeling that has existed between him and the reader. We can not, therefore, be very severe towards his faults, yet there is one which we ought to mention, because it affects the value, we mean the permanent value of his work. He has, we think, confined his attention too exclusively to architectural remains; and the question has too exclusive a place in his researches, whether the ancestors of the Indians now existing, or some other race, constructed the ruins which he has brought to light. The connection of the native American races, with those of the rest of the world, and their relationship to each other, if ever to be made out, must be ascertained by careful study of the usages, civil and religious, and the language of each tribe. It would be, perhaps, unreasonable to expect Mr. Stephens, so soon after his journey, and while as yet he is apparently not very deep in the subject of American antiquities, to talk with authority upon these topics. But it would have greatly added to the value of his work, if he had given an abstract of all that is known in regard to the Maya nation. At present we know of no book from which any thing, besides scattered particulars, can be gleaned, in the important matter of their religion; and the meager no-

tices in the Mithridates, concerning their language, together with what Mr. Norman has extracted in his volume from a Spanish Grammar, are nearly all the materials within our reach, by which we can judge of that principal element in a nation's existence. Surely if he would gratify his own curiosity, and assist in solving a problem, about which he expresses the strongest interest, Mr. Stephens ought to have attended more to these points. And if there were no solution of the problem, still the materials collected for such a purpose, would be of great value. A writer who should do so, would reconstruct, as far as now can be done, the fallen edifice of a nation's life; he would give it shape and breath before our eyes; and whether he could assign it its place on the map of national affinities or not, what he had done would never lose its interest as a part of the history of man.

Mr. Stephens' steps were directed in the first place towards Uxmal, which he had visited in his previous tour, but which he was soon forced to leave on account of the illness of his traveling companion. This place, the most remarkable and easiest of exploration among all the ruins, with one exception, had been before visited and described by Waldeck; but it would appear that his researches and drawings did not render future examination unnecessary. Having taken up their abode in one of the chambers of the ruins, the travelers use the troop of Indians residing on the hacienda, to clear away the brushwood which, even since their previous visit, had grown with surprising rankness, and sit down to their work, as to the siege of some fortress; Mr. Stephens occasionally making visits to neighboring places, and leaving Mr. Catherwood with his instruments, in possession of the ground. We will let the buildings at Uxmal serve as specimens of the Maya architecture,

and give some details in regard to them, abridged from the work before us.

The building first examined, and called the house of the governor, rests on three terraces, whose united height is forty-two feet; the lowest presents a front of five hundred and seventy-five feet, and is only fifteen feet broad. The next has a length of five hundred and forty-five feet, and a breadth of two hundred and fifty; and the third, on which the building stands, is three hundred and sixty by thirty feet. These platforms are supported by stone walls, and according to Mr. Stephens the whole structure rises artificially from the plain. That is the case with the great pyramid of Cholula in Mexico, which is over a quarter of a mile long, and one hundred and seventy feet high, but can not compare in elegance of material with the structures of Yucatan, being composed of unbaked bricks alternating with layers of clay.* It is uncertain whether the platforms in Yucatan are in general made by hand, or whether advantage is taken of a rising ground. On one occasion Mr. Stephens, having penetrated into what the natives considered a very remarkable cave, found it to be a series of passages and chambers in one of these mounds formed by art. The Indians of Cholula assured Humboldt that the inside of that pyramid was hollow, and at one time concealed a number of their warriors, who lay in wait for the Spaniards. But the silence of historians, and the nature of the materials, induce that distinguished traveler to consider this assertion of the Indians as improbable; although he allows that the pyramid contains cavities of some size. From the second terrace to the third there is no ascent except on the south side and by an inclined plane; which

* Humboldt's Researches, I, 90.

makes it necessary for one who has ascended the second in front, that is on the east, to travel half the length of the building and back again, before arriving at the great stair-case of the third terrace, by which the building is finally reached. This mode of gaining the summit, somewhat resembles that which was adopted in the largest temple of the city of Mexico. The stairs there began at the side of the building, and were parallel with one another. After ascending one story, it was necessary to go around the whole temple before coming to the next stair-case, and in this way the top was reached by a journey of more than a mile.*

The edifice surmounting these platforms, consists of a double row of narrow chambers, of which every rear one is connected by a door with one in front of it. The palace, for so it deserves to be called, is three hundred and twenty-two feet long, and thirty-nine feet wide. The roof is flat. The chambers, and indeed all those which were seen in Yucatan, are constructed on a principle which shows a want of knowledge of the arch. The stones of the side-walls are laid horizontally, and project inwardly as they ascend. Before the angle is completed by their contact, a roof of stones is laid flat upon them, although in some few instances, the sides meet. In Yucatan, the inside of these triangular arches, if they may be so called, is always made smooth by cutting off the edges of the projecting stones, and usually a slight curve is given to the sides. This mode of building, readily accounts, as one of the travelers remarks in an appendix, "for the extreme narrowness of the rooms in all the buildings, the widest not exceeding twenty feet, and the width more frequently being only from six to ten feet."

That which strikes the eye on

examining these, and indeed all the ancient structures of Yucatan, is the extreme richness of the ornaments upon their façades. Usually a number of courses of plain squared stones rise to the height of the doors, and above the doors is found a heavy and elaborately adorned cornice. To judge of the style of the decorations upon these cornices, it is necessary to inspect Mr. Catherwood's drawings; and even on them the details are imperfectly exhibited. Justice can be done to these minute carvings only by larger engravings, such as will be published hereafter by our travelers, if the public will encourage the undertaking. It is enough here to say, that many of the ornaments in themselves considered are very elegant; that certain projecting stones, of a singular form, and unknown use, compared by Waldeck to the trunks of elephants, are found every where throughout the ruins; that bas-reliefs of serpents, some of them covered with feathers, are of frequent occurrence, and remind one of the close connection of those odious animals with the worship of the Mexicans; and that here and there hieroglyphics meet the eye. The carefulness of detail in the workmanship of most of the structures in Yucatan, is proof, perhaps, that they had the same fondness which the Mexicans exhibited for ornaments upon the person; and the few representations of the human body which were seen argued the same thing, being almost buried in feathers. But we can not infer from it a great degree of civilization, since savage tribes sometimes reach a considerable degree of elegance in the figures with which they tattoo their skins. The style of a remarkable building at Mitla, in the state of Oaxaca, where the Zapotecs lived, is of the same description.*

The use to which this building

* Clavigero, I, 262.

* Humboldt, u. s. II, 153.

was applied can not now be known. If it was a religious structure, as is not improbable, the numerous apartments were intended perhaps for one of those fraternities of priests or monks, which are known to have swarmed in Mexico, as in the countries where Buddhism prevails. On the higher terrace Mr. Stephens discovered by digging into the ground an image in stone, which represents two lynxes, and may have been an accompaniment of some idol. It was probably buried by the Spaniards, in order to remove from the sight of the Indians objects fitted to remind them of their old superstition. Not far off from it was found on the surface a stone which from its shape appeared to be a symbol, of frequent occurrence on the eastern continent, but which, as Humboldt asserts, had not when he wrote (1813)* been traced in Mexico. If this stone really has the meaning which is given to it,—and similar ones were found repeatedly afterwards,—it will afford a more striking proof than most which have been adduced of the common origin of the religious rites upon both continents.

Concerning another building at Uxmal, now quite in ruins, certain historical notices are preserved. It is called the house of the dwarf, or of the diviner, and consists of a substructure two hundred and thirty-five feet long and one hundred and fifty-five wide, which rises in nearly a pyramidal form to the height of eighty-eight feet, and has upon its top a long narrow building in three compartments, much ruined, but presenting on its front the most elegant ornaments to be seen in Uxmal. Mr. Stephens thinks that a stair-case, supported on a triangular arch, such as he afterwards found still remaining in another ruined city, led up the pyramid on one side to certain chambers below

the main building just spoken of. Up the eastern front ascends a very steep and narrow stair-case, of which Cogolludo the historian of Yucatan makes mention. He is speaking of the sacrifices performed at the principal *teocalli*,* or temple of Uxmal, which circumstances point out to be this building. "The high priest," says he, as translated by Mr. Stephens, "had in his hand a large, broad and sharp knife, made of flint. Another priest carried a wooden collar, wrought like a snake. The persons to be sacrificed were conducted, one by one, up the steps, stark naked, and as soon as laid on the stone, had the collar put upon their necks, and the four priests took hold of the hands and feet. Then the high priest, with wonderful dexterity ripped up the breast, tore out the heart, reeking, with his hands, and showed it to the sun, offering him the heart and steam which came from it. Then he turned to the idol and threw it in his face, which done he kicked the body down the steps, and it never stopped because they were very upright. One who had been a priest, and had been converted, said that when they tore out the heart of the wretched person sacrificed, it did beat so strongly that he took it up from the ground three or four times till it cooled by degrees, and then he threw the body still moving down the steps."

This account of human sacrifices in Yucatan is the more remarkable, because that horrid custom had not long been established in Mexico. The Toltecs, it is said, who preceded the Aztecs in that country, and to whom most of the institutions which the Spaniards found among the Aztecs are ascribed, used unbloody offerings of fruits and flowers, of gums and seeds. The Az-

* A Mexican word used in speaking of these temples built on pyramids, and derived from *teotl*, god, (*teo* being the root, and *tl* a termination,) and *calli*, house.

* Humboldt, u. s. I, 228.

tecs continued the same rites until the year 1317, when they immolated the first human victims, in order to terrify the nation of the Colhuans, whose subjects they then were. The custom not long afterwards became a familiar one. At first their principal deity, Mexitli, the god of war, received this honor; by and by it formed a part of the worship of the other divinities. The Totonacs, who lived around what is now Vera Cruz, adopted the sanguinary worship of the Aztecs; but had a tradition that the goddess of the fields should triumph at last over the bloodthirstiness of the other gods, and re-establish unbloody offerings. War seems to have been the cause which increased the religious ferocity of the Aztecs, and which by increasing their empire spread their dreadful usages. To such a degree it is said had their original character altered, that men even devoured parts of the human victims whom the priests threw down the Teocallis,—a rite performed no doubt in honor of the god whose worship the priests were celebrating at the top of the pyramid, and within sight of the people below.

Such is the account to be found in Humboldt and other authorities,* and received as part of the Mexican history. Now what shall we say of the existence of the same rite among the Mayas. Did it creep in from Mexico, or arise independently; or must we suspect the Mexican tradition, and consider the rite as an antiquated one, revived in circumstances calculated to harden, and render ferocious the national character. The latter hypothesis appears to us most probable, particularly as human sacrifices have existed under almost every system of heathenism, and then ceased at the beginning of civilization. In South America the influence of the leading nation, the Peruvians, was of

just the opposite nature to that of the Mexicans. With the spread of their power, and by means of the sword, human sacrifices, it is said, were abolished, and a mild religion extended.

If the ceremonies performed at this building prove an identity of religious rites with the Mexican, another structure shows that the same games were known to both nations. This consists of two parts, or two distinct edifices, seventy feet distant from one another, and to all appearance exactly alike. The sides facing each other were adorned with sculptures, and "in the center of each façade, at points directly opposite, are the fragments of great stone rings." The use to which these rings and buildings were put, fully revealed itself to Mr. Stephens some time after he left Uxmal, upon seeing a similar ruin at Chichen-itza. The Mexicans, according to Herrera, as quoted by Mr. Stephens, were accustomed to play in similar places with balls of India rubber, which they threw up into the air with such a force and direction as to make them pass through stone rings fixed in the wall. He who did this won the game, and had the right to appropriate the cloaks of all the bystanders as his prize.

The most magnificent of all the buildings at Uxmal, when they were in their glory, must have been those now called the house of the nuns. They stand on the highest of three terraces, and are arranged in a quadrangle around a court. They consist of nearly a hundred chambers, constructed on the same principle with those of the house of the governor. The fronts looking upon the court "are ornamented from one end to the other with the richest and most intricate carving known in the art of the builders of Uxmal, presenting a scene of strange magnificence, surpassing any that is now to be seen among the ruins." Among the decorations of one of

* Humboldt, u. s. I, 216.

the façades, the most remarkable are two colossal serpents, entwined and "encompassing nearly all the ornaments throughout its whole length," which was one hundred and seventy three feet when the building was entire. One of the serpents has a human head in its open jaws, and the usual addition of feathers as a covering of their bodies is not wanting.

The ruins of Yucatan astonish us as much by their frequency as by their vastness and the sculptured work lavished upon them. With the exception of a voyage to the eastern coast, Mr. Stephens confined his researches within an equilateral triangle of about eighty miles base; and not more than half of this area, as appears from his map, was thoroughly explored. A part of the structures known to have existed when the Spaniards came into the country, have disappeared; their materials being used in building churches or Franciscan convents. In the general ignorance and listlessness of the inhabitants, it is fair to presume that multitudes of ruins still lie hid in the woods within a moderate distance of the villages; while others may be so overgrown with trees and shrubs as not to be distinguishable from hills. Now within the space above named, some thirty ruins or more have been brought to light by the investigations of our travelers; most of which are so near one another, that a short morning walk on an open road would have brought the inhabitants together. Some of them are more numerous and others vaster than the ruins at Uxmal. At Kabah, to which place a paved street of pure white stone according to the tradition of the Indians ran from Uxmal, there are remains of fifteen edifices, one of which stands on a terrace eight hundred feet long. At Zayi, a building three stories high was found; or to speak more properly, three structures ri-

sing one above another, two of which were built upon the sides of platforms, and the third on the top of the mound. A mile distant from this another building was discovered upon a terrace of fifteen hundred feet in length. In short, no where in the world, perhaps, are clearer indications given by ancient remains of a dense population, and of the power of priests and princes to concentrate the energies of a nation upon great public works. And all these stones, it should be remembered, were hewn, and these sculptures, excepting the few instances where they were done in stucco, were chiseled with instruments of so poor a material as copper* or flint out of the limestone rock.

Almost all the ruins of Yucatan are square, and face the cardinal points. One or two, however, are round like the temples of the god of the winds in Mexico, which took that form to denote that "round and round goeth the wind, and ever continueth its circuits." The lintels of the doors and window are generally not of stone, but of the hard and durable wood of the sapote tree; and some of these are more curiously carved than any thing else. Here and there short columns with capitals and bases were discovered. A few paintings only have escaped the ravages of time. In one of the buildings of Chichen-itza, a number of rude figures appear, executed quite in the Mexican style, with head ornaments as lofty as the whole person besides. The flesh of the men is of a reddish brown color, and that of the women of a somewhat lighter tint. A boat with its

* It is certain that iron was not used on this continent. Humboldt possessed a Peruvian chisel of copper, alloyed with one sixteenth of tin; and observes that this mixture has great hardness, 1,260. For the extensive diffusion of copper instruments through both Americas, see the citations in Bradford's *Amer. Antiq.* p. 196.

crew appears among the representations, and one man is diving into the water. Nothing, however, either sculptured or painted, has been found in Yucatan, which can compare with the stucco designs at Palenque in beauty, if beauty can be predicated of the grotesque and deformed conceptions of the human person, above which, it would appear, the Indians of this continent could not rise.

A few hieroglyphics are noticed by Mr. Stephens, but his discoveries in this line are by no means equal to those which he made at Copan, upon his journey into Central America. At Uxmal, Waldeck* speaks of seeing the hieroglyphics of the twenty days of the month, upon one of the façades of the house of the nuns. But of such emblems Mr. Stephens says nothing, when speaking of the same building. Another of Waldeck's assertions is, that the court of the same structure is paved with stones six inches square, each of which is exquisitely cut with the figure of a tortoise. There are, he goes on to say, forty-three thousand six hundred and sixty of these, and though composed of a very hard stone, they appear much worn. It is singular enough, that Mr. Stephens could find nothing of this pavement of turtles, though he spent a whole morning digging all over the court-yard. As Waldeck could have no motive to invent such a story, the probability is that he found tortoises there, which may have fallen from the sculptured building into the court. Believing them to be part of a pavement, he reached the prodigious number which he assigns to them, merely by his arithmetic. A symbol of the simplest kind, and of extreme frequency throughout the ruins, was the print of the human hand in red paint. This was first noticed, when the very thick back wall of the gov-

ernor's house at Uxmal was pierced for the purpose of discovering hidden passages, if any there might be. It is found in obscure parts of the buildings, and even within the mason-work, and may have been intended for a charm; for which purpose, according to a communication from Mr. Schoolcraft, the same mark in white or colored clay, is applied to the bodies of the dancers, at the festivities of our American Indians. Mr. Stephens notices the smallness of the hand in these prints, as corresponding with the size of the Maya Indian's hand at the present day.

There is another kind of public works, concerning which Mr. Stephens has obtained some valuable information. We refer to the artificial means employed by the old inhabitants, for preserving a plentiful supply of water. There are scarcely any springs or brooks throughout the district visited by our travelers; and the waters of the rainy season sink, for the most part, into caves in the limestone. Some of the caves are the only resource of the present inhabitants in the dry season. In one of them, visited by Mr. Stephens, at a place called Bolonchen, or the Nine Wells, the water is at a perpendicular depth of four hundred and fifty feet, and is not reached without taking a journey of a quarter of a mile under ground. Another natural reservoir is known by the name of *senotes*, by which is to be understood large circular pools with sides of rock, of unknown depth, and from fifty to two hundred feet in diameter. Two of these are near the ruins of Chichen* Itza, and were probably the cause why a city was built in that place. But the great population which covered at least a part of Yucatan, could not have depended on these natural wells alone. A

* See Bradford, p. 100.

* Chi-chen means well's mouth, and refers to these reservoirs.

sufficiency of water obtained by artificial means, must have been a primary care of a people living in such a territory. Accordingly it is found that the ancient Mayas excavated a great number of places, now called *aguadas*, which appear like ponds; most of these lie neglected, and filled with mud; but some which have been cleared out of late, to the great advantage of the neighborhood, prove to be paved at the bottom, and to be furnished with pits and with wells, also paved, and intended as a last resort, after the *aguada* itself should be dried up. On removing the mud from one of these pools, the neighboring planter "found an artificial bottom of large flat stones." These were so laid upon each other, that the stones of each upper layer were put upon the seams of the layer under it, "and the interstices were filled in with clay of red and brown color, of a different character from any in the neighborhood. The stones were many layers deep, and he did not go down to the bottom, lest by some accident, the foundation should be injured." In another *aguada*, where the Indians had been in the habit of digging pits, in order to collect the water which filtered through the mud, "they struck upon an ancient well, which was found to be of singular form and construction. It had a square platform at the top, and beneath was a round well, faced with smooth stones from twenty to twenty-five feet deep. Below this was another square platform, and under the latter another well of less diameter, and about the same depth. The discovery of this well, induced farther excavations, which, as the whole country was interested in the matter, were prosecuted until upward of forty wells were discovered. These were all cleared out, and the whole *aguada* repaired, since which it furnishes a supply during the greater part of the dry season, and when this fails, the wells appear, and continue the

supply, until the rains come on again."

Nor ought the walls of the ancient cities to pass without notice. At the ruins of Mayapan, once the capital of the whole country, Mr. Stephens was told by the only man who had ever made examinations, that "within a circumference of three miles, ruins were found, and that a strong wall once encompassed the city, the remains of which might still be traced through the woods." On the western coast, Mr. Stephens discovered the wall of an inconsiderable town, so entire that he was able to walk upon the top of it throughout its whole length. It consists of rough stones laid without mortar, is from eight to thirteen feet in thickness, and more than half a mile long, and forms by its course three sides of a rectangle, the sea being the fourth. At the corners there are watch-towers, still in good preservation.

The present Indians of Yucatan have retained little or no knowledge of the history of their fathers. As soon as they were subdued, they fell into peaceful and quiet submission to the Spanish yoke, exchanged their bloody rites for the forms of papacy, and their ferocious priests for others of milder dispositions, and seem as if they could not be the descendants of the race whose energy reared, at the cost of such a vast amount of labor, such remarkable buildings. It is very natural, that without letters, and so far as appears, old songs to keep up their recollection of past achievements, with a new religion, which cuts them off from the past national worship, as completely as if they were a newly created race, and with no stimulus whatever in their condition,—we say it is very natural that in these circumstances, all the traditions of the past should fade from their minds, that they should be ignorant of the hieroglyphics upon the ruins, and of those other things in which the

science of their forefathers consisted. It was the policy of their conquerors to obliterate all memorials of the past. The old divisions of time gave way to saints' days, and the old idols they were taught to regard as demons. The little that is yet known of the institutions of the Mayas, excepting their architecture, is preserved by means chiefly of ecclesiastics of an inquisitive turn of mind, who received their information from converts. Some of these converts also became acquainted with the use of letters, and left manuscripts in their native language, treating of the usages of their fathers. The very few intelligent persons who have devoted themselves to this study, have derived their information from Maya and Spanish manuscripts, penned not very long, perhaps, after the conquest, and it does not seem probable that much can be gleaned from Indians living near the Spaniards, who have long abandoned their old superstitions. If, however, there are, as is not unlikely, heathens of this race living in unfrequented parts, we may hope that discoveries in regard to the race, will yet be made by enterprising travelers.

Mr. Stephens was fortunate in meeting in the interior of Yucatan, with an intelligent Spanish gentleman, Don Pio Perez by name, who had filled an important office at the capital, and was then the principal magistrate at the town of Peto; and who had given himself to the study of the Maya language and antiquities. The information which he communicated, and of which a part is given in the appendix, is of the most valuable description. It relates to the method of reckoning time among the Indians, to their historical traditions, and their language.

According to Don Pio's account, the Maya calendar very closely resembles the Mexican, and beyond a question is to be referred to the same source. The Mexicans, long

before the discovery of this continent, seem to have had a year of three hundred and sixty-five days.* This length of time they divided into ritual weeks of thirteen days each, and into eighteen months of twenty days; at the end of which were arranged five supplementary days, included in no month. These twenty days had their distinguishing names and symbols, the latter of which are of frequent occurrence in the hieroglyphics. The number twenty was, no doubt, suggested by the fingers and toes of the human body; the number thirteen, which seems to be known to the calendars of no nations out of America, was used either on account of the time between new and full, and between full and new moon, when that luminary is visible, or on account of its convenience in intercalating and in reckoning. For as three hundred and sixty-five is one more than twenty-eight times thirteen, if a year began with the first day of the thirteen, the next would begin with the second, and so on through thirteen years, when the cycle would go round again. At the end of fifty-two years, or four times thirteen, occurred the intercalation of thirteen days, attended with solemn rites. This was, in effect, the Julian calendar, only that the intercalation was made not every fourth year, but all at once, at the end of the period, when the deficiency in the number of days had amounted to the elementary number thirteen. It is even said by the most thorough of the Mexican writers on this subject, and seems to receive the sanction of Humboldt, that at the end of every other great period, twelve and not thirteen days were inserted. If this is really so, it implies remarkably close observation, for it

* See the elaborate essay of Humboldt, I, 276, in which we believe the Mexican calendar, according to Gama's accurate researches, was first fully explained to the learned.

makes the year only 2' 39" too short, and causes the loss of but a day in about four centuries. Besides the year of three hundred and sixty-five days, the Mexicans had another of twenty times thirteen days, which is somewhat used in their history. A cycle of fifty-two years, not including the intercalary days, contained one thousand four hundred and sixty, or four times three hundred and sixty-five such periods.

The Mexicans applied this calendar, with considerable skill, to their history. In the first place, they counted by the number of cycles of fifty-two years, that had elapsed since leaving their old habitation in Aztlan. Then to determine the year of the cycle, they made use of the numbers up to thirteen, and one of four signs or names of years which followed each other in constant repetition. If, for instance, we use A, B, C, D, for the signs of the year, the order would be 1. A, 2. B, 3. C, 4. D, 5. A, and so on to 13. A. Then would follow 1. B, 2. C, and so on. It is obvious that in this cycle the same letter and number would never come together twice. In much the same way, by means of cycles of thirteen, twenty, and nine days, (the last number being chosen on account of its measuring

three hundred and sixty,) the days of the year were distinguished from one another, in a very effectual way. This method of computing time is, indeed, long and complicated in words, but probably shorter in hieroglyphics. Nor is great brevity to be expected of a nation, whose words would take the time while "one might walk to Mile-end green" in pronouncing.

The Mexicans connected with these cycles or *bundles*, as they called them, of fifty-two years, the termination of their mythological ages. These ages, as in some parts of Asia, where a similar view prevailed, closed with the destruction of living things, and began with their regeneration. They are called the ages of the earth, or of giants, of fire, of air, and of water, and have thus a remarkable correspondence with the four elements of antiquity. At the end of each age, some human being escaped the catastrophe, either by being transformed into animals, or in their own shape. A single pair survived the deluge of the fourth age, in the form of men, by means of a canoe of pine. The Mexicans at the end of every cycle, became Millerites, and looked forward with the utmost dread, for the fifth destruction.

Then was there heard through all Patamba's streets,
The warning voice, woe! woe! the sun hath reached
The limits of his course; he hath fulfilled
The appointed cycle! Fast and weep and pray;
Four suns have perished; fast and weep and pray,
Lest the fifth perish also.

We must refer the reader to *Ma-doc*, for a powerful description of the horror, the silence, the extinction of fires, and the awful rites, which closed the cycles, in expectation of an approaching catastrophe. Southey, however, follows the early Spanish writers, in making a succession of the ages, which Humboldt denies to be the right one.

The Mayas had the same length

of the year with the Mexicans; the same elementary numbers, thirteen and twenty; the same period or indication of thirteen years, and cycle of fifty-two. When and how they intercalated, Mr. Perez does not inform us; but this part of the system can hardly have been separated from the other. Their months and their twenty days, have appellations unlike in form and perhaps in mean-

ing, to those of Mexico. It is remarkable that a number of the names are without meaning, in the present language, or have become obsolete, and that several of the days of the month had the same names among natives of Chiapas, Oaxaca, and Soconusco, where a similar calendar was in vogue. They had again the same complicated method which the Mexicans adopted, to distinguish the days of the year, and the year of the cycle. Whether their mythological system included the ages of the Mexicans, the learned Spaniard does not say; but Waldeck affirms that their traditions made mention of three, the last of which was ended by a deluge.* In adjusting their own history, they used a larger cycle of three hundred and twelve years, or thirteen periods of twenty-four years each, which is minutely described by Mr. Perez, who adds that some have erroneously supposed each period to consist of only twenty years each. They began their year on the 16th of July.† "It is worthy of notice," says this gentleman, "that having sought to make it begin from the precise day on which the sun returns to the zenith of this peninsula, on his way to the southern regions, and being destitute of instruments for their astronomical observations, and guided only by the naked eye, they erred only forty-eight hours in advance."

Don Pio Perez has also communicated to Mr. Stephens, a document of considerable interest relating to the history of the Mayas. It is probably the only one of its kind: it is written in the aboriginal language by a Christian convert long after the conquest, and as well for that reason, as on account of our ignorance of the author and his sources, to be received

with caution. It relates very briefly the arrival of the founders of the nation in Yucatan from certain towns or districts which we can not identify, and which perhaps like those where the Toltecs and Aztecs of Mexico first lived, may be mythological. Then succeeds the history of the nation in the peninsula, or island, as the manuscript calls it, arranged according to periods, not of twenty four years, as explained by Perez, but of twenty. The chronology is somewhat confused; and the attempt at settling it quite unsuccessful; but as much as this may be made out, that at least one thousand and eighty seven years had elapsed from the time when the ancestors of the nation began to emigrate from their unknown dwelling places, to the arrival of the Spaniards in the country. That would carry their traditions back to the year four hundred of our era. It would be of no use to enter into the details of this chronicle. Suffice it to say, that a century after they entered the country, they settled in Bacalar, on the bay of Honduras; that then they found the town of Chichen-itza, where very important ruins now are to be seen; that the 'holy men' of this place then abandoned it and went to live at Champoton, on the gulf of Mexico;* that after this, they returned and lived for several epochs under the uninhabited mountains; and that then they spread themselves over that part of Yucatan where the ruins have been discovered; several of the more important places there being named in the manuscript, and

* Near this place, and on the river of the same name, some leagues in the interior, there are, according to Mr. Norman, many ruins of a kind of sculpture displaying the finest taste, but partially buried beneath water and earth. The same traveler obtained from a mound, seven leagues to the north of Campeachy, a collection of idols, unlike those which have been found in Mexico, together with some earthen vessels.

* See Bradford, 328.

† Waldeck says, on the 12th of January, which is one hundred and eighty days distant from the other date. The Mexican year began on the 9th of January.

the first establishment of one of the caciques at Uxmal being mentioned with its precise date. That date would fall nearly in the middle of the eleventh century. After the settlement of this place, several divisions of the nation are spoken of; wars arose between them, and one of their cities was destroyed by strangers 'of the highlanders.'

The manuscript seems to us to preserve a very straight-forward and modest tradition. We see from it, that the Mayas entered the country few in number, and wandered at first from side to side of the peninsula. It is not unnatural to suppose that the highlanders mentioned above, were earlier inhabitants. The nation by degrees divided itself into somewhat independent parts, and these harassed one another.

In his summary of this manuscript, Mr. Perez calls the first Maya settlers in Yucatan, Toltecs. It would be interesting no doubt, to trace them back to that early nation from whom tradition derives all the arts and the science of Mexico, and parts of Central America, and who, as the pioneers of civilization, are called by Humboldt the Pelasgi of the American continent. But we see nothing in the manuscript which thus authorizes us to connect the two races, unless it be in the names of the unknown places where they first lived, and about which M. Perez may possess some knowledge which he has not imparted to others. And indeed, if the dates of the record are to be relied upon at all, they go back farther than the annals of the Toltecs, whose migration from a northern region by the common consent of historians, is assigned to the sixth century before Christ.* After them,

from the same quarter, came other nations speaking according to the Mithridates the same language, the last and most powerful of whom were the Aztecs, whose journey towards the south Clavigero assigns to the year 1160. Before they arrived in Mexico, the Toltecs had been broken up and dispersed by pestilence. A part of them traveled into Central America, but as an actual nation long since disappeared. Now if these things are so, and if the dates of the Maya history can be relied upon, the latter appeared first on the stage of history, and may for aught we know, have been the first to make improvements in the arts. And if the nations who successively appeared in Mexico spoke one language, as the best authorities maintain, the Mayas cannot have belonged to that race, since their grammar and words are widely different.

No competent philologist has as yet thoroughly studied the Maya language. Its peculiarities of course strike the eye, on first glancing at the imperfect accounts of its grammatical system which are within our reach; its resemblances to other languages of the continent can only be fully known to one who has explored it with care. It agrees with the Mexican in having none of the sounds represented by *d, f, g, r, s*, and the Spanish *j*; and has five or six sounds chiefly guttural, peculiar to itself. Its closest affinities are with certain dialects of Central America, as that of the Quiché Indians, who resembled the Mayas in being a cultivated tribe at the conquest. Its general aspect is one of greater simplicity; of a seemingly nearer approach to the languages of easternmost Asia, than the American languages in general exhibit. It makes no distinction of gender and number by means of its forms; and thus departs from that law according to which so many of the American dialects distinguish

* The authorities for the date originally were Mexicans, who, at and soon after the conquest, well understood the native history preserved in hieroglyphics. Some of the facts of Mexican history are the subjects of hieroglyphics still extant.

by the termination between animate and inanimate objects. It uses, like the Mexican, numerous endings to form derivative nouns and adjectives; but the two dialects differ much in the terminations which they adopt. It excels the Mexican in having a comparative form for its adjective. Its numerals are wholly distinct from those of the Mexican; and this diversity of numeral roots in the languages of the continent, is the thing most difficult to be reconciled with the original unity of the tribes. Did they count by gestures, and on their fingers and toes until they separated, or how happens it that they have departed in so important a class of words from the primeval type? In the Mexican the numerals, from six to nine inclusive, are obvious compounds of a root standing for five united to one, two, three and four. This appears not to be the case in the Maya. Both languages, like a great many other American ones, make twenty, or a score, the chief element in counting. Thus one hundred is five score, one hundred and twenty, six score. The Mexican pursues this system of twenties farther, having a distinct name for the square of twenty, or a score of scores, and for its cube; and these in a certain sense take the place which the square and cube of ten occupy in other systems. In personal pronouns the Maya language is rich. It has a distinct form of them, which it employs whenever we should use the verb *to be* with a pronominal subject, and thus to a certain degree supplies the want of that important verb which is unknown to many of the native languages.* Its verbs are divided into four conjugations, one appropriated to neuters and passives, and three to active

verbs; the tenses are denoted partly by endings, and partly by auxiliary words, and the form is unchanged through the persons. It has a large number of naked monosyllabic roots, which give it a widely different aspect from the dialects of Mexico. Composition is effected in many cases at least, by simple juxtaposition, (with the aid no doubt of a principal accent on one of the syllables,) and it is said that elisions are of frequent occurrence, as happens in the compound words of our North American Indians. As examples of composition and derivation, we offer from *kab*, hands, the words, *aaakab*, thumb, *jalkab*, fingers, *chunuckab*, middle-finger, *kalcab*, wrist, *pocol-cab*, washing hands, *tancab*,* palm of the hand, and probably *kabatah*, to count. For these examples, we are indebted to the vocabulary in the work of Mr. Norman, who has meritoriously endeavored to give his readers a general view of the Maya Indians, as they once were, and has not confined himself to architectural remains. Mr. Stephens received from the Spanish gentleman whom we have often named, a copious vocabulary of several thousand Maya words and a series of grammatical forms, but has not published it in his work. We hope that before long he will let it be known, either through the transactions of some learned society, or as an appendix to a new edition of his travels.

Our readers will probably think, after the view that has been presented of the Maya nation, that the question which so greatly interested Mr. Stephens, whether this nation constructed the edifices of Yucatan now in ruins, may be very safely and confidently answered in the affirmative. If their traditions reach

* This is noticed by the distinguished philologist, Wm. von Humboldt, in the introduction to his work on the Kawi language, Vol. I, p. 284.

* Two of these words ought probably to be spelt with *k* instead of *c*. *K* stands for a peculiar guttural in the grammar of this language.

back to the founding of the ruined cities, if their accurate calendar displays as much of science as their sculptures do of art; if their religious rites were celebrated in these ruins at, and even after the Spanish conquest, how can we suppose that they stepped into the place of an earlier and more civilized race, which race can no where be found either in tradition, or among existing nations? And if some should think that the present Indians are too weak, indolent and degraded, to be the descendants of such a race as reared the monuments of Yucatan, a few considerations, we think, will satisfy them that there is no improbability in supposing that a period of national prosperity may be succeeded by even greater degeneracy than we here behold. If some violent cause, such as conquest, takes away the motives that were the spring of national power, and more especially, takes away the persons who applied those motives, and who alone could apply them, what is there to prevent the old national life from being extinguished; nay, what can maintain it after it has undergone such a catastrophe? It seems probable that all the nations of this continent, which rose above the level of barbarism, had a powerful priesthood, allied by interest and perhaps by blood with the governing families, in whose hands the knowledge possessed in the nation was lodged, and whose control over the common people, founded upon religious notions, was absolute. The greatness of the empire of Mexico was built on a close union between the priests and the nobles or chief warriors. The high priest is said to have been generally of royal blood. The empire founded by the Incas of Peru has been called a monastic despotism. Now if invaders, such as the Spaniards, become the masters in such a country, the princes, and more particularly the priests,

are destroyed by death or flee to some other quarter. They in whose hands were the traditions, the execution of the laws, the religious rites, the sway over others by means of fear and communication with the gods, the knowledge of the calendar and the hieroglyphics—these have vanished away; and the mass of the nation is in nearly the same circumstances as if they never had had the institutions which raised them a little above their neighbors. Now we are led to believe, by comparing their religious rites with those of the Mexicans, and by other considerations, that the priests and nobles of the Mayas exercised supreme control in the nation. If so, there is nothing strange in their having large masses of men at their disposal; in their constructing large buildings as palaces or temples, and in their leaving a void, when they passed away, which was equivalent to the destruction of the national life and civilization. How could a nation recover from such a shock, and go on just as before. If the brahmins and warrior caste among the Hindoos, or the priestly caste and princes of the Egyptians, had been cut off soon after the monuments of literature and architectural art, at which the world now wonders, were completed, no doubt the same thing would have taken place in those countries also; and the Greek traveler who first penetrated into such a region, and compared the ancient monuments with the barbarism and ignorance of the inhabitants of his own time, would very probably have assigned the monuments to a prior race of men, and have broached some theory in explanation, which the next generation of his countrymen would have received for historical truth.

Another inquiry which naturally arises is, whence did these Indians derive their arts? This inquiry seems sometimes to imply in the minds of those who make it the

supposition that the arts and sciences must have *one single* origin; that one favored nation was the depository of these blessings; that like the torches in the games they passed from one people to another, and were enkindled but at one spot. Now this in its widest extent is a very false supposition. It is opposed to history, which assigns one invention to one country and one to another, and ascribes civilization, where it has existed, to combined causes, partly internal and partly external. It is opposed to what we know of our common nature and origin. If all men are of one blood, all ought to retain some fragments of those arts which the race probably possessed before a catastrophe of which so many of their traditions make mention. And if all have one nature, inventive power and genius ought not to be absolutely confined to one place, but be spread in very different proportions perhaps—but still be spread wherever barbarism had not entirely embruted the human mind. Civilization is a thing of parts, and is drawn from many sources. In one quarter the Arabic numerals arose, in another the art of navigation, in another still, metallurgy; and thus no quarter of the world can boast itself against another and say, "I have had no need of thee." Nor is the existence of the same arts, or institutions, or forms of religion, in two nations, certain proof that the one derived them from the other. Necessities common to those who live under the same sky, or who are at a similar stage in civilization, and views of the operations of nature, arising from the common properties of the human mind, may often have caused resemblances in nations that have grown up apart, and with no influence on each other's life. It is only when resemblances are close, and particularly in things which are arbitrary, that a special connection between na-

tions becomes probable, unless there is a historical probability that at one time they lived together. Striking agreement in such a thing as language, where much is arbitrary, or rather depends on special and slight causes, is a better reason for putting two nations in the same group than a very considerable similarity in their civil and religious institutions. The remarkable coincidences which Humboldt traces out between the names of the signs in the zodiacs of eastern Asia and the appellations of some of the Mexican months, is stronger proof that the race of American Indians came from that quarter than would be afforded by parallels in many things where nations are less capricious, such as the mode of building and the ceremonies of worship.

If there is justice in these remarks, we should with caution attribute the proficiency of all the nations of this continent to one source—to the Toltecs, for instance, to whom Mexican tradition goes back as the source of the institutions in that country. That the American Indians, though unquestionably of the same race, have for many ages formed distinct communities, is proved by the great diversities in their dialects. Some of these tribes lived on and near the soil of Mexico when the Toltecs came there. Now it is remarkable that some of these tribes, if the existing remains are any proof, far excelled the Mexican group of Indians in sculpture and in architecture. We may admit, then, the probability that these arts were native among them, or at least not derived from the Mexicans. On the other hand, the great proficiency of this latter nation in celestial observations and in computing time, together with the fact that some of the names of the months in the Maya tongue being not significant are probably foreign,—these circumstances show that the Mayas borrowed their calendar, and that

it may have come from Mexico. There was a number of tribes in Central America and just north of it, who made far greater advances in civilization than most of their brethren. Whether their dominion was once more extensive than we know it now to have been, and whether the more northern ruins should be ascribed to some of them, we do not presume to say. To this group of tribes the Mexican tribes, after their mythical emigration, belonged; and, as neighbors are wont to do, borrowed from them and gave to them in return.

Into the proofs of the common origin of the Indian race in both Americas, we do not mean to enter; still less do we propose to trace out their affinities with the nations of the rest of the world. In regard to this latter point we must refer our readers to Bradford's *American Antiquities*, a work in which nearly all the facts known and results reached before 1840 are assembled, and in which it is maintained that the red race has had a very wide diffusion over Etruria, Egypt, Madagascar, ancient Scythia, eastern Asia, and through the islands of Polynesia. In regard to the former point we will only say here, that ancient skeletons recently examined, among the rest one of a female brought from Yucatan by Mr. Stephens, add their weight to that of the many other convincing arguments in favor of referring all the tribes of the continent to one source.

Mr. Stephens gives us numerous sketches of the present condition of the Indians. The picture is by no means a pleasing one, although it reveals mild traits of character and a capacity for improvement. They live in general on the plantations of Spanish proprietors, and occupy their patches of ground on condition of performing a certain amount of work for the landlord. The treatment of them differs not essentially from that of serfs. In some few cases they are independent landowners. At Zayi Mr. Stephens found a village where the Indians form a peculiar society: the lands are owned in common; their cookery is done by wholesale at one hut; and they are expected to marry within the village. We recommend to Mr. Greeley and others who are visited with new illuminations about socialism to make a pilgrimage to this fraternity. The Indians of Yucatan are now free and independent, but their freedom bodes little good. An age of disquiet seems to lie before them. It is apprehended in the country itself, that they may imitate the Indians of Central America, and form a native party opposed to the Spaniards. Meanwhile the priests, to whom certainly the praise of kindness and humanity towards them is due, seem to be attempting nothing, and we know not what the government will dare to attempt, in order to make them fit for liberty.

ON VOWEL CHANGES IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

THE vocalism of the English language has the appearance of great irregularity. The vowel sound, whether we compare different words from the same root, or present forms with ancient ones, or analogous forms in co-existing dialects, is lia-

ble to great fluctuation. Some have supposed that little or no regard is to be had to the vowels in ascertaining the origin and affinity of languages. Anomaly, however, is often obedience to a higher law, or at most a conflict of different laws.

To investigate the nature of these phonetic changes, has been an important object with modern philologists.

In the present state of philological science we are able to reduce many of these fluctuations of vowel sounds under general heads, and to give a philosophical, or at least a plausible explanation. These explanations, it ought to be observed, often refer to an earlier, and not to the present state of the language.

We hope to show that something has been done in this important branch of human learning, and to awaken a degree of interest in more intelligent minds to the general subject.

As the Anglo-Saxon is the foundation of the English tongue, we shall commence with the vowel changes in the Anglo-Saxon or Teutonic part of our language, pursuing the natural order in which our present language has been built up.

I. There is a play of vowels in collateral Teutonic roots, especially in those which are formed by onomatopoeia; as, *gloom* and *gleam*; *juggle*, *gaggle*, and *giggle*; *cluck*, *clack*, and *click*; *croak*, *crack*, and *creak*.

We hold that *u*, the lowest sound in the scale of vowels, and its modification *o*, are naturally adapted to express low and obscure sounds, and what is dull in appearance; that *i*, the highest in the scale of vowels, and its modification *e*, are adapted to express clear and shrill sounds, and what is bright in appearance; and that the vowel *a* is intermediate in its character. It is evident, as we think, in the examples quoted above, that the vowel is significant, or that the meaning of

the words is affected in a way corresponding with the nature of the vowel.

II. There is a play of vowels in Teutonic words formed by reduplication, one of the more simple and mechanical processes in the formation of language; as, *chit-chat*; *ding-dong*; *zig-zag*; *whim-wham*; *mish-mash*.

These forms are produced by iterating or repeating the same word. The shortening of the vowel in the first part of the compound is merely a preparation for the fuller sound in the second. It is a euphonic process, which renders the whole word melodious and expressive. This mode of forming words, consisting in a mechanical repetition of the same sound, is naturally adapted to express (1.) the continuous flow of conversation; as, *chit-chat*; *tittle-tattle*; (2.) other constant and repeated sounds; as, *ding-dong*; *tick-tack*; (3.) certain oscillatory motions; as, *zig-zag*; *see-saw*; (4.) certain mental fluctuations or oscillations; as, *whim-wham*; *knick-knacks*; (5.) some miscellaneous things involving the idea of repetition; as *mish-mash*; *slip-slop*.

III. There is a play of vowels and diphthongs in the formation of the past tense and of the past participle, in the ancient and strong inflection of Teutonic verbs; which is seen, however, to much better advantage in the kindred dialects than in the English language. Thus,

Conjug. I. includes verbs which have, or rather originally had, *i* or its modification *e* before a single consonant in the present tense, *a* in the past tense, and *u* or its modification *o* in the past participle; as,

Goth.	pres. <i>brika</i> ,	past <i>brak</i> ,	part. <i>brukans</i> .
Anglo-Sax.	pres. <i>brece</i> ,	past <i>bræc</i> ,	part. <i>brocen</i> .
Germ.	pres. <i>breche</i> ,	past <i>brach</i> ,	part. <i>gebrochen</i> .
Eng.	pres. <i>breake</i> ,	past <i>brake</i> , (obs.)	part. <i>broken</i> .

Conjug. II. includes verbs which have, or rather originally had, *i* or its modification *e* before two conso-

nants in the present tense, *a* in the past tense, and *u* or its modification *o* in the past participle; as,

Goth.	pres. <i>siggwa</i> ,	past <i>saggu</i> ,	part. <i>suggwans</i> .
Anglo-Sax.	pres. <i>singe</i> ,	past <i>sang</i> ,	part. <i>sungen</i> .
Germ.	pres. <i>singe</i> ,	past <i>sang</i> ,	part. <i>gesungen</i> .
Eng.	pres. <i>sing</i> ,	past <i>sang</i> ,	part. <i>sung</i> .

Conjug. III. includes verbs which tense, *a* in the past tense, and *i* or have, or rather originally had, *i* or its modification *e* in the past participle; as,

Goth.	pres. <i>giba</i> ,	past <i>gab</i> ,	part. <i>gibans</i> ,
Anglo-Sax.	pres. <i>gife</i> ,	past <i>gaf</i> ,	part. <i>gifen</i> .
Germ.	pres. <i>gebe</i> ,	past <i>gab</i> ,	part. <i>gegeben</i> .
Eng.	pres. <i>give</i> ,	past <i>gave</i> ,	part. <i>given</i> .

Conjug. IV. includes verbs which modification *o* in the past tense, and have, or rather originally had, *a* in *a* in the past participle; as, the present tense, *u* (= *aa*) or its

Goth.	pres. <i>slaha</i> ,	past <i>sloh</i> ,	part. <i>slahans</i> .
Anglo-Sax.	pres. <i>slea</i> ,	past <i>sloh</i> ,	part. <i>slegen</i> .
Germ.	pres. <i>schlage</i> ,	past <i>schlug</i> ,	part. <i>geschlagen</i> .
Eng.	pres. <i>slay</i> ,	past <i>slew</i> ,	part. <i>slain</i> .

The radical vowel *a* in this conjugation is lengthened or doubled in the past tense.

Conjug. V. includes verbs which the present tense, and *ie* or *i* in the have, or rather originally had, *ei* in past tense and in the participle; as,

Goth.	pres. <i>dreiba</i> ,	past <i>draib</i> ,	part. <i>dribans</i> .
Anglo-Sax.	pres. <i>drife</i> ,	past <i>draf</i> ,	part. <i>drifen</i> .
Germ.	pres. <i>treibe</i> ,	past <i>trieb</i> ,	part. <i>getrieben</i> .
Eng.	pres. <i>drive</i> ,	past <i>drove</i> ,	part. <i>driven</i> .

The radical vowel *i* in this conjugation is made a diphthong by *triddhi*, i. e. by prefixing *a* or *e*.

Conjug. VI. includes verbs which the present tense, *au* in the past have, or rather originally had, *iu* in tense, and *u* in the past participle; as,

Goth.	pres. <i>biuga</i> ,	past <i>baug</i> ,	part. <i>bugans</i> .
Anglo-Sax.	pres. <i>buge</i> ,	past <i>beah</i> ,	part. <i>bogen</i> .
Germ.	pres. <i>biege</i> ,	past <i>bog</i> ,	part. <i>gebogen</i> ,
Eng.	pres. <i>bow</i> ,	past <i>bowed</i> ,	part. <i>bowed</i> .

The radical vowel *u* in this conjugation is made a diphthong by *triddhi*, i. e. by prefixing *a* or *i*.

IV. There is a play of vowels in the derivation of nouns from Teutonic verbs; as, *band* and *bond* from *to bind*; *bat* and *bate* from *to beat*; *cake* from *to cook*; *dole* from *to deal*; *doom* from *to deem*; *share* and *shire* from *to shear*.

These forms evidently originate from, and are dependent on, the internal inflection of verbs, which has been noticed under number III.

V. There is an attenuation or precession of vowel in certain formative processes of Teutonic words.

1. In the formation of verbs from nouns; as, *to bleed* from *blood*, (comp. Anglo-Sax. *bledan* from *blod*;) *to breed* from *brood*, (comp. Germ. *brüten* from *brut*;) *to feed* from *food*, (comp. Anglo-Sax. *fedan* from *fod*;) *to fill* from *full*, (comp. Anglo-Sax. *fyllan* from *full*;) *to gild* from *gold*, (comp. Anglo-Sax. *gildan* from *gold*;) *to heal* from *hale* or *whole*, (comp. Anglo-Sax. *hælan* from *hal*.)

2. In the formation of verbs from other verbs, and having a factitive

or causative sense; as, *to bait* from *to bite*, (comp. Anglo-Sax. *batan*, from *bitan*, past *bat*;) *to fell* from *to fall*, (comp. Germ. *füllen*, from *fallen*;) *to float* from *to flow*, (comp. Germ. *flößen*, from *fließen*, past *floss*;) *to lay* from *to lie*, (comp. Anglo-Sax. *leagan*, from *licgan*, past *lag*;) *to set* from *to sit*, (comp. Anglo-Sax. *settan*, from *sittan*, past *sat*;) *to wend* from *to wind*, (comp. Anglo-Sax. *wendan*, from *windan*, past *wand*.)

In the older Teutonic dialects, and in some of the more modern, this change of the radical vowel, in the formation of causative verbs, is subject to definite rules; although in our language it has the appearance of being arbitrary. In German, for example, the change consists in an attenuation or precession of the original vowel; as, *drängen*, to press, from *dringen*, (past *drang*,) to rush in; *tränken*, to give to drink, from *trinken*, (past *trank*,) to drink; *zwingen*, to force together, from *zwingen*, (past *zwang*,) to force; *schwemmen*, to cause to swim, from *schwimmen*, (past *schwamm*,) to swim; *senken*, to let down, from *sinken*, (past *sank*,) to sink; *sprengen*, to cause to fly, from *springen*, (past *sprang*,) to fly off; *schellen*,

to cause to sound, from *schallen*, to sound; *flößen*, to float, from *fließen*, (past *floss*,) to flow.

3. In the formation of adjectives from substantives; as, *any* (pronounced *enny*) from *an*, (comp. Anglo-Sax. *ænig* from *an*;) *English* from *Angle*, (comp. Anglo-Sax. *Englisc* from *Angle*.)

4. In the formation of abstract substantives from adjectives, by means of the suffix *th*; as, *breadth* from *broad*; *length* from *long*; *strength* from *strong*.

5. In the formation of certain diminutives; as, *bundle* from *bond*, (comp. Anglo-Sax. *byndel* from *bund*;) *chicken* or *chickling* from *cock*, (comp. Anglo-Sax. *cicen* from *cocc*;) *gosling* from *goose*; *kitten* from *cat*; (comp. Germ. *kätzchen* from *katze*;) *tip*, with loss of termination, from *top*, (comp. Germ. *zipfel* from *zopf*.)

This attenuation or precession of vowel, is a process found very extensively in language; see Prof. A. Crosby's *Grammar of the Greek Language*, Bost. 1842. p. 17.

VI. There is an attenuation or precession of vowel in certain inflectionary processes.

1. In the formation of some plural nouns; as,

Goose,	plur. <i>geese</i> ;	comp. Anglo-Sax. <i>gos</i> ,	plur. <i>ges</i> .
Tooth,	plur. <i>teeth</i> ;	comp. Anglo-Sax. <i>toth</i> ,	plur. <i>teth</i> .
Mouse,	plur. <i>mice</i> ;	comp. Anglo-Sax. <i>mus</i> ,	plur. <i>mys</i> .
Louse,	plur. <i>lice</i> ;	comp. Anglo-Sax. <i>lus</i> ,	plur. <i>lys</i> .
Brother,	plur. <i>brethren</i> ;	comp. Anglo-Sax. <i>brothor</i> ,	plur. <i>brothra</i> .

Besides the attenuation in the formation of the plural, the singular has also suffered changes; as, *gos*, by attenuation *goose*; *mus*, by *vriddhi mouse*.

2. In the comparison of adjectives;

Anglo-Sax.	<i>lang</i> ,	<i>lengre</i> ,	<i>lengest</i> ,	long.
Anglo-Sax.	<i>strang</i> ,	<i>strengre</i> ,	<i>strengest</i> ,	strong.
Anglo-Sax.	<i>geong</i> ,	<i>gyngre</i> ,	<i>gyngest</i> ,	young.
Anglo-Sax.	<i>sceort</i> ,	<i>scyrtre</i> ,	<i>scyrtiest</i> ,	short.
Anglo-Sax.	<i>heah</i> ,	<i>hyrre</i> ,	<i>hyhst</i> ,	high.
Germ.	<i>arm</i> ,	<i>ärmer</i> ,	<i>ärmest</i> ,	poor.
Germ.	<i>gross</i> ,	<i>grösser</i> ,	<i>grössest</i> ,	great.
Germ.	<i>kurz</i> ,	<i>kürzer</i> ,	<i>kürzest</i> ,	short.

as, *old*, *elder*, *eldest*; comp. Anglo-Sax. *eald*, *ylðre*, *yldest*.

This change is exhibited to greater advantage in the kindred dialects; as,

VII. In the formation of the past tense and the past participle of some weakly inflected verbs, there is not only a shortening of the quantity of the vowel, but sometimes also a restoration of the vowel sound, which had been attenuated; as, *meet, met*; *lose, lost*; *leave, left*. The vowel in the present tense standing, or having stood originally, in an open syllable, suffers attenuation, while the vowel of the past tense and past participle being in a close syllable, is retained.

VIII. There are certain vowel changes in the transition from Gothic or Anglo-Saxon to English; (1.) the attenuation or precession of the vowel sound *ah* to *eh*; as, *to make* from Anglo-Sax. *macian*; (2.) the attenuation or precession of *eh* to *ih*; as, *to steal* from Anglo-Sax. *stelan*; (3.) the strengthening of *ih* to *ai* (= the Eng. diphthong *i*;) by *vriddhi*, as, *to bite* from Anglo-Sax. *bitan*; (4.) the strengthening of *uh* to *au* by *vriddhi*; as, *thou* from Anglo-Sax. *thu*.

IX. We come now to words derived from the Latin. Among these we find some vowel changes, which are found in the ancient Latin, and are to be explained by a reference to that language, and others, which exhibit themselves in the transition of Latin words into English.

Among the former is a play of vowels in words compounded with prepositions; (1.) the change of radical *a* into *i* in an open, and into *e* in a close syllable; as, *facile, deficient, defect*; (2.) the change of radical *a* into *u*; as, *capable, occupant*; (3.) the change of radical *e* into *i* in an open syllable; as, *legible, intelligible*; (4.) the change of *uu* into *u*; as, *claudent, include*. This change of vowel, which modern philologists have investigated with great care, is to be regarded as an attenuation or lightening of the vowel sound, as an offset to the weight of the preceding prefix.

Among the latter are the follow-

ing; (1.) the attenuation or precession of the vowel sound *ah* to *eh*; as, Lat. *papyrus*, Eng. *paper*; (2.) the attenuation or precession of the vowel sound *eh* to *ih*; as, Lat. *Stephanus*, Eng. *Stephen*; (3.) the change of the vowel sound *ih* by *vriddhi* to *ai* (= the English diphthong *i*;) as, Lat. *libellus*, Eng. *libel*. These changes are to be regarded as a strengthening of the several vowel sounds, on occasion of the accent which had been disturbed by cutting off the final syllable; connected in the two former cases with a subsequent attenuation.

X. In words derived from the Greek, we have some vowel changes, which are found in the ancient Greek, and are to be explained by a reference to that language, and others, which exhibit themselves in the transition of Greek words into English.

Among the former we may reckon (1.) the play of vowels in collateral roots, closely connected in signification; as, $\sqrt{\text{chro}}$ in *chrome*, $\sqrt{\text{chra}}$ in *catachresis*, and $\sqrt{\text{chri}}$ in *chrism*, all signifying primarily *to touch the surface*. This process in the formation of collateral roots, is a part of the great system of the natural development of roots, as exhibited by Becker. It is distinct from the formation of words from roots. The different use and application of these roots depended without doubt on the appropriate import supposed to inhere in each vowel. (2.) The attenuation or precession of the vowel *a* to *e*; as, *system* from $\sqrt{\text{sta}}$; *lemma* for *lebma* from $\sqrt{\text{lab}}$; *imosis* from $\sqrt{\text{tam}}$, by transposition *tma*. (3.) The strengthening of *e* by *vriddhi*, or the change of *u* into *eu*; as, *zeugma* from $\sqrt{\text{zug}}$ or *zyg*. (4.) The change of vowel by internal inflection; as, *tome* from $\sqrt{\text{tam}}$.

Among the latter, besides those common to Latin and Greek derivatives, are the following; (1.) the attenuation or precession of *ai* to *e*; as, *phenomenon*, from $\sqrt{\text{pha}}$,

or by lengthening the root and strengthening the vowel *phain*; (2.) the attenuation or precession of *oi* to *e*; as, *economy* from \sqrt{oic} ; (3.) the attenuation or precession of *ou* to *u*; as, *music* from \sqrt{mous} .

XI. In words derived from the Hebrew, no new phonetic principle is exhibited.

Hebrew or Phenician words which have come to us through the Greek and Latin, fall under the class of Greek and Latin derivatives.

Words derived immediately from the Hebrew as an ancient ecclesias-

tical language, have by common consent been subjected to the same general principles as Greek and Latin derivatives. Thus (1.) *a* in an accented open syllable suffers attenuation, or is changed from *ah* to *eh*; as, *Nabal*; (2.) *e* in an open syllable, accented or unaccented, suffers attenuation, or is changed from *eh* to *ih*; as, *Sheba*, *Medeba*; (3.) *i* in an accented or final open syllable suffers *vriddhi*, or is changed from *ih* to *ai* (=the English diphthong *i*;) as, *Ziba*, *Levi*.

LITERARY NOTICES.

Elements of Algebra; being an Abridgment of Day's Algebra, adapted to the capacities of the young, and the method of instruction in schools and academies. By JAMES B. THOMSON, A. M. New Haven, Durrie & Peck. 12mo. pp. 252.

Nearly thirty years have elapsed since President Day (then professor of mathematics and natural philosophy) first published his "Introduction to Algebra." It excelled all other treatises known to our colleges and academies, in the clearness and precision of its definitions and rules, in the happy choice of examples and illustrations, and in the exposition of such principles as are not only important in themselves, but have an additional value in their relation to the higher branches of mathematics. This work being specially "adapted to the method of instruction in the American colleges," it was a good idea to reduce it to such a form, as would render it suitable for scholars of the primary schools, and the ordinary classes in academies.

The editor, Mr. Thomson, was well fitted for the undertaking, both by his taste for mathematical studies, and by much experience in teaching the elements of algebra to young learners. We have no doubt that all teachers who desire a treatise on this useful and interesting subject, more concise and simple than "Day's Algebra," will find in this publication a book exactly adapted to their wants.

The Family Sabbath-Day Miscellany; comprising over three hundred religious tales and anecdotes, original and select, with occasional reflections, adapted to the use of families on the Lord's day. By CHARLES A. GOODRICH. Published by Daniel Fanshaw, 601 Broadway, New York.

This work having been previously published by the author and extensively circulated, must be well known to most of our readers; to whom it can need no recommendation from us.

RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS.

NATIONAL SOCIETIES.

In the first number of this work, will be found some account of a special meeting of the American Education Society; and of the appointment of a committee to revise the rules and regulations. This committee reported at the meeting in Boston, May 28th, a series of resolutions, which, after a single amendment, were unanimously adopted, as follows:

Resolved, 1. That no aid be given to any candidate for assistance, before the commencement of the college course, or before the candidate has completed two years of classical study.

2. That aid be given only to those students who, being in other respects qualified, are proved by the testimony of their instructors, to be making good proficiency in their studies.

3. That aid given to each student be proportioned to his wants, the average not to exceed eighty dollars annually, and the maximum not to exceed one hundred dollars, annually.

4. That it be discretionary with the local committees, in consultation with the beneficiaries, to determine whether in each case, the aid afforded be in the form of gratuity or loan; that the sums gratuitously given shall be considered as an encouragement, and an expression of the interest of Christian friends, and that loans be made on condition of payment before settlement in the ministry.

5. That each recipient of aid shall subscribe an obligation, to refund to the society whatever he may receive from its treasury, if he shall voluntarily fail to enter upon the work of the ministry.

6. That the immediate supervi-

ion of those students in each college, who are aided by the society, and the distribution among them of the funds voted by the directors for their use, be entrusted to a committee at or near the college or theological institution, who shall be appointed by the directors.

7. That the appropriating committee, at or near each college or institution, be the examining committee.

8. That the appropriating committee, at or near each college or institution, before recommending a candidate for the patronage of the society, shall satisfy themselves, both by personal examination and personal testimony, respecting his need, his piety, his proficiency in his studies, and his promise of usefulness generally, and shall report the particulars, and make return of the testimony to the directors, upon whom in all cases shall devolve the responsibility of making the appointments.

9. That the appropriating committee, for each institution, shall renew their inquiries respecting each individual, before each successive appropriation, and shall particularly ascertain from his teacher, his diligence and proficiency as a scholar, and his unexceptionable deportment.

10. That the directors be requested to inquire whether the expenses of conducting the business of the society may not be materially reduced.

It will be seen, that hereafter the patronage of the society is to be confined to students in the colleges and theological seminaries; that the aid is to be wholly gratuitous to those who desire it; and that the selection and oversight of the beneficiaries is to be entrusted to a committee of gentlemen at or near

the several institutions of learning. These are the most important features of the new arrangement; and it is hoped, that they will remove most of those objections to the society, which have for some years past embarrassed it.

No change has taken place in the organization of the other national religious societies; but some improvement is manifest in their financial condition, and the most encouraging prospects of usefulness cheer them onward to still greater exertions. The income of the Seamen's Friend Society, twelve thousand, nine hundred and ninety two dollars and seventy cents, exceeds that of the last year, but still falls short of the expenditures by about eight hundred dollars. The Foreign Evangelical Society has received its whole income from twelve of our cities and large towns, to the amount of ten thousand six hundred and seven dollars, exceeding the disbursements nearly nine hundred dollars. The American Tract Society, has received the noble sum of ninety six thousand two hundred and forty dollars, and fifty three cents, exceeding the income of last year, and leaving a balance in the treasury of two hundred and ninety dollars. The American Home Missionary Society, we regret to add, has overdrawn its treasury seven thousand and eighteen dollars and thirty eight cents. The receipts were ninety nine thousand eight hundred and twelve dollars, and eighty four cents. This is seven thousand three hundred and forty nine dollars and twenty cents, more than the total receipts of the preceding year. This institution, being emphatically the hope of our country, ought to have a more liberal patronage—not less than that extended to the cause of foreign missions. With such an income, the society might employ two thousand ministers, instead of eight hundred and forty eight, the present number.

Vol. I.

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A new society, entitled, "*The American Philo-Italian Society*," was organized December 12th, 1842, in New York; the object of which, is to promote the diffusion of useful and religious knowledge among the Italians. Theodore Dwight, Jr. is the corresponding secretary. The address of the executive committee to the American public, is an interesting document. The door, we are informed, is open for the diffusion of useful and religious knowledge among the Italians. They may be divided into three classes, papists, Catholics, infidels. The first sympathize with the pope in all his secular and spiritual tyranny—with a spirit of servility towards man, not of sincerity towards God—selfish men, who have an interest in supporting the established religion. The second are Catholics, but not papists; that is, they abhor the dominion of the pope, while they are prejudiced against Protestants, as infidels. They are a class between the Protestants and papists—men of conscience, who desire the knowledge of the truth, but have had no proper means of gaining it. The third constitutes a large class in almost all papal countries—men who have received their ideas of Christianity, solely from the superstitions and vices of a corrupt priesthood. These two last classes among the Italians may easily be reached and influenced, particularly by the agency of intelligent natives, who are ready to engage in the work of propagating the Gospel among their countrymen. It is the plan of the society to prosecute its work in Italy, by the exclusive agency of Italians.

STATE OF RELIGION.

The reports of the Congregational associations of the several states, come to hand too late for notice in the present number. We can only say, that our January report of the

state of religion the year preceding, presents a less gratifying view than that which a gracious Providence has since spread out before us. The last six months have been distinguished above any equal period for several years by the refreshing influences of the Spirit.

The reports on the state of religion presented to the two General Assemblies of the Presbyterian church, contain definite and most encouraging statements respecting the prosperity of the cause of truth, within their respective bounds and fields of labor. To one of these

bodies, the Old School, not less than fifty new churches have been added, and most of the old churches have been enlarged. The number of members in the churches attached to the New School General Assembly, has in many presbyteries been doubled; in others, trebled; and in nearly all the churches revivals of religion have been enjoyed. Perhaps in no previous year, since the colonization of the country, have the Presbyterian churches been so generally blessed with the effusions of the Holy Spirit.

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS.

THE TRIAL OF SINGLETON MERCER, FOR THE MURDER OF MAHLON HUTCHINSON HEBERTON.

THE recent tragedy in Philadelphia, is worthy of a more attentive consideration than is commonly given to scenes of vice and crime. Its details have already been spread before the public, with a disgusting minuteness, and are read by all classes with an eagerness which shocks every sentiment of delicacy. We shall allude to them no farther than is necessary in order to review the legal proceedings in the case, and to exhibit the tone of moral feeling in the community in which the event occurred. Early in January, Mahlon H. Heberton, a notorious libertine, formed the acquaintance of Sarah G. Mercer, a mere girl of sixteen, the daughter of respectable and pious parents, residing in Southwark. The acquaintance began improperly; Heberton accosting Miss Mercer in the street, without an introduction, and she consenting to walk with him, under the impression that he was a Spanish gentleman whom she had before seen at her sister's house. After this inter-

view the thoughtless girl met her pretended lover again and again; sometimes by accident; frequently by appointment; always away from her father's house, and without the knowledge of her friends. At length being completely taken in his toils, she became the victim of his lust. Her ruin accomplished, her seducer continued to deceive her with the promise of marriage, till her intimacy with him became known to her friends, and she fled from the house of her father to one of those haunts of vice to which she had been previously introduced by Heberton. As he, however, was now ready to discard her, she was soon restored to her mourning parents, but only to increase their anguish by confessing her shame. The terrible disclosure overwhelmed all her friends with indignation and sorrow; but its effect on the mind of her brother, (a young man of twenty,) was alarming.* In the frenzy of

* Efforts were made by Mr. Mercer, to induce Heberton to marry his daughter, but the proposal was rejected by Heberton with insolence. This circumstance excited the indignation of Singleton to the highest pitch.

his passion, he attempted first to take the life of his sister; then he took an oath that he would kill her seducer, and with this end in view, he watched his movements for two days, without food or sleep. Herberton probably being suspicious of his danger, at first secreted himself; but on the 10th of February he attempted to leave Philadelphia, to visit a friend in New Jersey. Mercer followed him to the boat, unseen; kept himself concealed during the passage across the river; but just as the boat touched the wharf at Camden, he suddenly appeared and discharged four pistol balls into the carriage in which Herberton was sitting, one of which wounded him fatally. Mercer was instantly arrested, and was soon after indicted for murder. His trial commenced on the 28th of March, before the Court of Oyer and Terminer of Gloucester County, New Jersey, and continued till the 6th of April, when it resulted in the acquittal of the prisoner. This result was what we had anticipated. The prosecution was conducted feebly, in respect to argument, and insolently, in respect to the examination of witnesses; the defense was specious and eloquent; the trial took place in a community strongly prejudiced against the infliction of capital punishment, and therefore averse to the conviction of the prisoner.* There was a strong sympathy in behalf of Mercer, which plainly affected the court and the jury; they were fathers and brothers, they had the feelings of virtu-

ous men, and those feelings had been outraged by the crime of Herberton; it was impossible for them to divest themselves of sympathy for the accused, and to act with stern impartiality. Yet we are not satisfied with the verdict; in fact, we apprehend from it the most serious consequences. We are not prepared to say that the prisoner should have been found guilty of murder in the first degree. The nature of the provocation, the fact that the law afforded no means of redress for the injury received, the possibility that the strong excitement of the prisoner had produced a temporary insanity; all these were mitigating circumstances, which might well reduce the crime to the grade of *manslaughter*. But neither counsel, court, nor jury took this ground, nor would popular feeling have sanctioned it. *Acquitted* the prisoner must be; *acquitted in toto*; and that not even on the pretext of insanity, so adroitly urged, but (such was the popular opinion,) on the ground that the homicide was *justifiable*, in view of the provocation. The decision was remarkable. We believe that, in some respects, it is without a parallel; but as it may soon become an acknowledged precedent, it deserves a careful scrutiny. Let us glance briefly at the trial.

On the afternoon of the 28th of March, the court house at Woodbury was thronged with anxious and excited spectators. A youth was to be put on trial for his life. That life he had hazarded to avenge a sister's wrongs; his hands were stained with the blood of her rav-

* An argument in favor of the abolition of capital punishment, is sometimes drawn from the fact that juries will often acquit a criminal, rather than expose him to the penalty of death. We should argue from this fact, the necessity of enlightening the public mind upon the subject of law and its sanctions. But the case of Mercer furnishes us with a strong argument against the abolition of punishment by death. We are told that Mercer took the life of Herberton, because he

had no redress by law. So if the only proper penalty for murder is abolished, the friends of the murdered, feeling that they have no adequate means of redress afforded them by law, will take vengeance into their own hands; each individual will become an executioner; and society will be resolved into its original elements.

isher. That sister, whose character was already the property of the world, was to appear there and publicly acknowledge her *own* disgrace, to vindicate her brother; and the aged father and mother were to be there also, to hear the story of a daughter's shame repeated, to save the life of a son. How strong was the sympathy felt for the youthful prisoner. How universal the desire that he might escape the penalty of the law. Never did a court assemble in circumstances of more thrilling interest, or of deeper solemnity.

The Hon. Daniel Elmer, one of Judges of the Supreme Court of the state, presided on the bench, assisted by Hon. Messrs. Clement, Harrison, and Miller, of the Court of Oyer and Terminer. The counsel for the state, were George P. Molleson, Esq., attorney general, and Thomas P. Carpenter, Esq. The counsel for the defendant were numerous and able. First on the list we notice Peter A. Browne and W. S. Price, Esqs., of Philadelphia—the former of whom has been pre-eminently successful as a criminal advocate; then follow ex-governor Vroom, Hon. senator Wall, Messrs. A. Browning, W. N. Jeffers, J. H. Sloan, R. K. Matlack, J. B. Harrison, and R. W. Howell—among whom are some of the brightest stars of the New Jersey bar. The prisoner having appeared at the bar, a jury was empanelled without much delay, only ten of the whole number called being challenged by the prisoner. It is worthy of note, however, that the counsel for the defense would not suffer a juror when called, to be asked whether he had formed or expressed an opinion of the guilt or innocence of the prisoner. The case was opened for the state by Mr. Carpenter, who simply read and commented on the indictment, and then called the witnesses for the prosecution.

On the following morning the de-

fense was opened by Mr. Browne. His plea displayed much ingenuity. He began by flattering the jury into the belief of their own supreme importance, and by impressing on their minds a sense of the high responsibilities which rested upon them.

"We are assembled," said he, "to perform a solemn and arduous duty. My part, it is true, is humble; but yours is of the highest and most dignified character. Courts and jurors represent on earth what the Deity is in heaven—*justice*. And this is emphatically the case, when the decision involves the mighty question of 'life or death.' It behooves us, therefore, on this solemn occasion, to pay as strict attention to the prisoner's *defense*, as has been bestowed upon his *accusation*; and then endeavoring to strengthen our minds by reliance upon Divine support, to do him impartial justice. And as of all the attributes of the Almighty, there is none so divine, or so estimable, none which shines with such transcendent splendor as his *infinite mercy*, you may be well assured that you will lose nothing, in *His* eyes, by administering that *justice in mercy*."

Here we behold the very perfection of rhetorical art. How adroit is the compliment to the dignity and integrity of the court! How modest and reasonable the request that the prisoner's defense should be heard as attentively as his accusation! How specious the reference to the divine example! No wonder that these words uttered in the solemn and impressive manner for which Mr. B. is distinguished on such occasions, riveted the attention of the court, and secured a patient hearing for a plea eight hours in duration. Yet after all, how fallacious is the idea that human tribunals can administer "*justice in mercy*." Under the divine administration favor is shown to the guilty, because the *law* of God is fully sustained by the sufferings and death

of Christ. But human governments have no such provision. No Savior has appeared to "magnify the law and make it honorable," whilst he purchased pardon for the guilty, with his own blood. To speak, therefore, of mercy in the decisions of a human tribunal, is to speak of that which is impossible, in the very nature of things. That which some call mercy, in such circumstances, is but the sacrifice of law, the approbation of crime, the reckless hazarding of the peace and property and lives of the community. Courts and jurors, indeed, should give the utmost weight to all that can be alleged in favor of a prisoner, but their duty is to maintain the law, by administering impartial justice.

After this exordium, Mr. Browne proceeded in a very graphic manner, to delineate the characters of those concerned in the fearful tragedy under review. "The duty has devolved upon me," he continued, "as junior counsel, to open the facts and the law upon which we rely for the prisoner's defense; but before I proceed to this duty, I must introduce to you the *dramatis personæ* of this awful tragedy. The prisoner at the bar is, as you perceive, a mere youth—I might almost say, a mere boy, who has not yet arrived at that age at which the law considers a male possessed of sufficient understanding to manage his estate and property—or to make such contracts as are binding between man and man;—a note of hand given by him, would, for want of legal capacity to sign it, be of no avail—his bond, or other sealed instrument, would, for the same reason, be null and void; he is, in fine, what in law is called 'an infant,' being under twenty-one years. But he has arrived at that age when we feel keenly, perhaps *most* keenly, any insult offered to ourselves or those we love. The young blood warms more rapidly and cools more slowly, than that of maturer years.

The prisoner is, as you perceive, of a slight, fragile form—of a bilious habit—of a nervous temperament—and subject to great constipation—all of which predisposed him to insanity. He was mild, gentle, sincere, and courteous—nothing vindictive. I use the very words which will be used by the pastor of his church." After alluding briefly to the character of the parents of Mercer, he proceeds; "Of Sarah Gardner Mercer, the next in point of age, it is my duty to speak more at large. She is a mere *child*, being only a few days turned of sixteen. You will find (from the testimony of her pastor and teachers,) that she was a *mild, amiable, modest, and retiring child*; but not possessed of much strength of mind. That having herself no guile, she confided too easily in others. She had been brought up very tenderly and affectionately. Before the present occurrence, she had never deviated from the path of virtue, nor done any thing to compromise her character. She was never at a ball, play, or any other public place of amusement. Her acquaintances were *virtuous* girls, and they were limited to two, or at most, three families."

"I regret that I am obliged to speak of the deceased, but justice and truth demand it, and I must obey. The deceased, Hutchinson Heberton, was an *ABANDONED LIBERTINE* by *profession* and *practice*. But he was an *accomplished* one. He was handsome, well-made, and of fascinating manners. He followed no honest business or calling for a livelihood. His counting-house was the brothel; his companions libertines and harlots; his merchandise was lust; his commerce was seduction. These were the principal characters—next as to the facts."

He then labors to show that Heberton "spirited away" Miss Mercer from her father's house, and "committed a rape upon her," in the manner already described. We

have rarely seen a more sententious, graphic delineation of character—especially for the purpose of exciting prejudice—than that given of Heberton in the few words just quoted; and we have little doubt that had the jury been called upon to render their verdict under the influence which it produced, they would have acquitted the prisoner without hearing the testimony; for it seems to have been under such influences that they did finally acquit him, and not in view of evidence.

The grounds of defense, then urged by Mr. B., and subsequently enlarged upon by his colleagues, were two—the *provocation* given by the deceased, and the *insanity* of the prisoner. The first of these is deserving of our notice. The ground assumed was, “that the homicide having been committed during the heat of the prisoner’s passion, roused by the enormous provocation of the deceased, the prisoner was not guilty of murder.” The provocation relied upon was, that “the deceased having spirited away the prisoner’s sister, and having by fraud and falsehood, decoyed her to a place where she was within his power, had there committed a rape upon her.”

The successive steps in the argument were as follows. 1. “Upon a bare assault, with intent to commit a rape, the female assailed is justified in killing the assailant; it is *se defendendo*.” (1st Hall, V, p. 485.) This principle of law is based on the natural supposition that to any virtuous female *defilement* is worse than death. 2. If Heberton had actually ravished Sarah Mercer, and she immediately *afterwards* had killed him, she would not have been guilty of murder, since there would have been no previous malice. The law allows a much lighter indignity than this (even pulling one’s nose) to be such a provocation, that the immediate killing of the offender is regarded as manslaughter instead of

murder. Blackstone, IV, chap. xiv, p. 191. 3. If the assault with intent to ravish had been made, and instead of Sarah killing Heberton, her *father* or *brother* had come into the room and taken his life, he would have been guilty of no crime whatever. 1 Hal. P. C. 486. This also is looked upon as homicide *se defendendo*. (In England, however, this species of homicide is regarded as *manslaughter* in the lowest degree.) 4. If the prisoner (who had been *present* when the attempt to ravish was made, would have had a right to take the life of Heberton,) was *absent* at the time of provocation, but as soon as the circumstances were made known to him, in a *transport of passion*, sought out the offender, and as soon he found him, and before time to cool, took away his life, he was not guilty of murder. The case mainly relied on here was that decided in 1612, (vide Rowley’s case, Cro. Jac. 296,) in which “a boy having fought with another and been beaten, ran home to his father, all bloody, and the father, presently, took a cudgel, ran three quarters of a mile, and struck the other boy upon the head, upon which he died. It was ruled to be *manslaughter done in sudden heat of passion*.”

At this point the defense turned entirely upon the question whether the prisoner had sufficient time to cool. The law says that “in every case of homicide upon provocation, if there be a sufficient cooling-time for passion to subside, and reason to interpose, and the person so provoked afterwards kills the other, this is deliberate revenge and not heat of blood, and accordingly amounts to murder.” Black. IV, 191. Mr. Brown argued that “the question whether the prisoner had ‘sufficient cooling-time,’ resolves itself into this—‘did he cool?’ If he did *not* cool, the time was not sufficient.” The fallacy of this reasoning is too apparent to need ex-

posure. On the same principle, if Mercer had cherished his hostility toward Heberton for *years*, and then taken his life, the act would have been vindicated. True, indeed, he was *infuriated* by passion; true it may have been, that as "for thirty or forty hours he wandered through the streets, day and night, without food, without sleep, and without one visitation of the usual calls of nature, a voice seemed to follow him from house to house, from place to place, night and day still ringing in his ear, 'KILL HIM!' 'KILL HIM!' whilst every one he met echoed the words '*kill him!*' '*kill him!*'" Yet if we are to admit that a man may pursue one against whom he is enraged, with deadly weapons, night and day, until he finds an opportunity for taking his life, and still be exculpated on the ground that he had not "sufficient time to cool," we are establishing a most dangerous precedent, especially for those who know no other distinction between right and wrong than that which is made by precedents in courts of law.

The second ground of defense was *insanity*. It was argued that "Mercer was a monomaniac when the homicide was committed, to such a degree that, as respects this homicide, he was unable to discriminate between right and wrong." Though this part of the defense was exceedingly labored by all the counsel, it was impossible to make it a strong point. All that the testimony went to establish was the momentary insanity of passion—so that this ground of defense did not differ in fact from the former, viz. that the act was committed in a highly excited state of mind, without sufficient time to cool. It is to be regretted that the plea of insanity is so often abused. *Wood* was acquitted on the ground of insanity, and his case was quoted as a precedent in the trial under review; and

now Mercer is acquitted likewise, and we have another precedent, which is to stand as a shield for future murderers who may be seized with the mania of passion or of rum.

After Mr. Brown had closed, the examination of witnesses for the defense was entered upon, and continued during nearly five days. Much of this time, however, was consumed in hearing the conflicting testimony of physicians on the vexed subject of insanity, and in discussing the question whether any but a medical man was entitled to express an opinion concerning the insanity of the prisoner.

The method of conducting the examination of Miss Mercer, in our view demands the severest reprehension. She was called to the stand when the court-room was crowded to suffocation, and compelled to narrate the disgusting details of her intercourse with Heberton, and then to submit to a cross-examination of the most indecent character by the attorney general, who disgraced himself and the court by proposing questions which were altogether irrelevant, as well as grossly indelicate. Her testimony was taken down verbatim by the reporters, and afterwards published in several of the newspapers of New York and Philadelphia. The public morals are tainted when such a pestilential odor issues from the halls of justice.

When the examination of witnesses was closed, Mr. Carpenter, in behalf of the State, summed up the case, and entered into an argument to show that the prisoner was stimulated by passion and the desire of revenge; and was neither insane nor provoked to such a degree as to justify the act of homicide. He was replied to by Hon. Messrs. Vroom and Wall, who assumed the same grounds of defense which had been taken by Mr. Brown, and evinced much ingenuity and

talent in maintaining them. Mr. Molleson was then heard in behalf of the State, after which Judge Elmer delivered his charge, and the jury retired. In about thirty minutes the jury returned, and rendered a verdict *not guilty*. This verdict was received with loud applause, and Mercer left the courthouse amid the huzzas of the multitude. On the following morning his counsel returned to Philadelphia, where they were met on the wharf by an immense concourse of citizens who escorted them with acclamations to the United States Hotel. The verdict seemed to give general satisfaction throughout the city; Mercer was every where regarded as a hero; and we even heard, on a recent visit to Philadelphia, that *the ladies intended to present him with a gold medal as the defender of female virtue*.

Surveying from a distance these demonstrations of popular feeling, we confess that they fill us with alarm. From a careful study of the case, it seems to us that Mercer was acquitted solely in obedience to popular clamor, and on the ground that the provocation justified the offense; we see the community among whom the tragedy occurred, hailing his acquittal with applause; we see some of the first men of the land in point of character and talent, giving their sanction to this expression of popular feeling; and seeing these things we tremble. Let us examine this plea of provocation a little more closely. In the first place we do not believe that the provocation given by Heberton was as great as it has commonly been represented. The evidence that he committed an *outrage* on the person of Miss Mercer, rests solely upon her own testimony. But that very testimony shows us that she herself acted with great impropriety. She first accosted Heberton in the street, under the impression (as she says) that he was a Spanish gentleman

whom she had seen at the house of her sister. But she had never been introduced to *that* gentleman, and therefore was guilty of gross misconduct in noticing Heberton even as Mr. Bastido. Then she suffered him to walk with her for several squares, and to learn the place of her residence. Her interview with him on the following evening, according to her own account, was accidental; but this we can scarcely credit. Be that as it may, however, she often met him subsequently by appointment, and went with him wherever he proposed to take her. After the alledged outrage, instead of making her parents or her brother acquainted with the wrong which she had received, she studiously concealed it from them, and made arrangements to elope with Heberton; and even when her friends had become acquainted with the fact of her intimacy with him, instead of accusing Heberton of violence, and calling for redress, she put herself under his protection, and fled from her father's house. Unprincipled as Heberton was, we fear that in this instance the temptation and the guilt did not rest wholly with him. And if Mercer had carried out his first intention, and killed his sister instead of his actual victim, he might have been acquitted with equal propriety.

In the second place, if the outrage was such as it is represented to have been, there was a mode of redress by law. The homicide has been vindicated on the ground, that it was impossible to punish Heberton in any other manner. But if Sarah Mercer's statement is true, Heberton was guilty of *rape*, an offense which is severely punishable by the laws of Pennsylvania; and if Mercer was "sufficiently cool" to have Heberton arrested on the charge of *abducting* his sister, (which he did,) he had "sufficient cooling time" to have had him arrested

and bound over to trial on a charge of rape. But Mercer sought revenge.

In the third place, if the provocation was as great as it has been represented, and if there was no other means of redress, or even if Mercer *felt* the provocation to be much greater than it really was, can we give up to the individual the right of avenging his own wrongs, and allow him to take the life of another in a place of public concourse, and in the open day? The court of Gloucester County has decided that we can; it has sanctioned an act of private revenge; and multitudes have applauded its decision. This decision will henceforth be appealed to as the standard of right and wrong; but let it be remembered, that there is a higher standard by which the conduct of men must be determined, and a higher tribunal at which men must be judged. We own that the provocation which led Mercer to take the life of Heberton, was great. It was a species of provocation, (whether viewed as *seduction* or *rape*,) than which there can be none greater. The moral sense of mankind must acquiesce in the fate of Heberton as just. When the infamous Appius Claudius attempted to dishonor the daughter of Virginius, and her noble father, reduced to the extremity of witnessing her dishonor or of covering himself with her blood, preferred the latter, and plunged a knife into her heart—the common heart of Rome responded to the call of the outraged father, and Appius was driven from power and crushed to the earth. So when the chaste Lucretia fell a victim to the lust of Tarquin and destroyed herself from shame, the common heart of Rome rose up to vindicate the outraged husband, and expelled the house of Tarquin from the city. It was the rape of Paris upon Helen, which united the scattered isles of Greece in a war of ten years against Troy; nor was the common heart of Greece

appeased, until the ravisher and the city that gave him shelter, had been destroyed. When Absalom caused Amnon to be put to death for his rape upon Tamar, David acquitted him. It is the natural sentiment of mankind, that death is not too severe a punishment for such deeds of lust.

But while there is no doubt that Heberton merited his punishment, we affirm that Mercer had no right to inflict that punishment upon him. Shall an individual redress his own wrongs in a civilized community, under the very eye of law, and then receive the sanction of the law for his own breach of the public peace? Shall one crime be punished by another? Let it be remembered, that the killing of Heberton was not an act of self-defense; nor was it an act performed *suddenly*, upon provocation, (as it would have been had Mercer entered the room while Heberton was ravishing his sister, and killed him in the very act.) It was not till several days after the outrage, that Mercer was informed of it, nor was it till the close of the second day, after it was told him, that he took the life of the seducer. He could prevent no injury, avert no dishonor by such an act of violence—he sought only revenge. If the provocation is a sufficient vindication of his conduct, we know not upon what ground we should convict one murderer in ten; for the same plea can be urged in vindication of numerous acts of homicide. Judge Elmer, indeed, affirmed in his charge to the jury, that “if a brother of Heberton had pursued Mercer, after the latter shot Heberton, and had killed him, it would have been murder, for the law will not permit mere passion or revenge, to form a justification in this case.” But why would not the plea of provocation be as valid in the one case as in the other? Does the difference between the two cases lie in the degree of the provocation? But who is to judge of this? One man

may be as highly incensed at the public butchery of a brother, as another would be at the public dishonor of a sister. If a brother of Heberton, absent at sea and ignorant of what has transpired, should return to-day, and becoming exasperated at the intelligence of his brother's death, should dog Mercer for thirty six hours and kill him tomorrow, would not the same jury which acquitted Mercer, be bound to acquit him also? Where could we draw the line between the two cases? Has not this verdict annihilated the distinction between right and wrong, given loose reins to human passions, and rendered law a nullity?

The citizens of Philadelphia, by applauding the conduct of Mercer, have proclaimed to the world that false sentiments of honor and justice are still prevalent north of Mason and Dixon's line. So far, however, as their approbation of *Mercer's* conduct is to be construed as a testimony against *Heberton's*, we heartily rejoice in it. We are glad to see the public mind aroused even to indignation against the sin for which *he* suffered so severely. We are painfully convinced, that scenes of vice and pollution similar to those disclosed by this tragedy, are of frequent occurrence in such a city as Philadelphia. It is time that the community was awakened to this fact, and that some efficient barrier was erected against the inroads of vice. The New England states are in advance of many of their sisters of the Union, in endeavors to suppress and punish fornication, seduction, and similar offenses against public morals by law. The legislature of New York has been frequently petitioned to take some action in reference to these vices; but such petitions have hitherto excited little else than indecent ridicule, whilst even in licentious France, exciting a female to sexual intercourse is a crime. The legislature of Pennsylvania, being

in session at the time of Heberton's exposure and death, passed an act, punishing by fine and imprisonment, the seduction, with illicit intercourse, of any female of good repute within the age of twenty one years, under promise of marriage—which promise must be proved by other testimony than her own. This act would hardly have covered the case of Heberton; yet it is plain, that if there had been a law against fornication, under which he could have been arrested as a criminal, (as he might have been if he was really guilty of rape,) he would have been duly punished for his offense, and Mercer would have been saved from the commission of crime. We trust that every state will soon possess enough of the contemned spirit of the Puritans, to guard the public morals with a jealous eye.

But it is not upon legal enactments that we place our chief reliance for the suppression of licentiousness. We must elevate the tone of moral feeling, especially among the youth of our country, by inculcating lessons of purity in opposition to the libertine principles which abound in the novels of the day. Parents and the guardians of youth must be watchful against the influences of the theater and the ball-room. The seal of reprobation must be stamped broadly and legibly on the least deviation from the path of virtue, either in thought or in deed.

There is a strange tendency in society to heap opprobrium upon the licentious female, more largely than upon him whose lust she feeds.* A woman who is not strictly virtuous, is an outcast from society; whilst not unfrequently the man who is known to be licentious, is permitted to retain his station in society, and to marry

* In the trial of Robinson, for the murder of Helen Jewett, the testimony of libertines was received, while that of harlots was rejected!

into a respectable and virtuous family. This ought not so to be. Every young man should be made to feel that, if he forsakes the path of virtue, he cannot be permitted to associate with the virtuous; much less to be united to the innocent and pure, in the most intimate relation of life. Till parents shut their doors against every one, whose character is stained in the least degree with vice, they must expect to see their daughters ruined and degraded; till daughters heed parental counsel, and shun the society of those who are known to be immoral, till they learn to value a character for purity so highly, as to repel the advances of those who associate with libertines and harlots, they must expect to bring disgrace upon themselves and misery upon their friends. The price of admission to virtuous society should be *an unblemished character*, and she dishonors her sex who receives one who is tainted with vice, as the partner of her bosom. Until a higher tone of moral sentiment exists in the community, we must expect the repetition of these painful and disgusting scenes.

In conclusion, we cannot fail to mark in this event the awful providence of God. What a fearful comment have we on the declaration of inspired writ: "The way of transgressors is hard." Heberton was a young man of respectable parentage, of good education, of fine personal appearance, of wealth and

standing in society. Possessing these combined advantages, he might have occupied a position of peculiar honor, influence and usefulness. But he chose to sacrifice them all to the indulgence of his lust. His talents and education served only to make him skillful in the arts of the seducer; his wealth and beauty served only to allure his victims. He went on from step to step in sensual indulgence, till he became alike reckless of his own character, and of the hopes and wishes of a widowed mother, and sought the reputation of a successful libertine. Already he could number his victims *by the score*, and boast that but *one* more was needed to place him at the head of his associates in guilt. *He secured that one—but the cup of his iniquity was full.* God loathed him, and could not suffer the earth to be polluted any longer by his presence. A brother's arm was nerved for vengeance—and he fell, covered with guilt and shame. What an admonition to the young! Let them heed the counsel of the wise man in the 7th of Proverbs, and shun the ways of her whose "feet go down to death," and whose "steps take hold on hell."

"The sacred lowe o' weel-placed love,
Luxuriantly indulge it;
But never tempt th'illicit rove,
Though naething should divulge it.

I waive the quantum o' the sin,
The hazard o' concealing;
But och! it hardens a' within,
And petrifies the feeling!"

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

ENGLAND AND CHINA.

The most important event of the year 1842, is the conclusion of the war between Great Britain and China, and the ratification by both parties of a treaty of peace, highly

advantageous to our mother country, and full of promise to the commerce of the world, and to the evangelization of the benighted millions of China. After the arrival of the reinforcements, about the middle of June, 1842, the British fleet

entered the Yang-tze-Kiang, the most magnificent river of China, on the banks of which the Chinese had erected strong fortifications. The cannonade on both sides was extremely heavy and unceasing for two hours, when a landing was effected by the British, and the Chinese driven from their batteries. The total amount of ordnance captured is reported to be three hundred and sixty-three pieces, seventy six of which were brass, most of them of heavy caliber, and upwards of eleven feet long. This splendid victory was followed up by a successful attack on the city of Chinkiang-foo, and an immediate march upon Nankin. This brought the emperor to terms. Three high imperial commissioners appeared with a flag of truce and a treaty of peace. On the 26th of August, Sir Henry Pottinger negotiated with them a treaty, subsequently ratified both by the queen and emperor, of which the following are the most important provisions :

1. Lasting peace and friendship between the two empires.

2. China to pay twenty one millions of dollars in the course of the present and three succeeding years.

3. The ports of Canton, Amoy, Foo-chow-foo, Ningpoo, and Shanghai, to be thrown open to British merchants ; consular officers to be appointed to reside at them ; and regular and just tariffs of import and export (as well as inland transit) duties to be established and published.

4. The island of Hong Kong to be ceded in perpetuity to her Britannic Majesty, her heirs and successors.

5. All subjects of her Britannic Majesty (whether natives of Europe or India) who may be confined in any part of the Chinese empire, to be unconditionally released.

6. An act of full and entire amnesty to be published by the emperor, under the imperial sign manual

and seal, to all Chinese subjects, on account of their having held service or intercourse with, or resided under, the British government or its officers.

7. Correspondence to be conducted on terms of perfect equality among the officers of both governments.

8. On the emperor's assent being received to this treaty, and the payment of the first instalment of six millions of dollars, her Britannic Majesty's forces to retire from Nankin and the grand canal, and the military posts at Chinhai to be also withdrawn, but the islands of Chusan and Kolangsoo are to be held until the money payments and arrangements for opening the ports are completed.

More recently, Dec. 7th, Canton became the scene of popular violence, in which some British property was destroyed ; but the act was disowned by the Chinese government, and indemnity pledged for the losses of the English. The prospect now is one of prolonged peace.

BRITISH POWER IN INDIA.

The past few months have furnished us with some interesting intelligence from British India. The governor general, Lord Ellenborough, in obedience to instructions from home, ordered the evacuation of Afghanistan, after the British generals had retaken Cabul, recovered the English captives, and destroyed the fortifications of the place. The governor has been severely censured in England, for the turgid, oriental style of his proclamations, and still more for attempting to conciliate the favor of his Hindoo subjects, by ordering the gates of the temple of Somnauth to be transported back from the tomb of Mahmood of Ghusnee, in Afghanistan, to the place from whence they had been taken ; an act which it was thought would be regarded

by the Hindoos as a mark of respect for their religion. We allude to the interest excited in England by the measure, as gratifying evidence that the British authorities in India will find that they can not hereafter augment their revenues and strengthen their power, by patronizing the superstitions of the natives. They will be obliged by public sentiment to conduct their government on Christian principles.

It is gratifying also to learn that the present government is likely to recover the good opinion of the world, by recent measures of reform, the principal of which is the abolition of slavery. When English philanthropists have spoken with severity of the system of slavery in this country, they have been referred to the oppressions of their own government in India. This retort we can no longer make. All that we who abhor slavery can now say, is in our personal defense—the power is not in our hands—we can only pray and give our testimony in favor of justice, and wait with patience until a majority of the people perceive the duty of a general emancipation.

REPEAL OF THE UNION BETWEEN ENGLAND AND IRELAND.

The Irish Catholics, under O'Connell, are pushing the project of the repeal of the union, with undiminished vigor. In a letter to the people of Ireland, O'Connell pronounces the present year, 1843, the great repeal year. He encourages the united exertions of the clergy and laity by the assurance of immediate success. He enumerates "five great measures" as the basis upon which he seeks "to combine all Irishmen in the struggle for the repeal of the Union." "First. The total abolition of the tithe rent charge. Secondly. Fixity of tenure for the occupying tenants. Thirdly. The encouragement and perfecting of Irish manu-

factures. Fourthly. Complete suffrage and vote by ballot. Fifthly. Abolition of the present poor law, and augmentation of well-regulated charitable institutions."

The Irish Catholic priests have embarked, it is said, with zeal in the cause. About five hundred pounds sterling per week are contributed for the use of the Association. The British ministry, Lord Wellington in the house of lords, and Sir Robert Peel in the house of commons, have explicitly announced their intention of arresting the movement, by force if necessary. O'Connell receives the threat with defiance, declaring that he shall in all his measures respect existing laws, but if any new enactments are made to suppress the agitation, they will be forcibly resisted. The present aspect of things is far more serious than was anticipated in the early stages of the movement.

ANTI-CORN LAW LEAGUE.

This association, formed for the purpose of procuring the total repeal of the corn laws of Great Britain, is rapidly advancing in wealth and influence. Meetings are held in every part of the country—liberal subscriptions have been made, amounting to more than fifty thousand pounds—the press, the platform, and the pulpit, are all enlisted to produce a public sentiment, which shall force on the government the desired reform. Sir Robert Peel has lately announced that he shall not at present consent to any further change in the corn laws. But it seems to be a prevailing opinion, that the monopoly must yield to the vigorous assaults of the opposition.

COMPLETE SUFFRAGE PARTY.

This party is of recent origin in England, and owes its existence to

a growing conviction in the minds of the friends of reform, that the country can never escape from the evils of class-legislation, and obtain a complete redress of grievances, until the people have a full and fair representation in parliament. The philanthropist, Joseph Sturge, a gentleman who will be remembered with respect by all who had the pleasure of meeting him, during his visit to this country, is the acknowledged leader of this movement. The Non Conformist, a paper edited with great ability, is devoted to the cause; and the principles of the association appear to be winning their way to favor. The party will probably soon be able to carry the elections in many important towns in the kingdom; and is destined, we think, to hold a prominent place in its domestic history. The main argument for complete suffrage, is, that all the people of England are taxed; and that there is no sounder principle than that there should be no taxation without representation. This extension of the right of suffrage, however, is not demanded solely as a measure of justice and political expediency; but as an original right of British subjects, enjoyed fully by the ancient Britons, under the Saxon rule, and to some degree after Magna Charta, and lost, not by the consent of the disfranchised, but by successive acts of tyranny.

NATIONAL EDUCATION IN ENGLAND.

The English minister for the home department, Sir James Graham, has lately introduced a bill into parliament, for the education of poor children in the manufacturing districts. The measure seems to be one of state policy, rather than one of real concern for the welfare of the people. "The thing aimed at," says the Non Conformist, "is not so much to instruct the people, as to *govern* them." The govern-

ment has discovered that neither the church nor the army, can subdue the discontent of the lower classes; and it is manifest that a remedy must be provided, or at no distant day this discontent will break out in popular insubordination, too general and terrific to be resisted. This remedy is sought for in a new system of education, not for the agricultural population, the most unenlightened, but for the inhabitants of the manufacturing towns, where the people are taught by their mechanics' institutions, societies, trades' unions, and constant intercourse with the world, to form opinions of their own, and combine for the protection of their rights. They are feared; therefore they must be educated. But not on a liberal principle. The schoolmasters are to be approved by the bishop; and the clergy of the establishment are to have the sole charge of the morals and religion of all the children not attached to dissenting congregations. Thus the great mass of the factory children are to receive their first ideas of religion and of duty, from the paid tools of the government. The writer just quoted, states that the selfish views of the government in this affair, are betrayed by a gross neglect to provide for the education of the people in the rural districts, for which object immense endowments have been heretofore bequeathed, sufficient, if properly managed, to supply the means of education for most of the poor of the kingdom. These endowments have been misappropriated. Why does not the government compel the right application of these funds? A plausible answer, to say the least, is, that the good of the people is not desired, but only a convenient instrument, such as is furnished by the factory bill, for governing them. We do not wonder at the opposition of dissenters to a measure, framed so evidently for the support of the established church. Instruc-

tion in reading, writing, arithmetic, and geography, should be given in school gratuitously to the poor; but in religion the instruction should be given out of school, not by the government, but by individuals and voluntary associations. This would give equal rights to the several sects; and that sect which made the greatest exertions, would probably make the most converts.

CHRISTIAN UNION.

A meeting was held by ministers and Christians of different denominations, June 2d, 1843, at Craven Chapel, London, for the very laudable purpose of expressing their mutual fellowship in Christ, on the ground of their agreement in the fundamental truths of the Gospel. The Baptists, the Wesleyans, the Lutherans, the Independents, the National Scotch church, the Moravians, were all represented. The meeting was one of deep interest; and is to be succeeded by others of the same kind. We see evidence in this proceeding, that our brethren of the several evangelical denominations in England, have discovered the true secret of Christian union—not a hopeless struggle to bring all into a single organized body, which is productive of alienation, rather than unity—but a voluntary veiling of what is peculiar in each, by the broad mantle of their common faith. They love the same Master, the same cause, the same essential truths; they are parts of the same spiritual body; they differ only in forms and articles of belief, not vital to the salvation of man. They need only feel how numerous and close are their points of union, and how trivial their differences, to cement their hearts in brotherly affection, and combine their energies in measures of Christian benevolence. Meetings for the recognition of each other as Christians, and of the ministers of each as ministers

of Christ, is a happy expedient, to awaken these emotions, and produce this unity.

A proposition has lately emanated from the commission of the General Assembly of the church of Scotland, for a general convocation in London of evangelical churches, by delegates duly appointed, for the purpose of protesting against Socinianism or Rationalism, Popery, and Tractarianism; and effecting other objects of Christian fellowship and benevolence.

THE LATE DUKE OF SUSSEX.

The death of this excellent nobleman, on the 2d of April last, deserves to be chronicled, with some account of his life and character, in every journal that is devoted to the cause of human improvement and happiness. He was the ninth child and fifth son of George III; and in the liberality of his principles, the cultivation of his mind, and the generosity and kindness of his heart, he excelled all the members of his family. In early life he appeared as the advocate of civil and religious liberty; and for half a century adhered inflexibly to the cause of freedom, through every change of administration, becoming only more decided in his views as he advanced in years. The abolition of the slave trade, and of slavery; the removal of the disabilities of all classes of dissenters, including Jews and Catholics; the amelioration of the criminal law; popular education; the arts and sciences; every thing which tends to promote the well being of the people, received his support. From the passage of the corn-bill in 1835, to his death, he uniformly exerted his influence against the measure. In 1830, he was raised to the presidency of the Royal Society. But his highest honor is, that for more than forty years he was the liberal patron and advocate

of every benevolent enterprise. No institution, no project, that promised to be useful, appealed in vain to him for assistance. Nor were the Duke's adherence to liberal principles, and sympathy with the people, unattended by personal sacrifices. Until the death of George IV, he was in *disgrace* at court; treated with neglect, excluded from all lucrative appointments, and strictly confined to the income allowed by parliament. The independent and liberal mind of the Duke was manifested no less clearly by his marriage, first to the Lady Augusta de Ameland Murray, which marriage was declared null by the prerogative court; and next, to Lady Cecilia Gore. He thus united his fortunes to a British subject, contrary to an absurd law of the realm; and that his remains may not rest apart from those of his wife, he directed in his will, that they should be deposited at Kensal Green; the first instance in which a prince of the blood royal will repose in a public cemetery. We admire his superiority to a senseless pride of birth; we admire his whole character. What is more worthy of admiration, than a nobleman of his rank, reared in the midst of luxury, sycophancy and vice; the brother of George IV, that vilest libertine of his age; rising superior to his temptations; preserving his purity; distinguishing himself for his excellent character and scholarship at Gottingen; then appearing at home the uncompromising advocate of all human rights, and the earnest patron of all good institutions? Happy were it for England, if she had many such princes.

POSTAGE.

The rate of postage between England and France, has been reduced in the ratio of five to two; that is, a letter which was charged 1s. 8d.,

will be charged hereafter only 8d. The English have also obtained permission to transport their mails to and from India, through France, on very favorable terms. This advantage is a natural result of their new post-office system. Are the people of this country never to experience similar improvements? Must the interests of the country be forever sacrificed to the selfishness of individuals?

REVOLUTION IN HAYTI.

A revolutionary movement, headed by Riviere Herard, broke out the 28th of January last, at Praslin, a sugar plantation in the plain of Torbeck, in the island of Hayti; the object of which was to obtain an amelioration of the administration of President Boyer. Herard was at first joined by only three hundred men, but they were soon strengthened by volunteers from among the people, and by desertions from the army. He proceeded with the greatest moderation, from victory to victory, avoiding in all possible cases the shedding of blood, until on the 21st of March, after a short skirmish, in which only ten or twelve lives were lost, he entered Port au Prince in triumph. Boyer was compelled to abdicate his office, and with his high officers he left the country. A provisional government has been established, and preliminary steps have been taken for the formation of a new constitution—which it is expected will secure to the people the more complete enjoyment of civil and religious rights. The manner in which this revolution was effected, the regard constantly manifested by the insurgents for life and property, and the moderation and firmness which have characterized all their proceedings, are acknowledged to reflect the highest honor on the people.



Morse Engr.

C. S. Johnson

PROF. ALEX. M. FISHER OF Y. C. OLA.

Died in the ALBION. April 22^d 1892.



PROF. DR. M. FRIEDRICH W. FRIEDRICH
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REMINISCENCES OF ALEXANDER METCALF FISHER,

LATE PROFESSOR OF MATHEMATICS AND NATURAL PHILOSOPHY IN YALE COLLEGE.

THE exalted reputation for talents which the late Professor Fisher left behind him, has conspired with the affecting circumstances of his death, to throw a romantic but melancholy interest around his memory. More than twenty years have now passed, since Yale College and the surrounding community, were suddenly involved in the deepest gloom at the tidings, that one respected and beloved in no ordinary degree, who had just exchanged with them the parting salutation, and embarked for the Old World under the most flattering auspices, had suffered a terrible shipwreck and was buried beneath the waves! A new generation has sprung up, who have listened with interest to the tale of sorrow, that has mingled with enthusiastic expressions of admiration for his talents and virtues from his former associates and pupils; and the wish has often been repeated, that a full biography of him might be given to the public. Not being in possession of his writings, we have not the means of making out a complete analysis of his scientific labors, or a full history of his brief but remarkable life; but we propose only to recite a few partic-

ulars respecting him, gleaned from the excellent "Eulogy" of Professor Kingsley pronounced on the occasion of his death, and from several obituary notices published at the same period. This we do by way of introduction to the "Reminiscences,"—the title of an unpublished manuscript now before us, written by an intimate friend and classmate of Professor Fisher, soon after his decease.

ALEXANDER METCALF FISHER was born at Franklin, Massachusetts, in the year 1794. His parents were much respected members of the pastoral charge of the late celebrated Dr. Emmons. He early exhibited tokens of a superior mind and an aptitude for learning, which determined his parents to give him a liberal education; and, accordingly, he entered Yale College, in the autumn of 1809. Though but fifteen years of age, and diminutive in person, yet the superiority of his mind, and his love of study, were soon apparent, and he speedily acquired and easily retained throughout his academic course, the first place in his class. He took his baccalaureate degree in 1813, and returned to his father's house.

Without any definite plan of life before him, but desirous of examining for himself the grounds of the Christian faith, in which he had been educated, he placed himself, the following year, under the instruction of his profound and venerable pastor. He wrote a series of dissertations on points of theology proposed to him by the Doctor; often, with his usual independence, controverting some of the peculiar and favorite opinions of that distinguished divine, who expressed, at times, as we were informed by Professor Fisher himself, much uneasiness, not to say displeasure, at having his peculiar doctrines canvassed with so much freedom by a youth of nineteen. It is not unlikely that this was the reason for breaking off their connexion; for the next year Mr. Fisher repaired to Andover, and entered the Theological Seminary. Here he devoted himself to the regular studies of the Institution with his accustomed diligence, until impaired health compelled him to return home. His constitution had received a severe shock, from which it did not recover for several years afterwards.

In 1815 he was appointed tutor in Yale College, and entered upon the duties of the office at the opening of the fall term. At this time, his health was very poor, his person much emaciated, and his spirits deeply depressed. Regular employment so congenial to his taste, gradually repaired his strength and revived his spirits; and he selected the most difficult studies, for, as Delambre observes, difficulties constitute the natural aliment of genius. The solution of various mathematical problems proposed by Dr. Adrain in a magazine published in the city of New York, an able review of Day's *Algebra* in a public journal, and a profound *Essay on Musical Temperament*, written during his tutorship, and published in the first volume of the Amer-

ican *Journal of Science*,* brought him rapidly into notice among scientific men; and, in the year 1817, when on the decease of the lamented President Dwight, Professor Day then filling the chair of mathematics and natural philosophy, was elevated to the presidency, Mr. Fisher was elected adjunct professor in that department.

From this period, his plans of study were laid out on the broadest scale; his health improved; he ascended the heights of science with almost unexampled rapidity; and he fulfilled all the duties of an instructor and officer of the college with the greatest ability and faithfulness. "In the time which elapsed," says Prof. Kingsley, "from his election to his new office to his departure for Europe, he had examined and digested the writings of the principal philosophers of Britain, tracing every discovery, theory, and illustration to its source; and had read, with the same attention, many of the most valuable publications of the mathematicians and philosophers of France. He had, in the same time, prepared a full course of lectures in natural philosophy, both theoretical and experimental, which for copiousness, clearness, and exact adaptation to the purposes of instruction, equaled the highest expectations of his friends.

"Having thus far accomplished his original design, he resolved on an excursion to Europe, not so much for the sake of making new acquisitions in science,—for the knowledge of European philosophers is found in their books,—as to visit the places of public instruction, and examine by actual inspection the modes of communicating knowledge in foreign universities; to form an acquaintance with men who were

* This constitutes the first article in that *Journal*, which has now reached nearly fifty volumes and contributed greatly to the advancement of American science.

distinguished in his own department; and to obtain such information as might enable him more fully to aid in raising the scientific character of his country, and in promoting the usefulness and prosperity of the college, to the interests of which he was entirely devoted. Every preparation was made which was thought necessary to secure the attainment of his object; and, after the fullest inquiries, and taking the best advice, he embarked at New York for Liverpool, in the Albion packet, where, to use his own language, in the last communication received from him, 'every thing seemed to promise a quick, safe, and agreeable passage.'

Among the various melancholy wrecks of packet-ships to England that have from time to time spread consternation and grief over both countries, seldom has one occasioned wider and deeper sorrow than the loss of the packet-ship Albion. On the 1st of April, 1822, nearly sixty passengers appeared on the deck of this elegant ship, all animated with the prospect of a happy voyage, and left the harbor of New York, reciprocating with their friends the joyous shouts customary on such occasions. On the 22d of the same month, they all, with the exception of nine persons, including but one passenger, met a watery grave on the coast of Ireland, near Kinsale. Their passage had been pleasant until the 21st, when the ship encountered and weathered a severe gale; but the brave captain and tempest-beaten crew, cheered all on board with the hope that in less than two days they should reach their destined port. Early in the evening of that day the packet "shipped a sea which knocked her on her beams-ends, swept her decks, and carried her mainmast by the board." The ship became unmanageable, and the unhappy inmates drifted along at the mercy of the waves, agonizing or

reviving under alternations of fear and hope, until twelve o'clock at night, when the light of "Old Head" came in sight, and warned them that they were rapidly drifting ashore, on a rocky and most dangerous coast. About four o'clock, as the day dawned, the commander, Captain Williams, who had made every effort to encourage the men and preserve the ship, communicated the dreadful certainty that no efforts could possibly save her, and in about five minutes she struck—the breakers dashed furiously over her—she rapidly filled, and shortly after went to pieces, within a few rods of the land. The shore was rocky and precipitous, rising to the height of one hundred and fifty feet, and those who in great numbers were collected on the brow, were prevented from rendering adequate assistance; and the opening light of day unveiled the distressing and hopeless spectacle of the numerous ship's company clinging in agony to the shrouds and broken parts of the ship, and plunging at short intervals into the raging abyss. The surviving passenger reports that he last saw our friend in the cabin when it was fast filling with water—that he looked deeply anxious, but was observing the barometer, probably with the view of watching any indications it might afford of abating violence in the tempest. It is believed, therefore, that he met his fate below, being drowned by the sudden influx of waters. "If," says Prof. Kingsley, "we shrink from approaching the final scene, and check our imaginations, which would paint in too vivid colors the last sufferings of our departed friend, what must have been the horror, the agony which rent his bosom, in actual view of a death so sudden, so unexpected, so awful! But here, let us not indulge too far our gloomy surmises. Others may have been distracted with fear, and wild with apprehension, but he no doubt was calm and

collected. Others frantic with grief, and mad with alarm and terror, amidst the rage of contending elements, may have abandoned themselves to despair; but he no doubt was undismayed, and knew where to place his confidence. We may indeed suppose that he thought of his parents and his home, of the friends he had left behind, and the Institution so much the object of his affection; that the idea of the sudden extinction of his earthly prospects, and the loss of whatever his heart held dear, now rushed upon his recollection, and filled him with unutterable anguish; yet those who best knew him will most easily believe that the last feeling of his heart, as the billows closed around him, that his last aspiration as he sunk into the opening gulf was, 'Father, not my will, but thine, be done.'

The estimate formed of the character of Professor Fisher in Prof. Kingsley's eulogy, and in the obituary notices of him at the same period in the public journals,* is substantially the same. The "Reminiscences," which follow, were addressed to a particular friend of Prof. Fisher by a classmate then residing at a distance, whose long and intimate connexion with the deceased, had suggested to him many recollections of incidents illustrative of his genius and character. These were communicated to his surviving friends, without any view to publication; but familiar and personal incidents of this kind, intended only for the eye of friendship, often make us better acquainted with the character to which they relate, than the most labored panegyric. The letter proceeds as follows.

My dear Sir—I readily comply with your request "to furnish some reminiscences of our dear departed

friend, Professor Fisher;" for although I cannot help keeping in mind his mournful fate whenever I think of him, still a recurrence to our former intimacy affords recollections which I love to cherish.

Two circumstances conspired to give me an opportunity to know more of our friend at a certain interesting period of his life, than was probably known to any other individual. One was my connexion with him as one of the tutors of the same class for two years, which unavoidably brought me into close contact with him, and which relation, I may add, produced a high degree of intimacy and confidence between us. Another was, that during the same period, owing to his excessive modesty, he afforded to very few persons an opportunity of knowing any thing respecting his habits and feelings. You remember, sir, that we were classmates in college; but this relation produced only a common acquaintance, while that of colleague tutors occasioned the most unreserved confidence, which, since our separation four years ago, has been maintained by a frequent correspondence. To the public, Professor Kingsley has already communicated enough to justify the fame of our friend, perhaps enough to satisfy their curiosity; but to your own private circle, where he was admired so much and loved so well, I feel that no circumstance in his history will seem too minute.

The intellectual superiority of Mr. Fisher began to display itself at a very early period of his college life. I well remember the first time I ever observed it,—it was in the parsing of a Greek verb. The same emphatic manner, the same precision and accuracy that were afterwards so characteristic of him, were all conspicuous in his first recitation, and led me to mark him as a candidate for eminence. I retain an equally distinct remembrance of

* See particularly *Am. Journ. Science*, V, 367; *Christian Spectator*, IV, 389, 432.

his personal appearance at that time. He was a little black-eyed boy of fifteen, rather stooping in his posture, and of a figure diminutive even for his years. His features contemplated singly were rather ordinary, but taken together, they certainly bore no common impress, but were remarkable for that same thoughtful expression which was so much observed in his later years. Exalted as was the opinion which his classmates formed of him during his first year, yet the extent of his capacity was not fully understood until the latter part of Sophomore year, when the class reached the severest parts of the mathematical course. It astonished us all to see with what ease he traveled through conic sections, and spherical geometry and trigonometry; how completely he supplied defective demonstrations in the text-book, and how he occasionally detected fallacies in the author, and demonstrated the incorrectness of his conclusions.* I may add that to most of his classmates it seemed almost sublime, to see one of an age but a single remove from childhood, of a figure so disproportioned to the magnitude of his subject, and of a mould so frail and delicate, march with such ease and steadiness over those heights which stood in this part of our path, where some of us either worked our way with desperate toil, or halted at the base in dismay. It was natural for the class to infer that recitations, which were so completely mastered must have been prepared with uncommon labor; and this inference was the more likely to be made, on account of his known habits of intense and assiduous application; but I was assured by his room-mate, that these lessons were mastered without the appearance of any extraordinary exertion; that in fact he had got over them so long before the others came up, that he gained no

small part of the time for other pursuits.

In the winter of Junior year, the class calculated a lunar eclipse. To accommodate the lessons to the slow pace at which the majority were forced to advance, one or two of the elements were given out for a recitation, so that a week elapsed before the calculation and projection of the eclipse were completed. The design of conducting the class through the calculation of the eclipse, was announced and the first lesson given out on Saturday noon: I was assured by a classmate that before sunset of the same day, Fisher had completed the calculation. The celerity with which he performed numerical calculations, is to be ascribed partly to the small size of his characters, and the compactness of his work, a remark which applies equally to his handwriting. His reasons for adopting such a style both of computation and penmanship, were digested at a very early period; the manner was in neither case the result of accident; every thing indeed of his was done by rule. In accordance with a suggestion of Dr. Beattie, his practice was, to carry such letters as go above or below the line exactly to the middle of the space, in which case the long letters of two contiguous lines would never interfere with each other. Upon considerations equally minute, but rational and useful, were founded all the peculiarities of his handwriting; and to these were owing the uncommon neatness, compactness, and legibility, which distinguished it. We seldom see any one put so much on a page as he did, and still his hand is remarkably legible. I never knew any one who could commit to writing so much matter in the same time, although it is not uncommon to see those who write with greater apparent velocity. This furnishes an example of the advantages he derived from reflecting on the most minute circumstan-

* The class read Webber's *Mathematics*.

ces that affected his progress in knowledge, or his convenience and happiness.

One who became acquainted with the extent and variety of Mr. Fisher's information, not only in the abstruse sciences but also on all those topics which enter into the conversation of the learned and polite, would be apt to infer that his reading must have been immense. But the fact was that it was confined to a comparatively small number of books. He thought so much of the different estimate to be attached to different authors, and esteemed it so much better to read one able work well than many works superficially, that he was never ashamed to say of many a common-place production, "I never read it;" and yet, if the conversation happened to turn on that work, his companions would be surprised to find that he knew so much of it. But the attention he gave to one able writer, frequently made him acquainted, in no small degree, with the contents of other books to which that writer referred; and hence he embraced and followed the maxim, that "all human knowledge which is of any value, is to be sought by the study of a few out of all the vast multitude of authors." But he did not consider that "looking at" a book, or "looking over" it, was reading it. With him reading a book was to study it; to become thoroughly acquainted with all it contains; to pause over its striking passages; to reflect on its sentiments; to comment upon it in written notes; and to examine many collateral works, especially reference books. To read Horace, was to unlock the great storehouse of all antiquity, of which Horace is the key. To read Pope's *Satires*, (of which he was very fond,) was to investigate the spirit and manners of the age in which they were written.

But the miscellany which commanded much of Mr. Fisher's at-

tention, in the earlier part of his college life, was that of Swift, especially his prose works. The unaffected character of his style and his wit, hit the taste of young Fisher; and I am inclined to think, that so far as his style was formed on any model, it was formed on the writings of Swift. He was not indeed averse to a style more ornamented than his own, when it suited the character of the subject, and of the writer; but he believed that in cases where others might embellish with propriety and effect, he could not do it without seeming affectation. The idea that nothing but the greatest plainness and simplicity of manner was suited to him, he carried so far, that I do not recollect that in the whole course of his speaking in public while a student, he could ever be brought to make more than one gesture.

Many other incidents of his early history might be recited, evincive of strong peculiarities of character, indicative however, for the most part, of originality of thought, delicacy of taste, and determination of purpose; but it was not until the autumn of 1815, when we entered upon our duties as tutors of the same class, that I consider my acquaintance with him as really commencing. As all the more finished productions, whether of nature or of art, exhibit new perfections as we inspect them more closely, so I found that, exalted as were my ideas of the capacity of my colleague, they fell far short of the reality. I shall never forget the impressions made by my first interview with him, after entering upon this new employment. His mind seemed too gigantic for its frail tenement. He was just recovering from an alarming indisposition, the effects of which were still visible in his altered features and emaciated frame. He was also greatly depressed in mind, and augured very unfavorably of his success in the station upon which he

had entered. His best friends, indeed, had their apprehensions respecting his power to maintain "the post of dignity." I need not say how completely he afterwards dissipated these apprehensions. The new situation to which he felt himself unequal, elicited appropriate talents; or I am inclined to attribute his success here, as in every other enterprise, to the power he had of bringing his great mind to bear on every emergency. Another distressing apprehension that attended him at this time was, the fear of permanent delirium. This I regarded, at first, as the offspring of his infirm state of health, and was disposed to treat it lightly, until I learned that a few months before, his nervous system had become exceedingly disordered. In alluding to this state of mind, he observed, that he had often endeavored and longed to recover and apply to some useful purpose, a portion of that spirit which then enabled him so rapidly to invent and so easily to execute his airy schemes.

This imperfect state of health, accompanied by constant depression of spirits, continued with little abatement through the whole period of his tutorship; yet invincibly attached to study, he seemed incapable of any remission; but beset as he was by those distressing sensations which accompany a chronic debility of the stomach, and haunted at night by feverish dreams, he was still, during the whole time, devouring with incredible rapidity the more recondite works of mathematicians, and diving into the profoundest depths of the science of music. So prevalent were the foregoing disorders during the time that he was writing his essay on Musical Temperament, that his rest became exceedingly broken. I remember one instance in particular. It was the night but one after our revered and beloved President Dwight died, and before his remains were committed

to the tomb. The sorrowful emotions awakened by that event, conspiring with an imagination already enfeebled and disturbed, either banished sleep entirely from his pillow, or agitated his slumbers with the most frightful images. I was in his room late in the evening in company with a friend. Mr. F. hinted at his sufferings the preceding night, and intimated a desire that one of us should stay and keep him company. We were both well acquainted with his habitual reserve on subjects of this kind, and knew that such a request could be elicited only by very uncommon sufferings. Accordingly it was at once agreed that one of us should remain. Mr. Fisher afterwards incidentally mentioned the sights that were presented to his imagination the preceding night. They were truly awful, such as indicated a highly excited state of the nervous system, bordering on derangement. Yet it was during this very time that he prepared that essay on Musical Temperament which has been pronounced by the most competent judges so able and profound. This was during the winter vacation of 1817. The whole piece was written in less than two weeks, although the calculations, especially those from which the tables were constructed, were extremely laborious. My impression is that he told me that in making the tables alone, he filled his slate with figures more than a hundred times, and he always carried on such computations with great compactness. I cannot certainly say to what extent these calculations were prepared beforehand; but I witnessed the progress of the composition of the article from day to day, and well recollect that it was written and prepared for the Connecticut Academy (to which body it was addressed) within the period of two weeks.

I always considered Mr. F.'s taste for music, and fondness for its scientific principles, as among the most

remarkable qualities he possessed. They began to be developed at an early age, and he was able to read very difficult pieces during his first year in college. His vocal powers however were not at all extraordinary, and it is therefore perhaps the more remarkable that he should have been so very fond of the science of music, as to have devoted all his powers to the investigation of its principles. It was a favorite recreation with him *silently* to peruse the pieces of the greatest masters, as Handel and Haydn, carrying on all parts at a time with a full comprehension, and (as he assured me) with a perfect enjoyment of the harmony. He passed many a leisure hour in this mental performance of Handel's grand Hallelujah Chorus. This piece in its greatest extent, the Lock Hospital collection, and the Harmonia Sacra, furnished his favorite amusement. As yet he had hardly called in the aid of instruments. He however at length procured an organ, and had it set up in his room. His knowledge of the principles of musical harmony was so familiar, that he was at once able to perform pieces of moderate difficulty in all parts. He did not finally attain to an excellence in performing which was anticipated from so promising a beginning, probably because he would not devote the time to it which is indispensable to excellence. The love of simplicity which characterized his literary taste, was also conspicuous both in his selection of pieces, and in his performance on the organ. He probably never brought himself to attempt a single flourish. I have heard accomplished masters speak with high admiration, both of his classical taste in music, and of his profound acquaintance with its scientific principles. The originality of his taste is conspicuous in this, that as soon as he fell in with the compositions of celebrated European masters, he could no longer

endure the jingling homespun style of church music then generally prevalent in our country towns, although this was the style to which he had always been accustomed from his infancy. Among his papers will doubtless be found a number of pieces of his own composition. Some few of them I heard him perform, but do not know whether he bestowed sufficient attention upon any piece, to render it a fair specimen of his talents for musical composition.

Of Professor Fisher's great mathematical powers, it would be easy for me to recall numerous illustrations. The following incident may serve as an example. One evening after tea we set out for a walk, and on our way stopped a moment at a bookseller's. Happening to take up a number of the New York Monthly Magazine, I observed several mathematical questions which were understood to be proposed by Doctor Adrain. One of them, as being peculiarly difficult, was offered as a prize question, the premium being the current volume of the magazine. I pointed it out to Mr. Fisher. He read it over hastily, and immediately afterwards we resumed our walk. Reaching that delightful lawn, the New Haven Green, we took a few turns over it, conversing on some common-place topic, until the time for our evening lessons reminded us to return to our rooms. Mr. Fisher apologized for a temporary absence of mind by saying, "Excuse me, I was thinking of that problem," but added shortly after, "I've got it." I accompanied him to his room, but observing him to be making some preparation to proceed with the problem, I retired. Next morning he showed me the solution completed, which I think he had performed in three different ways. The one which had occurred to him in our walk, was that which pleased him most, and it was the one which he sent to the Monthly Magazine,

with the signature of "X." It was inserted in the next number of the Magazine as the solution of "X of New Haven," the latter part being probably derived from the postmark. It was particularly commended for its elegance, and among a number of competitors, the prize was awarded to "X of New Haven." Happening to be at the bookstore when the succeeding number announcing the decision arrived, I immediately went to inform Mr. F. of his success, which I did by inquiring "if he could lend me one of the numbers of the Monthly Magazine." He readily understood me, as he intimated by a significant smile which he labored in vain to conceal; but he blushed deeply for having betrayed his consciousness of success.

Speaking of Doctor Adrain reminds me of the desire Mr. Fisher expressed, at an early period of his mathematical studies, of becoming acquainted with that gentleman, and the great pleasure he derived from a personal interview. The same feelings led him to seek the acquaintance of Dr. Bowditch; and the delight which he experienced in the conversation of that great man, was an earnest of the happiness he would have felt, had he been permitted to enjoy a familiar intercourse with the mathematicians and philosophers of France and Britain. Although he was by nature diffident in manners, he was at all times fully master of his intellectual powers, and his mind would run clear when his knees trembled. He could therefore approach the greatest minds with composure, when he contemplated an entrance into a mixed company with dread.

The extent to which mathematicians have pushed their inquiries, and the profoundness of their views, may in some degree be estimated by the fact, that one who could solve very difficult problems with almost intuitive readiness, declared that he

had frequently paused over mathematical writers of the higher order, in astonishment at the human intellect. The great distinction to which Professor Fisher attained as a mathematician, I am not disposed to ascribe to any peculiarity in the structure of his intellect, but merely to the application of a great mind to a great subject, where its powers could have complete scope. In any other subject, where strength and penetration of mind were peculiarly requisite, his success would have been, and indeed was, proportionally great. I do not rank him so much among men of *genius*, where some peculiar power is in great excess above the rest, and where, as is sometimes the case, an extraordinary talent for music, or painting, or mechanical invention, is associated with general mediocrity or even imbecility of intellect; but I place him rather among the men of gigantic minds, where all the parts are great, but all still well balanced, and in harmonious proportion. These are the men of sound judgment, of common sense, who look at subjects in all their parts and relations; they are the Galileos, the Bacons, the Newtons, the Edwardses, the Washingtons,—and not the Paracelsuses, the Keplers, the Fieldings, the Voltaires. Genius often suddenly reaches its acme; but powers of mind like those of Professor Fisher, although probably all developed at the age of twenty eight, would never during his life, had he lived many years longer, have ceased to move onward with constantly accelerated velocity. He was no less a metaphysician than a mathematician, and nothing could exceed the terseness of his translations in the learned languages, especially of a writer so dense as Tacitus. Though a man of intellect rather than of imagination, yet he was a most acute critic upon the peculiar excellencies and defects of the poets and novelists; and while an undergraduate, he as-

tonished his classmates, and elicited an unusual compliment from President Dwight, for a disputation which he read on the subject of "banks." One would hardly expect to find that the same mind which could devise new methods of finding the orbits of comets, would also be critical in punctuation, in the planting of shrubbery, in the structure of a court-yard, or even in apparel and equipage. But Professor Fisher's love of symmetry and propriety, in matters of taste, and of correctness in the scholar, made him a keen observer of life and manners, as well as a rare proficient in literary criticism. This habit of minute observation, I had great opportunities of noticing during our frequent walks about the city of New Haven. His criticisms upon the style of different buildings, (for architecture was his favorite among the arts,) upon the arrangement of the streets, trees, fences, and gardens, as well as upon a variety of inferior objects, such as are daily met with in a market-town, were truly original and instructive; and I recur to those seasons, which seemed only the ramblings of an idle hour, as some of the most agreeable and profitable of my life. I have rarely if ever met with any one who could assign so satisfactory a *reason* for his opinions on common-place subjects, which most people take up without supposing them to be worth a reason.

These attributes of our friend, the less as well as the greater, fitted him to be an accomplished critic. The various talents which have been enumerated; his clearness and comprehensiveness; his keenness of observation, extending to the minutest particulars; his delicate vein of satire, (a talent probably known to but few;) the extent of his information, the universality of his taste, and the soundness of his judgment;—these are qualities which, combined as they were in such ample measure and due proportion, fitted him to

wield, with powerful sway, the sceptre of criticism. Nature evidently intended him for thinking and writing rather than for speaking. His elocution was forcible and distinct, and his emphasis was laid with exact discrimination, but, invincibly opposed as he was to the cultivation of the graces of oratory, (because they did not seem to him to be given him by nature,) he generally, in public speaking, appeared far below himself. Of this disadvantage he was conscious to excess; and the apprehension that the want of rhetorical powers would be the means of burying his other talents in obscurity, contributed not a little to enhance those gloomy forebodings in which he was inclined to indulge, previous to his appointment to the mathematical chair. Knowing well the unfavorable anticipations which he had formed of his success in the world, I hastened, on learning his appointment, to announce to him the pleasing intelligence. It was on the occasion of the inauguration of President Day. Mr. Fisher, through indisposition, was prevented from attending the public exercises in the morning, and did not expect to come out in the afternoon. I found him feverish and dejected, and not to surprise him too much, told him the news in a manner somewhat ambiguous. He therefore would not credit the intelligence until after repeated assurances, but believed me in jest. But the time thus gained to set his guard was well employed; he betrayed scarce any emotion, but the effect on his spirits was obvious, for he soon left his bed and joined the procession to witness the ceremonies of the afternoon. By subsequent conversations I learned that the appointment fulfilled his utmost wishes. It came also at a very favorable time, although quite unexpected. His gloomy forebodings of sinking into insignificance were at once dissipated; and how could the prospect of

a field so well suited to his talents and his inclination, where he was conscious of being able to sustain his part with such distinguished advantage, fail to animate his hopes and awaken his joy and gratitude ! It was shortly after, in a morning walk, that he disclosed to me his glad emotions, and expressed his thankfulness to that kind Providence which had placed him in the only sphere in which he supposed himself moving with any respectability, in a sphere indeed consonant to his warmest wishes, and to the evident designs of nature itself. Guarded as he habitually was, lest any one should discover his emotions and impute them to weakness, it is probable that very few of his friends were aware how much this appointment contributed to raise him from a dejected, desponding state, and to arouse his slumbering energies.

From this moment, he began to digest those great plans of personal improvement and extensive usefulness, which he pursued with such steadiness and alacrity during the remainder of his short but distinguished career. Few men ever sacrificed so much of feeling and inclination, in order to do what reason and duty decided ought to be done. So determined was he to keep reason at the helm, when duty came in conflict with inclination, that some have not given him credit for half the sensibility he actually possessed. In aiming steadily at the greatest possible good, he resisted every temptation which might allure him from the path that led to it. Self-knowledge, and from that self-discipline, were objects of his constant and unremitted effort. A singular instance occurs to me of his determination to act according to the dictates of reason in opposition to feeling. He had for some time been afflicted with a severe tooth-ache, and, although the tooth was carious, he felt the usual reluctance to having it extracted. To overcome this

feeling, he adopted the following method. He took his pen and set down the arguments pro and con in numerical order ; and finding those in the affirmative preponderate so much, he rose from the table, resorted to a dentist, and submitted to the operation. Finding it less painful than he had apprehended, and being now able to contemplate the instruments with pleasure for the relief they had afforded, although he had just before thought of them with great abhorrence, he inferred that the most favorable opportunity for undergoing this operation, is immediately after having a tooth extracted ; and, in the spirit of true philosophy, he brought his theory to the test of experiment, by having a second tooth, which was occasionally troublesome, extracted on the spot.

I have hinted that Mr. Fisher had much more sensibility than many supposed him to have. Although I do not suppose that he possessed this attribute in a very high degree, it may still be affirmed that his feelings were delicate and acute. I could hardly recollect an instance of any mistake that he made in all his recitations when a student ; but inconsiderable as his inaccuracies appeared to others, he told me afterwards that he had been occasionally so mortified by a mistake, that it was hardly out of his mind for several succeeding days, and he could not meet his instructor but with shame and confusion. This may look to some like inordinate ambition, and perhaps it really implies too much of that feeling ; but other obvious reasons can be assigned for the emotions which he experienced from causes so trifling. He had to maintain the character of the first scholar in his class, a place awarded to him by the suffrages of all, but a place which he thought was dishonored by any inaccuracy. He felt, therefore, that a mistake degraded him both from the rank

which had been assigned him, and from that high standing which he contemplated as the only one worthy of his aim. The same elevated standard was afterwards kept continually in view, when an instructor; and he used to say that nothing was worthy of the confidence of the pupil but the greatest possible accuracy on the part of the teacher, and that mistakes on his part sullied his character like lapses from virtue. It is probable indeed that he was not indifferent to fame; but his ambition was of a higher order than that which would attach any great importance to incidents like the foregoing. That he was not eager for popularity, in the sense in which it is usually received in college, is obvious from the independence with which he maintained his share of the discipline, and the spirit with which he braved censure and obloquy whenever they were to be met in the faithful discharge of his duty. If like other men of talents he ever had any propensity to be vain, no one surely ever subdued it more completely; no one ever had a stronger perception of the weakness it implies, or guarded himself more effectually against betraying it. In the unreserved confidence which subsisted between us for several years, I do not remember a single instance, even in the most private communications, when that infirmity was fairly developed. So aware was he of the liability of distinguished men to exhibit vanity, or at least to be suspected of it, that his feelings were wounded by any allusion to his superiority, because it seemed to imply that he had the weakness to be pleased with flattery. On subjects of this kind his delicacy was remarkable, and even, as I thought, excessive; for it was hardly safe to carry the confidence of friendship so far as to allude to any of the honors he had acquired. This was one reason why he avoided rather than courted those topics of

conversation which afforded him peculiar opportunities for display. He did not like to converse on mathematical subjects in mixed company, and was mortified when any one seemed to introduce such topics on his account, because it perhaps implied either that he would be fond of such an opportunity to exhibit himself, or (what he disliked as much) it indicated an opinion that he was unable to converse on other subjects. In his aversion to open praise, while he was so deeply mortified at disgrace and so studious to acquire solid reputation, he seems to have resembled the late Mr. Cavendish, a distinguished British philosopher, who is said to have been so studious of accuracy, that hardly an error was ever detected in all he wrote, and still so averse to flattery as to have retired in confusion from a meeting of the Philosophical Society, because in an introduction to a learned foreigner, his merits were mentioned with more freedom than suited his modesty.

The character of Mr. Fisher as a man of honor may be judged of by the following incident. It was accidentally known that while a student, he had been admitted into very close confidence by his tutor, who was scarcely able to read a syllable on account of a chronic weakness of the eyes. Several years afterwards, one of Mr. Fisher's companions incidentally alluded to the privations of that gentleman, and intimated to Mr. F. his knowledge of the fact, that he supplied the deficiency. He declined any conversation on the subject, but courteously drew off his friend to another topic. A subsequent conversation enabled me to see the principle by which he was governed, which was this: *In order to keep a secret faithfully, we must not let it be known that we possess it.*

Professor Fisher, in accordance with both his nature and habit, was very cautious in forming his reli-

gious opinions. From some prevailing tenets of his fathers, he was inclined to dissent; on others his belief was suspended; but he never settled, so far as I know, in any belief which President Dwight would have considered essentially erroneous. In many instances he admitted the truth of a doctrine, but rejected some of the arguments by which it was usually defended. He was a firm believer in divine revelation; and I cannot help thinking, that the graces of religion had taken deep root in the heart of one so constant in the performance of its outward and sacred duties, and so exemplary in the practice of its pure virtues. I have heard him mention the recurrence to his mind of those subjects on which he had been intensely engaged during the week, as severe temptations which he experienced on the Sabbath; but I have been acquainted with few scholars who devoted themselves so exclusively on that day to its sacred employments. For his daily reading in the Scriptures, his common rule was two chapters. In perusing the evangelists, it was his favorite method to carry on together the different accounts of the same transaction by

the aid of Newcomb's Harmony. I have heard him more than once express the great pleasure and satisfaction which he derived from that work.

We read of poets who had reached their full maturity at the age to which our friend had attained, and were never able to surpass the productions of their youthful muse. But the intellectual powers of Professor Fisher were not of this class. Brilliancy is an attribute which may speedily acquire its utmost limits; but capacity and strength admit of indefinite enlargement. Mr. Fisher possessed, in an unusual degree, the power and the habit of application, which were necessary to augment that capacity and strength beyond any limits which we can assign. I looked with the most sanguine expectations to a period when they would reach a consummation equalled by few of his contemporaries. What peculiar reason, therefore, have we to deplore his untimely fate!

*Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus
Tam cari capitis?
Ergo Quintilium perpetuus sopor
Urget? cui Pudor et Justitiæ soror
Incorrupta Fides, nudaque Veritas,
Quando ullum invenient parem?*

THE LITURGY OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN AMERICA.

WE are aware that in attempting to review the liturgy of the Protestant Episcopal church, we shall awaken some jealousies, and perhaps bring upon ourselves many denunciations. Inquiry concerning this work seems to have been long since laid asleep; and it has been permitted to occupy its place undisturbed as the ritual of a respectable denomination which uncharitableness alone can call in question. It has so long been held forth as "our excellent liturgy" with no one to dispute the

appellation, that many who are unacquainted with it are beginning to suppose that it is a summary of evangelical doctrine to which no reasonable objection can be made, except the use of a perpetual form. When therefore this objection is by any means surmounted, nothing remains to prevent their adopting the liturgy as a convenient vehicle of their public devotions. It is supposed by some that if they get under the shadow of this liturgy they can escape from all the agita-

tions of the religious community, and enjoy the calm of repose. They can be intrenched, as they think, in this "form of sound words," falsely so called, as we shall show by and by, where no heresies and no angry discussions can reach them. The fact is, however, that no creeds or liturgies can hold men in the truth if they only have the disposition to depart from it, or prevent agitation if life enough remains to be conscious of error. There are among those who use this liturgy as a formula of devotion, men of all theological parties, from the strict and pious Calvinist and the pious Arminian down to the Socinian and the Universalist. And whatever the words of this formula may be, each class find some method of interpretation, or some compromise with conscience, so as to use them without hesitation.

Those whose early associations have been formed in veneration of this liturgy may be wounded in their feelings by seeing its merits disputed. But much as we should regret such a result of our labors, and far as we desire to be from speaking evil of any man, our regard for truth compels us to speak out the real convictions of our minds. In this age of liberty and of free discussion, we hope that no instrument of man's device is too sacred to admit of examination. We feel called upon to speak freely, though we trust kindly, not so much for the benefit of our Episcopal brethren, for we are not such novices in human nature as to expect to convince men who are already committed, as for the benefit of some in our own communion. We have observed with pain a disposition in some to leave the beautiful, simple, and apostolical churches of our ancestors, to which all our free institutions owe their existence, for the more pompous forms of the British hierarchy, not knowing, as we think, whither they go. There is a cer-

tain imposing effect which is mistaken for devotional feeling; and the interest they may be induced to take in the ceremonial appears to them an interest in religion itself. Hence instead of worshiping the invisible God, they have been unconsciously attracted by the parade and show with which that service is surrounded. Many there doubtless are who, through the medium of these forms, worship the Lord God of our fathers in sincerity and truth, in consequence of early associations and long continued habit. But when they who have been accustomed to a simple mode of worship—a mode in which nothing but God is brought to the mind—become enamored of these forms, it should be a matter of serious examination whether they are not losing that love of God which is satisfied with approaching his gracious throne directly, without the assistance or intervention of an imposing ritual. We are persuaded that the imposing effect of the Episcopal liturgy upon some minds, results not so much from the liturgy itself, as from the circumstances by which it is usually surrounded. Let the robes of the clergy be dropped; let the various ceremonies of pomp and show be dispensed with; let the splendid church and the splendid congregation be absent; and let the simple cave or upper chamber of the primitive Christian, or the barn of the western missionary be the place of worship; and how naked would the liturgy appear! How inappropriate and how absurd! We have seen this exemplified in a country church hardly capacious enough to hold two hundred persons, and that not well filled, the clergyman not deigning to change his dress, and the people not instructed in the mechanical part of the services. The entire absence of all the pomp and circumstance of a large congregation, the surplice, the organ, the multitudinous uproar of many voi-

ces, and all the other regular wheels of the machine, struck the mind with a sense of vacuity altogether beyond description. We thought of the superiority of our own simple worship, whose essential requisites are present whether it is performed in a splendid church or in a log hut, whether it has a crowded assembly of fashionable people, or a small collection of plain men dressed in the garb of the western wilds. And this is precisely the effect of the primitive, apostolical worship. These are precisely the circumstances in which it was frequently performed.

We have many objections to a stereotyped form of prayer as clogging the free aspirations of the soul, and as ill suited to the varying exigencies of human life which constantly arise. In prosperity or adversity; amid the ravages of desolating sickness; after fire or sword may have laid waste the land, or an earthquake have swallowed up multitudes of the people; or a tornado swept over their habitations; or some great and signal deliverance from such evils may have been had; in the excitement of fear, or sorrow, or joy;—it is the same dead form. The great subject of absorbing interest which fills the public mind must have no place in the devotions of the sanctuary, unless the bishop vouchsafe to send a prayer, as Bishop Onderdonk of New York did during the prevalence of the cholera in 1832. This may come too late. And when it comes it is laid up in one corner of the service as a mere appendix to the usual forms. The chilling circumstance of its origin not in the heart of the supplicant, but in foreign prescription, gives an air of formality to it which well accords with the place to which it is assigned, but destroys the whole spirit with which a prayer should be offered. There is indeed a prayer in the book for “a time of great sickness and mortality,” but it oc-

cupies a small space; and is so little in accordance with the overwhelming impressions of such a season, that it falls far short of the subject. It is manifest that the author drew it up in other circumstances than those to which he would apply it, and had no deep sense of the sympathies which would then be excited and the bleeding hearts which would appear before God. And this is the character, *mutatis mutandis*, of nearly all the short prayers—concluded too in such a uniform manner that no wave of feeling is suffered to break the even surface of the waters. It would seem as though the mere repetition of words, like the prescription in the Romish manuals for so many *paternosters* and so many *ave marias*, were the intention; for there is no time for the heart to kindle before a stop is made, and a new prayer begun. The total blank which this liturgy presents, and which every liturgy must needs present in regard to every great and absorbing interest occasionally arising, which ought to be made a subject of prayer in the Christian assembly, creates a corresponding blank in the heart. It prevents the full flow of feeling which the devout worshiper would otherwise possess. While he muses on the subject which occupies his thoughts and those of the community, the fire burns; but when he goes into the house of God he finds nothing to meet the peculiar state of things. It is all the same as if nothing had happened.

We might object further, and say that a stereotyped form of prayer is contrary to inspired example; all the prayers recorded in the Scriptures being such as arose out of the occasion, and the Lord's prayer, the only form given, being a mere model in opposition to the vain repetitions of the heathen, and not a form which there is any evidence the Apostles ever used. A liturgy is

contrary also to the usage of Christians in the earliest and purest ages of the church. And moreover, this liturgy is a form established in an age of comparative darkness, when the church had hardly begun to put on her beautiful garments. But none of these points do we intend to enlarge upon. Great as these objections are, other and weightier objections press upon our minds. Having been long familiar with the liturgy of the Episcopal church, we deem it our duty and our privilege to give our opinion.

Before we proceed, however, we beg leave to state a few facts in regard to the origin of this liturgy. All the reformers came to the knowledge of the truth as might have been expected by degrees. During the reign of Henry VIII, when the Papal authority was first cast off in England, the Romish liturgy continued in use. In the reign of his successor, Edward VI, Cranmer and others made several important changes by which they intended to reject the idolatry of Rome. At this time the church was confessedly not fully reformed, but only in the progress of reformation. The clergy were extremely ignorant, very few of them being able to preach, and some of them hardly able to read. On this account, homilies were composed which they were commanded by the king's authority to read in the churches, instead of bringing forth their own crude notions in the way of preaching. As they could not preach, they could not pray to the edification of the people; and therefore a form of prayer was as necessary as a form of preaching. The sources from which Cranmer and his associates derived the liturgy, were certain Romish missals, such as Sarum, York, Hereford, Bangor, and Lincoln. The liturgy thus composed, was sanctioned by act of Parliament Jan. 15, 1548, no less than eight bishops protesting, but no convocation of

the clergy being had.* The reign of Edward was short, being only about six years. The five years following were occupied by the reign of Mary, who restored the Popish forms, and repudiated the liturgy of Cranmer. When Elizabeth came to the throne, though from policy or education favorable to the reformed religion, she was very desirous of conciliating her Popish subjects. Cranmer and Ridley, and the other devout men who had begun to reform the liturgy in the days of King Edward, had been offered up a sacrifice to the Moloch of Popery in the reign of Mary. The same zeal for perfecting the liturgy, therefore, no longer pervaded the councils of the church of England. Elizabeth ordered the liturgy of Edward to be used in the churches, carefully expunging some of the passages which she apprehended would be particularly offensive to the Papists.† The reformation was now to be stopped just where it was; and the liturgy which was composed in the incipient stages of the Reformation, was now stereotyped for all future time. Fixed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth,

* We constantly see in the writings of Episcopal divines the sayings of the Prayer-book quoted as the sayings of the church. The church says so and so—*she* declares—*she* ordains—*she* requires—*she* expects—*she* approves, &c. &c. We learn here who this lady is. She is no other than the British parliament. The Prayer-book is one of *her* acts just as truly as the law of the Protestant succession to the crown. This is "*the church*" who speaks so authoritatively.

† The following passage in the litany of King Edward was stricken out by order of Queen Elizabeth: "From the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities, good Lord deliver us." The rubric declaring that by kneeling at the sacrament no adoration was intended to the corporeal presence of Christ, was also stricken out. This however was restored in the reign of Charles II, but it is not in the American Prayer-book. (See Neal's History of the Puritans, Vol. I, pp. 177 and 376, edition 1816, Newburyport.)

when every thing was unsettled, this is the work which in England has continued with no material alteration unchanged to the present day, and in this country has had few alterations, except in accommodation to the change of political institutions. In the time of Cranmer, the public mind was unprepared to dispense with a liturgy, as such a mode of worship had been long in use. It was the progress of religious knowledge and of freedom which induced the Puritans to pray themselves, instead of using other men's prayers. Whether Cranmer and his associates, had they lived, would have proceeded to a farther reformation of the liturgy, or whether they would have dispensed with a liturgy entirely, is a subject on which there will be different opinions. One thing is certain, that the liturgy as it now is, was established under the supreme influence of a sovereign who was a jealous guardian of the royal prerogative, and quite willing to retain every relic of Popery which could be reconciled with her own supremacy. That a work which had its origin in such circumstances should serve as a directory of worship in this enlightened age, in the progress of missionary enterprise, in the multiplication of revivals of religion, and in the dawn of the millennium; and especially that it should satisfy those who have known how to worship God in a manner which admits a free expression of feeling in accordance with the change of times, the spirit of the age, and the maturity of the church, is to us a matter both of regret and surprise.

As the book was compiled in the infancy of Protestantism, when Popery was for the most part the religion of the people, there is a great accommodation to the latter religion in its general arrangement. Hence we find not only Christmas provided for without any scriptural authority, but Advent, Epiphany, Ash

Wednesday, Lent, Good Friday, Easter, &c. &c. We find also St. Andrew's day, St. Thomas's day, St. Stephen's, St. John's, St. Mark's, St. Matthew's, St. Bartholomew's, &c. &c. And though some of the saints' days of the Romish ritual are omitted, abundant compensation is made for the omission by the appointment of *All Saints' day*. So if they should fail of paying due honor to any one saint, this comprehensive day may atone for it. To say nothing of the Popish system of canonizing particular persons, as though John, or Matthew, or Stephen, were any more a saint than other Christians, this part of the Prayer-book is plainly contrary to Protestantism, and contrary to scripture. What authority can be produced for setting apart particular days with special services, in reference to men of like passions with ourselves? And if the birth of Christ was intended to be celebrated rather than his whole work of redemption, why is there no hint in the Bible whereby we can determine the day? And why is it a matter of perfect uncertainty, with all the lights of history, upon what day that event fell? So also we may inquire for the significance of Advent? If it celebrates the coming of Christ, as the word would seem to imply, what advance does it make upon the views which we receive from the Bible concerning the coming of the long promised Messiah? Why should "Epiphany, or the manifestation of Christ to the Gentiles," be made a particular feast, when that idea is fundamental to the very existence of the gospel, and is held forth in every exhibition of Christ which is made to the people? What is accomplished in the work of man's salvation by Ash Wednesday, Lent, Good Friday? Is any impression created by this long fast more lasting or practical than by the ordinary preaching of the gospel? What

does Easter Sunday mean in commemoration of the resurrection of Christ, when every Sunday is intended for the same thing? And Trinity Sunday?—we confess we are in darkness here also. We have never been able to learn any plausible reason for such a day. Surely “the church” does not require a worship of the Trinity more on this day than at other times. And commemoration here is out of the question. In our humble opinion, a day called Christian-Sunday or God-Sunday, would have been quite as proper. The truth undoubtedly is, that all those days were found in the Roman Catholic ritual, and at the early period in which the liturgy was compiled, it did not occur to the authors that they could be dispensed with. “The Annunciation of the blessed Virgin Mary,” is another day of the same character; and as no gospel truth is made plainer or more efficient by any of these days, we can not conceive any possible use to which they can be applied, unless it is to preserve that savor of Popery which has already resulted in the extensive prevalence of Puseyism.

Nor do we like, any better than we do these feasts and fasts, the appellation of “priest,” constantly given to ministers of the gospel. It is contrary to New Testament usage, and contrary to fact. A priest is one that offers sacrifices. The Roman Catholic ritual retains this appellation because the priest is supposed to offer the sacrifice of the mass; but no such thing is pretended by any true Protestants. Under the Christian dispensation there is but one priest, the great “High Priest of our profession,” the Lord Jesus Christ, who offered up one sacrifice for the sins of the world. The whole body of Christians are figuratively called “an holy priesthood to offer up spiritual sacrifices,” but no one class are so designated.

We regard these general features of the Prayer-book, together with other things which we intend to mention, as extremely disastrous to the cause of truth and experimental religion in the Episcopal church. If the idolatry of the church of Rome is not directly authorized by the liturgy, yet such affinities with it are retained, as may easily decoy men into it.* We believe that the Popish dress of the liturgy furnishes a half-way house to Popery itself; and that the entertainments of that house being served up with exclusive pretensions to ordination and validity of ordinances, and some mysterious sanctity or power conveyed by the imposition of the bishop’s hands from the Apostles through the church of Rome, lead directly to this result.† And instead of wondering that there have

* It is a remarkable fact that no less than three clergymen of the Episcopal church in Connecticut have, within the last five and twenty years, become Papists. We allude to Dr. Kewley of Middletown, Mr. Barber of Waterbury, and Mr. White of Derby.

† We use the phrase *validity of ordinances*, because this is the current language of Episcopalians; but we confess we have never been able to attach an intelligible idea to it. We conceive an ordinance to be valid if accompanied by the divine blessing, and invalid if not. That is, we do not conceive that ordinances are any thing in themselves but only as they affect the heart, or teach some important truth. If a sinner hears the gospel and is induced by it to give up his heart to Christ, becoming regenerate by the Holy Spirit, we suppose his regeneration is valid whoever may have been the preacher; and to question the validity of preaching which issues in salvation, appears to us supreme nonsense. So also if a Christian communes with the Lord Jesus Christ and his brethren at the Lord’s table and finds spiritual nourishment thereby, in our plain way of thinking the ordinance is valid to him whether the bishop’s hands had been laid on the administrator or not. The validity of ordinances is a phrase which takes its origin from the same Popery that talks of holy vestments, holy houses, consecrated burying grounds, holy wafers, holy water, holy crucifixes, &c.

been so many examples of it, we rather wonder that there have been so few. We regard the recent developments under the name of Tractarianism, as much the same thing, and arising from the same cause. There is a broad foundation laid for this error in the usages and preaching of the Episcopal church, and the affinity produced by them to something different from all the rest of the Protestant world. We believe it will be found that no where among Protestants has the principle prevailed, that ordination in order to be legitimate, must be derived in uninterrupted succession from the apostles, except in the English Episcopal church and the offshoots from her. We see in this fact how far the idea is from the Scriptures, since nobody has discovered it but English churchmen and those who have imbibed their modes of thinking. When Bancroft, chaplain to Archbishop Whitgift, afterwards Bishop of London, first broached this idea in 1588, it was received with misgivings by nearly all that heard it. Some were afraid it would prejudice the Queen's prerogative; for if the bishops acted by divine right derived through the church of Rome, what would become of her supremacy as head of the church? Others were afraid of disaffecting the foreign Protestants, and by a new doctrine separating themselves from their communion. The effect which Bancroft intended of elevating the hierarchy, then confessedly founded on human authority, above Presbyterianism, would hardly compensate, in the opinion of some of the adherents of the church of England, for the loss of the confidence of the Protestant churches abroad. The idea however was so consonant to prelatical pride that it rapidly gained the ascendancy; and it has been handed down to the present day with no abatement of its arrogant pretensions. Were there any foun-

dation for this idea of apostolic succession, the Nestorian bishop who has lately left our shores for his own land, could put in a claim for it infinitely better than any of our Episcopal brethren in this country or in England. But he discarded the idea. Protestants are the last persons in the world who can reasonably assert such a claim; for they must derive it through the church of Rome—a church which has long ago excommunicated them all. They can not therefore with any show of reason pretend to exercise powers which she who gave them has officially taken away. If the church of England ever had that imaginary thing, the apostolic succession, it was taken from her by the supreme authority from which it was derived. If a man derives authority to exercise the office of a sheriff from the government, and the same government revokes that authority, it is clear that he is sheriff no longer; and he can neither communicate the office to others nor exercise it himself, unless by other authority than that from which he derived it. So also the church of England, having been disfranchised in the Roman commonwealth, must look elsewhere for her authority, or it is all a vain pretense. She can do nothing by virtue of authority from Rome, Rome having taken back whatever she gave. This principle extends of course to her descendant in America. If it should be said that the power being once communicated is inalienable, that ordination impresses an indelible character; we reply, we can form no idea of such a thing, and we do not believe that others can. And that our Episcopal brethren do not credit it, appears from the fact that they sometimes depose a minister and by that means obliterate his clerical character, the imposition of the bishop's hands notwithstanding.

Had the reformation in the English church proceeded farther, and

the liturgy been founded strictly on the principles of Protestantism, holding forth in every shape an abhorrence of Popery—rejecting even an innocent usage which had been prostituted to idolatry, and associated with that in the minds of the people, as the Puritans wished; and had the pride and self-glorification of Bancroft and his coadjutors met with a proper rebuke, we should have seen at this day the mother church in England, and her daughter in America, much less exposed to the influx of Romish doctrines. When Hezekiah, king of Judah, perceived that even so sacred a relic of antiquity as the brazen serpent of Moses was perverted to idolatry, “he brake it in pieces,” and by way of derision “called it Nehushtan.” Had the men who gave character to the English church been such thorough reformers, that communion would never have been cursed as it now is with the manifestation of a propensity to relapse into the worst doctrines of Romanism. We repeat it, then, that the Popish tendencies of the liturgy, supported by exclusive pretensions to validity of ordination and of sacraments derived from the church of Rome, prepare the mind for a return to Popery. When therefore Romish doctrine appears in the Oxford tracts, and circulates extensively among those who have lived under such an influence, it is as seed suited to the soil already watered to receive it. It springs up and bears fruit abundantly. Aside from all other evidence, the single fact that Puseyism finds all its disciples among the *jure divino* Episcopalians, is proof enough of our assertion. Other Protestants have no more thought of becoming Puseyites than of becoming Mohammedans; an argument after the manner of the Oxford divines having not the shadow of plausibility to their minds.

The forms of address to the peo-

ple which are interspersed throughout the Prayer-book, were well enough to serve a temporary purpose, but are miserably adapted for perpetual use. When the clergy were so ignorant that they could not make an address themselves, it was right and proper to compose one for them; but when they are able to write sermons these forms ought to be given up. There is an obvious objection to them, arising from the fact that one set of words frequently repeated as an exhortation to the people, becomes of course a matter of no significance. It is like a constant repetition of the same sermon from sabbath to sabbath, which would be an intolerable annoyance. The first of these addresses is singularly defective in its style and composition, abounding in tautologies which no preacher of the present day would dare to put forth. The people are exhorted to *acknowledge and confess* their manifold *sins and wickedness*—not to *dissemble nor cloak them*, when they *assemble and meet together*. They are to ask those things which are *requisite and necessary*. These defects of language in an ordinary exhortation would be considered unpardonable. The reason they are not noticed here is, that the whole exhortation is a mere dead letter, serving only to fill up a place in the book without any meaning. It is moreover somewhat absurd, or at least it presupposes a remarkable degree of indifference to public worship, that the worshippers should need twice a day to be exhorted in the same words to pray, when that is the very object for which they are assembled. Not only this, but all the addresses seem to proceed upon the hypothesis that the minister is incompetent to do any thing but read other men's thoughts—an hypothesis which was no doubt founded in truth in respect to many when the Prayer-book was first composed, but by no means so at

the present day. Nothing is placed at the discretion of the officiating minister but the reading or omitting to read some portions of the appointed service. What a contemptuous treatment is this of the clergy!*

Let us now examine the services prescribed for every Sabbath. We have already remarked upon the address to the people as unhappy for the present day, however it might have answered a temporary purpose in the day in which it was first composed. The "general confession" which follows, is an admi-

nable summary, expressed in simple language, though altogether too general. It is inferior, in our opinion, to many an extempore prayer flowing from a full heart, deeply impressed with a sense of sin, and richly furnished with scriptural language. But yet it is excellent. The absolution which follows, however, is a perfect nullity. It seems to be a general principle of the liturgy, that when confession is made, absolution follows. This can be accounted for from the fact that something like absolution, or at least

* The addresses in the Prayer-book, not only presuppose that the clergy are ignorant and incompetent to teach, but they also manifestly assume, that the people are so profoundly ignorant as to need to be told, over and over, continually, the first principles—the very rudiments of the Christian religion. Thus, in the address at the opening of the daily morning and evening prayer, the people are not only exhorted to *pray*—as if they did not know for what purpose they had come together—but they are treated as being so ignorant as not to know, or so stupid as not to consider, that the Scripture inculcates the *sinfulness* of man, and the necessity of *repentance*. And therefore, with much formality, these elementary truths are drawn out, and amplified, and urged, in two long, complicated, and heavy sentences, as a necessary preparation for the ordinary worship of God. The minister must say: "Dearly beloved brethren, the Scripture moveth [admonisheth] us, in sundry places, to acknowledge and confess our manifold sins and wickedness, and that we should not dissemble nor cloak them before the face of Almighty God, our heavenly Father, but confess them with an humble, lowly, penitent and obedient heart; to the end that we may obtain forgiveness of the same, by [through] his infinite goodness and mercy. And although [as] we ought, at all times, humbly to acknowledge our sins before God, yet ought we [we ought] chiefly [especially] so to do, when we assemble and meet together, to render thanks for the great benefits that we have received at his hands, to set forth his most worthy praise, [to render him deserved homage,] to hear his most holy word, and to ask those things which are requisite and necessary, as well [both] for the body as [and] the soul."

The other addresses in the liturgy presuppose, in the clergy the same incompetence to instruct, and in the people the

same profound ignorance and stupidity. They are also drawn up in a style equally feeble, prolix and inelegant. See the addresses to be used in notifying seasons of communion, and at the communion table; and also the addresses to be made to the sick, and to prisoners and condemned malefactors.

It is also noticeable, that long, verbose, tautological, and ill-constructed sentences occur in every part of the Prayer-book, except in the portions translated from the Scriptures. *Tautology*, indeed,—or the repetition of the same thought in another form, and the coupling together of synonymous words,—seems to have been studiously sought after, as if it was a great beauty of style: and long, complicated, and verbose sentences seem to have been regarded as most consonant to good taste.

The collects, prayers, and thanksgivings are, almost uniformly, thrown into long and complicated sentences, in which a happy precision of thought, and a pleasing vivacity of expression, are by no means usual characteristics. The collects for the several Sundays and holy days, most commonly labor to bring out some obscure or fanciful analogy between the day of the year and the worship performed; and the effort is, not unfrequently, a partial or a total failure. In some instances, such a fog is raised, and such indistinct vision produced, that the whole collect is involved in great obscurity. Thus the collect for the first Sunday in Advent contains this very confused picture: "Almighty God, give us grace that we may cast away the works of darkness, and put upon us [thou? or we?] the armor of light, now in the time of this mortal life, in which thy Son, Jesus Christ came to visit us, in great humility; that, in the last day, when he shall come again in his glorious majesty to judge both the quick and dead, we may rise to life immortal, through Him who liveth and reigneth

something which should be called by that name, was necessary in the time of Edward, lest too great a shock should be produced in the minds of those who had been accustomed to such a service in the Romish ritual. The service, as the liturgy has it, appears to be an attempt to unite the Protestant idea that God only forgives sins, with the Popish, that absolution must come from the priest. Accordingly, the minister is directed to stand while the people continue kneeling. And what does the minister say?

He declares that "God hath given *power* and commandment to his ministers to declare and pronounce to his people being penitent, the absolution and remission of their sins." What then? Does the minister exercise this power and obey this commandment? By no means. He tells them that "He (God) pardoneth and absolveth all those who truly repent, and unfeignedly believe his holy gospel." Here then is a complete contradiction. God has given power and commandment to his ministers to pronounce abso-

with thee and the Holy Ghost, now and ever. Amen." Here the *three* dramatic *unities*, of *time*, *place* and *action*, are all disregarded; and the scene shifts so often, so suddenly, so totally beyond all calculation, that the mind is confused and can see nothing clearly. For similar examples, see the collects for the third and fourth Sundays in Advent, and for Epiphany, and for all the Sundays in Lent. The collect for peace, in the daily morning prayer, presents an equally confused picture to the mind. Indeed it is most manifest, that the writer had no distinct idea of the object for which he would teach us to pray. It might be peace with God, or peace in the conscience, or domestic or social peace, or peace among contending factions, or peace among warring nations, or any, or all of these combined. The language of the collect is: "O God, who art the author of *peace* and lover of *concord*, in knowledge of whom standeth [is] our *eternal life*, whose service is perfect *freedom*; defend us, thy humble [unworthy] servants, in [from] all *assaults of our enemies*; that we, surely [safely] *trusting in thy defense*, may not fear the *power of any adversaries*, through the might of Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

In all parts of the liturgy, the *diction* and *phraseology* are antiquated, unpolished, and at variance with good taste. We might reasonably expect such to be the style of the work, as it was originally drawn up in the age of King Edward VI; but we are surprised to find that the same faults are continued and handed down through all subsequent revisions of the book; and are even imitated and made conspicuous in the most recent additions to the volume. The English and American compilers of the liturgy seem to have as great abhorrence of modern taste in language, as the Quakers have of modern taste in dress; for, as the latter scrupulously avoid appearing in public dressed

like other people, so the former scrupulously avoid using in the house of God the diction and phraseology sanctioned by general custom.

Among the faults to which we have alluded, the following are worthy of more specific notice.

1. We often meet with words which are entirely *obsolete*, or at least are not used in the sense they have in the Prayer-book. Of this character are the following: *Let*, for hindrance; and *to let*, as a verb, in the same sense.—*Prevent*, for preceding, going before.—*Premonish*, for admonish.—*Health*, for spiritual life, or spirituality; and *healthful*, for promotive of spirituality.—*Governance*, for providence.—*Godly motions*, for divine influences.—*Moveth*, for admonisheth.—*Inspiration*, for gracious influence.—*Good living*, for holy living.—*The folk*, for the people.—*Word*, for thing, in the phrase *no word impossible*.—*Shawms*, for hautboys, musical instruments.—*Pickling*, for pilfering.—*Troth*, for faith, or fidelity.—*Estate*, for state, every where.

2. We meet, at almost every step, with colloquial words and phrases, or those which modern taste will allow only in conversation. These sink the dignity of grave discourse, and sometimes border on the ludicrous. As examples of single words, we notice: *doings* for actions; *feteh*, for bring; *help*, for aid, assistance; and *hurt* for harm, injury. Examples of colloquial phrases, or combinations of words, are very common. Thus we have the "*sharpness of death*," for the pangs of death.—The "*kindly fruits of the earth*," for the various fruits, &c.—"*This naughty world*," for this evil world.—"*The old Adam*," for the old man, original sin.—"*Comfortable gospel*," for comforting gospel; and "*most comfortable sacrament*," for comforting sacrament.—"*Lovingly called and bidden*," for affectionately called.—We pray "*for all sorts and conditions of men*."—We offer to God

lution; but they do no such thing. They only say that God does it. The minister is here made either to utter a falsehood, or disobey the commandment of God in the very midst of divine worship. The power of absolution God has not committed to the hands of the clergy. He reserves that to himself. "He pardoneth and absolveth the penitent" in the solemn and personal intercourse of the soul with its Creator and Redeemer. There is no need of a priest to interpose in this matter. As God only is the judge of true penitence and genuine faith

in Christ, he has given no commandment to others, however high may be their standing in the visible church, to pronounce forgiveness. This mongrel service, which is neither Popish nor Protestant, should have been long ago expunged from a Protestant liturgy. And it would have been, we doubt not, had the principles of the Reformation been permitted to grow to maturity unchecked by the civil power. We consider this part of the service as peculiarly offensive, not only for the reasons first given, but because it is repeated so often. It is read twice

our "*most humble and hearty thanks.*"—We ask him to "turn [avert] from us all evils."—We speak of "*the prayers of thy humble servants;*" and of "*us, thy poor servants.*"—We tell the Almighty, "*we repent, and are heartily sorry.*"—We pray him to "*fight for us.*"—We speak of those who "*do him laudable service.*"—We call on him to "*stir up the wills*" of his people.—We pray him to "*mortify and kill* all vices in us," and "*that we may not be carried away with every blast of vain doctrine.*"—We pray to be defended "*among all the changes and chances of this mortal life.*"—Over a sick man, we pray, that he "*may take his sickness patiently,*" and speak of "*the means which shall be made use of.*"—We address God with the appellation of "*the Sovereign Commander of all the world.*"—In a storm at sea, we intreat him to "*send his sword of command,*" and rebuke the raging winds; and before a battle, that he would "*make it appear*" that he is our deliverer.—We are to say to him, "*O most mighty and gracious good God;*" and, of ourselves, we are to say, "*we, thy poor creatures;*" and we call upon all beings to "*speak good of the Lord.*"

3. Many passages of the liturgy are greatly obscured, (if not rendered unintelligible,) by the use of archaisms, or other faulty expressions. Thus we say, "*there is no health in us;*" meaning, there is no spiritual life in us. And we pray, that God would "*send down upon our bishops &c., the healthful spirit of his grace;*" which means, I know not what. We are to sing: "*All ye powers of the Lord, bless ye the Lord;*" intending, perhaps, the holy angels. When we denominate God, "*the Father of Heaven,*" what do we mean? In praying for the President of the United States and others in authority, we ask God to "*endue them plenteously with heavenly gifts.*" What gifts are here meant? We ask God, to

"*mercifully assist our prayers;*" when the connection shows that we mean, to hear, or attend to our prayers. In the prayer for such as are candidates for holy orders, we ask God to "*replenish them with the truth of his doctrine;*" probably meaning, with his true doctrine. We are to pray, "*that our land may yield us her fruits of increase;*" when others would say, the increase of her fruits, or simply, her fruits. On the first Sunday in Lent, we thus pray: "*give us grace to use [observe] such abstinence, that our flesh being subdued to the Spirit, we may ever obey thy godly motions.*" The godly motions here mentioned are, probably, the divine admonitions. But what is intended by our "*flesh being subdued to the Spirit*? Does it signify, our sinful nature being subdued and made obedient to the Holy Spirit, or our bodies being subjected to our better part, the mind? We say: "*O Almighty God, who alone canst order [regulate, reduce to order,] the unruly wills and affections of sinful men.*"—"Grant, that, by thy holy inspiration, [thy gracious influences,] we may think those things that are good."—"Cleanse the thoughts of our hearts by the inspiration [grace] of thy Holy Spirit."—"That we may do all such good works as thou hast prepared [prescribed] for us to walk in."—"Nourish us with all goodness, [the manner in which? or the material with which?] and of thy great mercy keep us in the same."—"Bring forth in us the fruit of good living" [holy living].—"Increase in them . . . the spirit of counsel and ghostly strength." (?)—"That he may . . . daily increase in thy Holy Spirit (?) more and more."—"Our Savior, who liveth and reigneth with thee, in the unity of the same Spirit, (?) one God," &c. To a sick man, the priest must say: "*I require [request] you to examine yourself, and your estate [state], both towards God and man.*" In one of our prayers, we say: "*They,*

every Sabbath; and as though this were not enough, something similar to it is appointed in the communion service in the shape of a prayer or benediction. This latter is to be said by the priest, or "the bishop, if he be present;" which provision shows that something more than a mere prayer, which would be as well to come from the one as the other, is intended. The idea, if there is any thing in it, evidently is, that the absolution comes by authority. Indeed the same idea is implied in this absolution, supposing it to be a prayer, when the *priest*

pronounces it. Why should the minister rise up in the midst of the congregation and pray separately from them, unless some peculiar authority were attached to his prayer, not as an individual, but as a public functionary? It is difficult to make less of this than a beggarly imitation of Popery.

The general confession being over and the absolution pronounced, the congregation are now prepared for the Lord's prayer, which they repeat audibly at the same time with the minister. To us there would appear much more decency

whose consciences by sin are accused;" instead of, they whose *consciences accuse them of sin.*

4. In consequence of the careless use or construction of terms, the sense is sometimes wholly perverted, and even an untruth asserted.

Thus, in the longer form of absolution at morning prayer, the priest exhorts us to beseech God, "that *those things may please Him, which we do* at this present:" whereas we ought to pray, that *we may do those things, which will please Him.* For there is a great difference between asking Him to be pleased with whatever we are disposed to do, and praying for grace so to act, as to meet his approbation. In the prayer used at the meetings of convention, request is made "that the *comfortable (?)* gospel of Christ may be truly preached, truly received, and truly followed, in all places, to the breaking down the kingdom of sin, Satan and death; till at length the whole of *thy dispersed sheep*, being gathered into one fold, shall become partakers of everlasting life." But are *all men*, even those still in the kingdom of sin and Satan, the *dispersed sheep of Christ?* Where then are the goats?—In the thanksgiving for deliverance from great sickness and mortality, we are to say: "O Lord God, who . . . now, in the midst of judgment remembering mercy, *hast redeemed our souls from the jaws of death;*" implying, either that the *soul is mortal*, or that, if we die in such seasons of pestilence, our souls are sent to hell. In the collect for the day of St. Paul's conversion, we must say: "O God, who, through the preaching of the blessed apostle St. Paul, hast caused the light of the gospel to shine *throughout the world:*" while yet many nations are unenlightened by the gospel.—In the Catechism, the child, being asked *how many sacraments* Christ has ordained, must answer: "*Two only, as generally necessary to salvation:*"

implying that there are *more*, but that only *two* are *generally necessary* to salvation.—In the Visitation of the Sick, the invariable prayer is: "O Lord, save thy servant; . . . send him *help* . . . mightily defend him. Let the *enemy* have no advantage of him; nor the *wicked approach to hurt him.* Be unto him, O Lord, a strong tower, *from the face of his enemy.*" The manifest implication is, that *Satan, the wicked one*, is the cause of the sick man's disease, and that if *this enemy* can be overcome or kept away, the sick man will recover.—The Gloria Patri, which is to be often repeated every Sunday, is in these words: "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost; *as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end.*" This implies a desire, that *just so much homage and adoration* may be given to God, *as was given him in the beginning*, is now given him, and ever will be given him, *neither more nor less.*

We had intended to notice two other very common faults in the diction and phraseology of the liturgy; namely, *pleonasm*, or the insertion of words which add nothing to the meaning; and *bad grammar*, especially in the regimen of verbs, and in the use of prepositions. But the length of this note forbids a suitable illustration of these and other faults in the style of the book. We will therefore only add, that it is to be lamented that a book so extensively and constantly used, and having so much influence in forming the taste as well as shaping the religious views of vast masses of people, should not only be handed down from age to age unimproved and unpurged of its most glaring and obvious faults, but be imposed upon a very numerous and respectable denomination of Christians, as containing the only thoughts and expressions with which they may publicly worship God from the beginning to the end of their lives.

and order if the people would follow the petitions silently; but this may be a mere matter of taste. The ejaculation which follows, "O Lord, open thou our lips," with the response from the people, "and our mouth shall show forth thy praise," must be taken in a sense altogether below the original force of those words when they came from the Psalmist. As all that is to be uttered is prepared beforehand and written down, it can not be the state of the heart, out of the abundance of which the mouth speaketh, but the muscular motion, by which the precomposed form can be made audible. Or if this be too barren a sense to put upon the words, as indeed it ought to be, if you insist upon the living energy of the Psalmist's petition; then we think it peculiarly unhappy, because it betrays at once the imperfection of a liturgy. The prescribed form must needs prevent an answer; for however the heart may be enlarged, the effusions of the lips corresponding therewith, have no enlargement nor liberty. They must move on as the book directs.

After this solemn invocation and the Gloria Patri, which by the way is repeated so often the same day as to lose all its force, what do we find next? The congregation all go over to a recitation of some portion of the Psalms, no matter how inappropriate it may be for the present occasion. Indeed appropriateness seems to be entirely out of view in this part of the service. The minister recites one verse, and the people respond with another, like a school-boy and his teacher repeating a lesson. Is this prayer, or is it praise? or is it instruction? If the latter, the minister had better read it alone; if neither of the former, what ideas can be attached to it when all the Psalms as they happen to arise, containing a great variety of different subjects, and setting forth different states of the

mind, are used; and when the verses are read alternately, though they are frequently divided in the midst of the sense. Though it is scripture that is recited, yet even scripture is not intended for all purposes under the sun. To transfer the Psalms without distinction, accommodation, or change, to the ordinary worship of a Christian assembly, seems to us exceedingly absurd. Take for example the twentieth Psalm. This was composed probably with reference to some battle into which King David was about to go, or some other great trial which he expected to encounter. He meets the people in the place of worship, and the priest perhaps commences singing, "The Lord hear thee in the day of trouble; the name of the God of Jacob defend thee, send thee help from the sanctuary, and strengthen thee out of Zion—remember all thy offerings, and accept thy burnt sacrifices—grant thee according to thine own heart, and fulfill all thy counsel." Then the congregation in full chorus sing, "We will rejoice in thy salvation, and in the name of our God we will set up our banners: the Lord fulfill all thy petitions." Then the king alone, "Now know I that the Lord saveth his anointed: He will hear him from his holy heaven with the saving strength of his right hand." Then the congregation conclude in full chorus—"Some trust in chariots, and some in horses, but we will remember the name of the Lord our God. They are brought down and fallen; but we are risen and stand upright. Save, Lord: let the king hear us when we call." This is beautiful and appropriate. But when a minister of the gospel in the assembly of the saints reads the first verse, and the people respond by reading the second, and so on alternately to the end of the Psalm, what does it mean?

Still more inappropriate to Chris-

tian worship is the sixtieth Psalm. The minister reads, v. 6, "God hath spoken in his holiness, I will rejoice; I will divide Shechem, and mete out the valley of Succoth." And the people answer, "Gilead is mine, and Manasseh is mine; Ephraim also is the strength of mine head; Judah is my lawgiver." The minister reads, "Moab is my wash-pot; over Edom will I cast out my shoe; Philistia, triumph thou because of me." The people respond, "Who will bring me into the strong city? who will lead me into Edom?" Here we ask again, is this *worship* in a Christian assembly? If so, then to take it away from the region of the ludicrous, a man must resort to some Swedenborgian principles of interpretation by which an imaginary sense different from the obvious one is put upon the words. What shall be said of the imprecations in the Psalms? Does a Christian congregation adopt them as its own?

A portion of the Old Testament, we believe, is next read, which is rather inelegantly concluded by "Here endeth the first lesson." Then various other selections, which we can not particularly notice, including a portion of the New Testament, all concluded by "Here endeth the second lesson." Now the time is come for the general supplication. But the way is not yet fully prepared. The Apostles' creed, so called, must be said by the minister and people standing. This we suppose is introduced here as a profession of faith, showing the people's qualifications for the services which follow. We have no objection to this, except that it shows no such thing; and the frequent repetition of it as an essential part of divine service, tends to produce a false impression on the minds of the ignorant. It tends to produce the impression that a mere formal recognition of the principles of Christianity is the condition of sal-

vation—an error easily gaining access to the human mind. Because they believe all these truths, they suppose they exercise that faith in the Redeemer which is required. Whereas every well informed Christian knows that there is no virtue in assenting to the articles of the creed. If they are true, there is evidence which compels assent; and there is no virtue in acknowledging that which we can not resist. All these things we may believe, and yet be totally destitute of saving faith, or such as is indispensable to acceptable prayer. What advance then is here made on the subject of qualifications to be recognized in the Christian assembly? The faith of the gospel lies deeper than the mere assent of the understanding. It is something distinct from the outward observance of prescribed forms. It is the cordial consent of the heart which constitutes the spirit of prayer, and which no human being can witness. We can see no possible reason for cumbering the liturgy with this confession of faith, but the fear of innovation on the Catholic ritual—a reason which was good enough perhaps in the days of King Edward, but which now has no force. The church of Rome recognizes as her children all who give an intellectual or even a merely formal assent to the Apostles' creed, and who submit to her regimen. It was on this principle that Bonaparte supposed he had become reconciled to the church and to God because he confessed his faith. It was the same principle which led Talleyrand to think that he died in the communion of the church and of Christ. And it is the same principle which leads many at the present time to mistake a belief in certain articles of faith, for a belief in the Lord Jesus Christ. If the creed must be said, we had rather see it occupy any other place than this in the liturgy. We have seen too much of its fatal influence.

True, the minister may, and doubtless many do, warn the people against such an abuse of this confession. But there it stands, indicating a preparation for certain acts of worship. When therefore the people assent to it with an audible voice, they feel in spite of the remonstrances of the minister, that they are believers. And especially when they hear the "exhortation" which is appointed sometimes to be read before the communion to the whole congregation, beginning with these words: "Dearly beloved brethren, on — I intend, by God's grace, to celebrate the Lord's supper; unto which, in God's behalf, *I bid you all who are here present,*" &c.; how can they fail of being confirmed in the idea that they are believers?

While we speak of the creed as containing truths, we would not be understood as saying that all its declarations are true, or that it contains all the essential parts of Christianity. It is manifestly deficient in regard to one great doctrine which constitutes the very essence of our religion, without which we can not conceive that the gospel is acknowledged. We allude to the doctrine of justification by faith in the blood of Christ. Not an allusion is made in this creed to the atonement. A man may believe the historical facts of Christ's death, burial, resurrection and ascension, and yet know nothing and believe nothing of the great design of these facts. He may believe and confess all that is said in this creed, and yet know nothing and believe nothing of the plan of salvation which God has devised. So that he may be totally ignorant of the only way in which he can be saved. Paul declares, Gal. i, 8, "But though we or an angel from heaven preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed." We understand the Apostle here as calling that another

gospel which holds forth any thing in the place of justification by faith. Though the creed does not positively do this, yet it presents no obstacles to doing it on the part of the preacher, or the person who repeats the creed in sincerity. What would he who was not behind the chiefest of the apostles say of a creed which omits that great doctrine which he took so much pains to establish, and yet calls itself the *Apostles'* creed?

The "litany" appears to be taken from several Romish litanies, leaving out the idolatrous parts, and greatly improving the rest. There are some things in this part of the service which we greatly admire, and other things which are worthy of decided reprobation. The beautiful, strong, and simple Saxon English is used, with a few exceptions; throughout. It contains most of the general petitions which a congregation might be supposed to make; and the responses are by no means deficient in meaning or solemnity. But we very much dislike the idea of addressing the Father in general terms, and then the Son in the same terms, and then the Holy Ghost in the same, and last of all, the Trinity. This appears to us unevangelical. It looks like the vain repetitions of the heathen, against which the Lord's prayer is intended to caution us; and it certainly has no example in sacred writ to authorize it. We dislike also the repetition of words nearly synonymous in several petitions, followed by the response, "Good Lord, deliver us." We look upon the prayer to be delivered "from lightning and tempest; from plague, pestilence, and famine; from battle and murder, and from sudden death," without any conditions annexed of submission to the will of God, as savoring too much of a spirit of fear and worldliness, unwilling to leave all in the hands of infinite wisdom and love. We look upon the concluding part of this composition as vio-

mystery over a plain subject? How far is this from the elevation of the host, or the recognition of a supernatural power in the priest, or in the words of consecration, of which the Bible says nothing? The ordinance as it came from the Lord Jesus Christ is perfectly simple and intelligible, and in this consists its practical value. It is the joint participation of bread and wine by the followers of Christ, without any formalities but such as decency and order require, in commemoration of his great sacrifice for sin. There is nothing efficacious in the mere ceremony: it is the spiritual presence of Christ in the *hearts* of his people that gives it all its efficacy. What then can be the significance of the minister's taking a few chosen companions and reverently eating and drinking after the service is over, unless it is a recognition of some mysterious sanctity in the elements themselves? And if this is admitted, how many steps further must we advance before we arrive at the doctrine of transubstantiation.

For ourselves, we are desirous of celebrating the Lord's supper in all the simplicity of its original institution. And in this way only do the ideas which it is intended to impress upon the mind come up before us in their living reality. We want no talking during the celebration. We want no priest to pronounce over us any words, however solemn may be their import. We look upon the speaker as an intruder between us and the Lord. We would meditate in the stillness of private devotion upon the great things brought to view. The silence of human voices alone accords with the solemnity of the scene.

Let us turn now to the public baptism of infants. This service is not only defective in many respects, but so decidedly unscriptural that we see not how an intelligently pious man can use it. We have often wondered that evangelical men

among the clergy of the Episcopal church can use this part of the liturgy, without such misgivings as to induce them to give up the whole. Holding principles totally opposite to those declared in the baptismal service, by what philosophy of language or of reasoning, can they satisfy their consciences? For ourselves we declare, without judging other men, that we could no more offer the prayer, beginning "We yield thee hearty thanks, most merciful Father, that it hath pleased thee to regenerate this infant with thy Holy Spirit, to receive him for thine own child by adoption," than we could publicly declare an untruth under the sanction of an oath. And were there no other objection to the liturgy, this would forever bar us from adopting it. The whole service goes upon the principle, that regeneration is expected and is accomplished by baptism. It is in vain to say, as some have said, that regeneration is distinguished from renovation, and that the word is used in a different sense from that in which we employ it; for it is *regeneration by the Holy Spirit* which is declared to have taken place. If there is any other regeneration, renovation or change of heart, which fits us for heaven, we have never discovered it in the Scriptures. The doctrine of the prayer is the doctrine of baptismal regeneration. The whole prayer takes it for a certainty that an inward spiritual renovation has accompanied the outward ceremony. Those writers in the church of England who maintain, in opposition to the evangelical clergy of that establishment, the doctrine of baptismal regeneration to be the doctrine of their church, clearly have the better of the argument. To talk of a change of heart not experienced in baptism, but when a person becomes convinced of his sins and turns from them to the wisdom of the Just, under the special influence of the Holy Spirit, as the

evangelical clergy of the Episcopal church do, is entirely at variance with the liturgy. One or the other, for consistency's sake, and for conscience' sake should be renounced. This service, connected with other parts of the Prayer-book, accounts for the looseness which prevails on the subject of regeneration in the Episcopal church. Where is the passage in the whole liturgy that plainly recognizes the doctrine that man as he is by nature needs a total change in his moral character to fit him for heaven? Where do we find recognized the Scriptural doctrine that all the moral acts of an impenitent person are sinful, and that his whole moral character needs to be changed? Where do we find any thing in harmony with a general state of awakening and seriousness like what is observed in a revival of religion? Where do we find any pleading of the promises, any ardent wrestling for the immediate effusions of the divine Spirit? Where are those deep and devout aspirations which are prompted by the presence of a multitude of immortal souls solemnly and earnestly inquiring the way to eternal life? It is all a dead form suited to the idea that in baptism the original stain of our nature is washed away, and the regenerating influences of the Spirit are enjoyed in such a measure that nothing farther is needed than the gradual cultivation of piety. We regard this defect of the liturgy on the subject of baptism as fundamental. It is evidently composed to meet the views of men who had just awaked from the sleep of Popery, and had not received fully the Protestant religion.

We have another objection to this baptismal service, which ranges it again under the head of Popery—we mean its total silence in regard to the foundation of infant baptism. Not a hint is given that it is a covenant transaction—no reference is made to the unfailing promise, "I

will be a God to thee, and to thy seed after thee." Nothing is said of the true Scriptural ground of baptizing our children; and were there no better view of infant baptism than that presented in this ritual, we should find no decisive argument against our Baptist brethren. The child is brought forward simply on the ground that its godfather and godmother (a sort of people by the way unknown to the Bible) promise in its name that it shall "renounce the devil and all his works, and constantly believe God's holy word, and obediently keep his commandments." What a singular system of imputation! We have heard of the imputation of sin and righteousness, but never before of the imputation of moral agency. One intelligent being here promises for another, without the power of controlling the heart, that he shall obey the laws of God! The obligation which baptism imposes upon the infant is not that it belongs to the household of God, from which it must break away to walk in the paths of the wicked, but that some other person promises that it should do right! What is the penalty upon the godfather in case of disobedience on the part of the child? What becomes of the godfather if he can not make his child believe and do the things which he promises that the child shall believe and do?

The authors of this service have evidently taken the institution of infant baptism merely as an historical fact, without entering at all into the principles upon which it is founded. They have retained the Romish customs respecting it without correcting them by the Scriptures. If we understand it, baptism is beneficial to an infant not because of any inherent virtue in the water or the service, but chiefly because it is an appointment of God by the observance of which the parent recognizes his obligation to train up a child in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.

Having recognized that obligation, he is more likely to perform the duty than if he had not, just as a professor of religion is more likely to feel his obligations as a Christian than a non-professor. We have taken great delight in the ordinance of infant baptism. It fills us with an admiring sense of God's wisdom and goodness. We esteem it a great privilege that our children may be recognized in the everlasting covenant of Abraham as entitled to the external privileges and therefore to the spiritual influence of the household of faith. And we do not doubt that the influence of this covenant carried out in its appropriate sign, and laying obligations both upon the parent and the child, is an important means of perpetuating the church from generation to generation. But in this ceremony of the Episcopal church there is a total mistake in regard to the true consolations and confidence which God intended to be had in the ordinance. There is a false doctrine declared, and that too in solemn supplication to God—a doctrine which we would hope few of the Episcopal men of the present day will be found willing to admit in all its grossness. Or if they admit it, we certainly do not. Nor do the Scriptures. "Neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature." Neither baptism nor circumcision is set forth in the Scriptures as regeneration by the Holy Spirit, but merely as a sign, an external emblem of that inward change.

In full accordance with the baptismal service we find, "the order of confirmation, or laying on of hands upon those that are baptized, and come to years of discretion." The qualifications for this ceremony are ability to say the creed, the Lord's prayer and the ten commandments, and "to answer such other questions as in the short catechism are contained." Of these persons it is affirmed in the prayer

prescribed for the occasion, that God has *vouchsafed to regenerate them by water and the Holy Ghost, and has given them forgiveness of all their sins.* And the request preferred in their behalf at the throne of grace is, that they may be *strengthened, and "the manifold gifts of grace" be daily increased in them.* Now admitting that in some instances the superior vigilance and faithfulness of individual clergymen may see that other and greater qualifications be had, it is manifest that the door is here open to a great looseness; and that the effect of this ceremony on ignorant people must be bad, and bad only. Alas! it is too true, that men accounted intelligent in the things of the world are often sadly ignorant on the subject of religion. Such are necessarily led to suppose that they are reconciled to God, while they may be, for aught that the Prayer-book demands of them, in the gall of bitterness and the bonds of iniquity.

But does this qualify them for the communion? If the prayer which is solemnly uttered in the presence of God, and addressed to him who searches the heart, has any truth in it, they are now entitled to eat and drink at the Lord's table. And if they have no other qualifications than those specified, what is it but mockery to partake with the people of God of that supper which is designed for those whose spiritual eye can discern the Lord's body? This service, it will be observed, partakes of the same error as has already been noticed in regard to the confession in the creed, that mere intellectual assent to truth is the service of the heart which the Scriptures mean by the term faith. It arises, in our opinion, from the idea never absent from the liturgy, that the church to which the individual comes is a national church, a political authority to which external subjection is all that is necessary. This

idea is natural enough in the circumstances in which the liturgy was formed; but surely unscriptural, and perfectly ill-suited to a state of things so entirely different as that which exists in this more favored country.

To say nothing of the want of foundation in the Scriptures for the ceremony of confirmation; what does it do for the child but confirm him in error which may be fundamental in his estimate of himself, and therefore, an obstacle to his salvation? We know that there is some modification in the practice of evangelical clergymen of the Episcopal church in regard to the proper subjects of confirmation. And as the bishop confirms none but those who are presented by the parish minister, a check is in the hands of the latter which may be used to prevent unworthy subjects from being officially and solemnly pronounced *regenerate by water and the Holy Ghost*. But how difficult is it to use this check when the Prayer-book so manifestly authorizes every one to be brought to the bishop to be confirmed, "so soon as he can say the creed, the Lord's prayer, and the ten commandments, and is sufficiently instructed in the other parts of the church catechism, set forth for that purpose." Can the child intelligently make the promises demanded of him in this service, and can the bishop believe that they are of any avail when there is no more evidence of a moral change than the mere increase of years and of intellectual strength? What more than this is done by a person who fully and heartily conforms to the principles of the Redeemer's kingdom? And does not the putting of such promises into the mouth of one who has no spiritual feelings, no communion with God, tend to make a mockery of holy things? But if there were probable evidence of a change of heart in the persons confirmed, who

has given the bishop authority to assume the prerogative of God, and pronounce with *certainly* concerning it?

The burial of the dead.—This is a beautiful ceremony, manifesting great judgment and taste in those who instituted it, and altogether unexceptionable, provided mankind were much better than they are. Could we have confidence that every baptized person who had not been excommunicated from the church, and had not laid violent hands on himself—for to every such person this form is appropriated by the rubric—is a saint, the service would be inimitably fine. But when we take it as a service to be performed indiscriminately, over all the dead included within the prescribed limitations, we are compelled to withhold our admiration. It is cheerfully confessed, that the American edition of the Prayer-book is less objectionable in this respect than the English. In the latter, we read, "Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God, of his great mercy, to take *unto himself* the soul of our deceased brother here departed, we therefore commit his body to the ground; earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust; in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life through our Lord Jesus Christ," &c. In the American Prayer-book less exceptionable language is used—language of a more general character, not pronouncing with certainty concerning the state of the dead. There is, however, the idea running through the whole that it is a saint who is buried. There is the recognition of the voice from heaven, declaring the blessedness of those who die in the Lord, and a thanksgiving "for the good examples of all those thy servants who having finished their course in faith, do now rest from their labors"—which is little to the purpose, unless the person buried is a saint.

All this also, taken in connexion with the direction at the commencement of the service, forbidding its being said over any who has not received the Prayer-book regeneration, seems to take it for granted, that the person buried is among those who rest from their labors. Inasmuch, however, as there is no direct declaration of this kind, and unlike the English Prayer-book, no confidence is expressed which definitely applies to the case of the deceased, we are not disposed to condemn this service. If read well, there may be a solemn and useful influence upon those who hear it. It is decidedly the best part of the Prayer-book, and the only part to which, as a whole, we should not take strong exceptions.

We had not intended to remark upon the marriage ceremony, lest we should appear to some stanch friends of the liturgy as rather captious; for the faults of this book are so numerous that we may expose ourselves to this charge. But we can not forbear to notice the ill-judged particularity and bad taste in which the marriage ceremony is drawn up, especially when we consider that it is not in its original place among the cumbrous formalities of the British government, but under the plain institutions of republicanism. It is no small lesson which the bride and bridegroom must learn before they are qualified to be married. Since, however, it is a mere matter of taste and not of conscience which we have now in view, we are not disposed to dwell upon it, or to show the correctness of our opinion by an examination of particulars. If any choose to subject themselves to all this bondage of forms, we certainly have no objection. But there is one thing which appears to us to come under a different principle. We allude to the ceremony of the ring. This, in the circumstances of this country, is an unmeaning ceremony,

wholly unworthy of the dignity and solemnity with which an attempt is made to invest it by invoking the glorious name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. The man is required to say to the woman, "With this ring I thee wed, and with all my worldly goods I thee endow: in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen." We call this unmeaning, because the marriage is a legal ceremony. Marriage is an institution of God, but the manner of celebrating it is entirely of human device. It may be British law, that a man is married by a ring; but surely it is not American law. And the endowment of the bride with the worldly goods of the bridegroom by means of the ring is an absolute falsehood. The inheritance of property is not regulated by the kingdom of Christ, which in this country is separate from the state, but by the laws of the land. If the law says that by virtue of marriage a woman is entitled to all the "wordly goods" of her husband, then she has them. But if the law says that she shall have a third; or if the law recognizes a jointure which may have been agreed upon between the parties; then a man does not endow his wife with all his worldly goods. Now we consider this unmeaning ceremony, performed in the name of the holy Trinity, as approaching to profaneness. It looks too much like uttering a falsehood in the name of God. The authors of this ceremony have not only overstepped the bounds of good taste, but have rather trespassed upon the dominions of conscience.

It is painful that in so solemn and interesting a transaction as marriage—on which every thing in the welfare of the parties depends, so much account should be made of ceremony and so little of prayer. The Lord's prayer, which is introduced on all occasions in the lit-

urgy, as though nothing could be done without it, and one short, very short and general, prayer, is all that we find of invoking the divine blessing in God's own appointed way! No opportunity is afforded to allude to particular circumstances of interest, and no solemn appeal is made to heaven in behalf of the newly married couple, as subject to the trials, temptations, and vicissitudes of life; but a mere formal petition of the most general and unimpressive kind imaginable!

Such is the liturgy of the Protestant Episcopal church. It is radically defective in regard to Protestantism, being committed to many of the saints' days, and other feasts and fasts of the Romish heresy; wearing distinctly a Popish garment throughout; and showing that its origin was in a dark age, unfit to dictate the devotions of this day of light. It is radically defective in its prescriptions for the ordinary worship of God on the Sabbath. It is likewise defective in its provision for the communion and for baptism. It endorses errors which have long ago been exploded. It obscures truths which it is the happiness and the duty of every one to see with the clearest eye. And it occupies such a space on the Sabbath, as to throw into the background the great ordinance of preaching the gospel, which, accompanied by the Holy Spirit, is the power of God unto salvation. With these great defects before us, we can not agree with its admirers, in calling it, "*The excellent liturgy.*" Whatever may be the feelings of others, we could not conform to this liturgy without an entire sacrifice of conscience. Accustomed as we are to a simpler

and more evangelical mode of approaching our Maker, we could not submit to be bound to a set form, and to a tacit endorsement of so many dangerous errors. The national church of England, whose influence every where appears in the Prayer-book, we do not admire, though we acknowledge it has embosomed, and still embosoms, many great and good men. The shadow of the British establishment, extending to our own shores, we can not sit under with delight. We had rather identify ourselves with our Puritan ancestors, of whom the world was not worthy, being members of those churches which they founded in the primitive order and simplicity of apostolical example, unincumbered with the trappings of England and Rome. Such is the universal abhorrence of Popery among these churches, that the suspension of pictures of Christ on the cross, such as are now seen in many Episcopal churches, would not be tolerated. The Oxford movement has no affinity with them. No semi-papistical influence has been exerted upon them in the use of a defective liturgy, by which the way is prepared for such a system. No disposition to exhume old errors and bring them into the reformed church of God, has been cherished among them. The Bible is in their hands. And this is the record of their faith. They care not what the liturgy, or the creed, or any other paper teaches: the Bible, the Bible only, is their standard of faith and practice. The churches of our Pilgrim fathers—the blessing of the Lord be on them! For our brethren and companions' sake we will now say, peace be within them!

THE DANGERS OF OUR COUNTRY.*

DR. FRANKLIN once expressed the wish, that his earthly life might be divided into two periods, one of which should occur something like two hundred years after the other. This singular wish was prompted, if we remember right, by his strong desire to witness the future condition of his country. He, in common with those great men who, with him, established, first its independence, and then its form of government, had his fears as well as his hopes touching the issue of their doings. In order to rouse their countrymen to resist the tyranny of England, they had excited feelings and appealed to principles which in some minds produced hostility to all government. In fostering a hatred in the nation against foreign rulers, they had unintentionally created to some extent a jealousy amounting to dislike of all rulers. They had raised a spirit which they could not lay—a demon which they could not exorcise, as they found to their sorrow, when they came to establish a government of their own. "We are," said he, in 1778, when the present constitution was before the people for adoption, "a nation of politicians. And though there is a general dread of giving too much power to our *governors*, I think we are more in danger from the little obedience in the *governed*."

Could Franklin, resuscitated from the sleep of death, come forth now among us, or could some one in the spirit and power of Franklin, take the post of observation, with his inquiring eye, with his philosophic mind, with his candid temper, with his patriotic heart, it is difficult to

say, whether in comparison with the past and in view of the probable future, he would find more to please than to pain him—more to inspire his hopes than to alarm his fears. And if such an one, speaking the language of truth, should proclaim to the people their political sins and dangers, is there not reason to believe that there are many who would turn from him with disgust, to listen to the flatteries of demagogues, as the Israelites turned away from the holy seer to listen to false prophets? They have so long been accustomed to hear the American people spoken of as the happiest people on the globe, the American government as the best government, American institutions as suitable for every other nation, that they look with suspicion upon every foreigner as an enemy, and upon every nation as a doubtful friend, who dares tell them the whole truth on these subjects.

But we rejoice to know that there are others, increasing in number it is believed, who, neither deceived themselves nor wishing to deceive others by the voice of adulation, can, without feeling their national pride wounded, bear to hear and to state things on this subject as they are. One of this number was the author of the letter before us. Dr. Webster, always distinguished as he was for his love of truth, had abundant opportunities for informing himself on the subjects discussed in this letter. He was not only a diligent student of history, but a close observer of persons and events in his own times. He was personally acquainted with this country while in the colonial state, shared in the hopes and fears which alternately animated and chilled the patriot's heart during the period of the Revolution, to accomplish which, in the ardor of his youthful feelings, he volunteered his services,

* A Letter to the Honorable Daniel Webster, contained in a Collection of Papers on Political, Literary and Moral Subjects, by Noah Webster, LL. D. Published by Webster & Clark, 130 Fulton st., New York.

helped by his pen to establish the constitution under which we live, as he was one of the first, if not the very first to make a proposition for its formation, which he did in 1785, in his "Sketches of American Policy;" knew what were the purposes and sentiments of those distinguished men who shaped its details; lived through two generations of men far into the third, sixty-seven years from the declaration of independence, and fifty-five from the adoption of the constitution; was brought closely in contact with the mind of the nation, "millions of whom he had taught to read, but not one to sin." Such a man has a right to speak. He ought to speak, and men should gather round him to listen, as he throws the collected light of the past on the events of the present. And now, though he sleeps in his grave with the blessings of his countrymen resting upon him, he still, being dead, yet speaketh, to instruct us in the lessons of wisdom hallowed by the sepulcher.

The letter above mentioned, published first in 1837, and recently in his *COLLECTION OF PAPERS*, is an analytical examination of certain political principles, avowed by many of our countrymen in their writings, their speeches, or their conduct, as a sound basis of theory or of action. Though in their opinion these principles may be as evident as the mathematical axiom, the whole is greater than a part; or as *profitable* as the "scoundrel maxim, a penny saved is a penny got," the author, with philological accuracy, either proves them to be false, or shows in what sense only they can be true. Having lived through more than one quarter of the period mentioned above, during which his friend Dr. Franklin was willing to slumber in unconsciousness, waiting the developments of time, he was able, from seeing the practical operation of these principles, as well as their elementary relations, to judge of their correctness.

"To the Honorable Daniel Webster: SIR—In your public addresses or speeches, and in those of other gentlemen of high political distinction, I have often seen an opinion expressed like this—That *intelligence* and *virtue* are the basis of a republican government, or that intelligence and virtue in the people are necessary to the preservation and support of a republican government. These words, *intelligence* and *virtue*, are very comprehensive in their uses or application, and perhaps too indefinite to furnish the premises for the inference deduced from them. Men may be very intelligent in some departments of literature, arts and science; but very ignorant of branches of learning in other departments. By intelligence, as applicable to political affairs, it may be presumed that those who use the term, intend it to imply a correct knowledge of the constitution and laws of the country, and of the several rights and duties of the citizens.

"But, sir, the opinion that intelligence in the people of a country will preserve a republican government, must depend, for its accuracy, on the fact of an intimate or necessary connection between *knowledge* and *principle*. It must suppose that men who *know* what is right, will *do* what is right: for if this is not the general fact, then intelligence will not preserve a just administration, nor maintain the constitution and laws. But from what evidence can we infer that men who *know* what is right will *do* what is right? In what history of mankind, political or ecclesiastical, are the facts recorded, which authorize the presumption, much less the belief, that correct action will proceed from correct knowledge? Such an effect would imply the absence of all depravity in the hearts of men; a supposition which not only revelation, but all history forbids us to admit.

"Let me ask, sir, whether the Greeks, and particularly the Athe-

nians, were not an intelligent people? Were they not intelligent when they banished the ablest statesmen and generals, and the purest patriots of their state? Was their intelligence sufficient to insure, at all times, a just administration of the laws? In short, if intelligence could preserve a republic, why were not the Grecian republics preserved?

"Then let us turn our attention to the Roman state. Were not Sylla and Marius intelligent men, when they rent the commonwealth with faction, and deluged Rome with blood? Were not Cæsar and Anthony and Lepidus, and Crassus and Brutus and Octavianus, intelligent men? Did not the Roman commonwealth fall into ruins in the most enlightened period of its existence? And were not the immediate instruments of its overthrow some of the most intelligent men that the pagan world has produced?

"Then look at France during the revolution, when there was no settled government to control reason. Were not the leading men of the parties intelligent men?—men who cut off the heads of their opponents, with as little ceremony as they would tread a worm under their feet, and for the *sake of liberty*. When one party was crushed, the others cried out, the *republic or liberty is safe*. When another party fell under the guillotin, then the triumphant party shouted, *liberty is safe*. But after all, the republic was *not* saved; and all parties at last were glad to find peace and security under a throne.

"Intelligence alone then has not yet saved any republic. But intelligence, it is said, must be accompanied with *virtue*, and these united are to give duration to a republic.

"Now, sir, what is this *virtue*? what does it mean in the sentiment or opinion above cited? What did Montesquieu intend by *virtue*, when he wrote about its influence in preserving a republic?—(Spirit of Laws, *passim*.)

"The virtue of a Roman citizen consisted in personal bravery, and in devotion to the defense and extent of the commonwealth. In particular men there existed a strong sense of right or political duty, which may take rank as a moral virtue. But such instances were rare, and most rare in the decline of the commonwealth, when the citizens were most intelligent. But in general, the virtue of the Romans was a passionate attachment to the commonwealth, for the grandeur of which they fought and conquered, till they had brought the civilized world to the feet of the republic. This *virtue* extended the dominion, but did not secure the existence of the republic.

"If by *virtue* is intended the observance of the common social duties, this may proceed from a respect for custom, and a regard to reputation; and either, with or without better principles, is a useful practice.

"But such virtue as this will not save a republic, unless based on better principles than a regard to custom or to reputation. The reason is obvious; such morality will often, not to say generally, yield to selfishness; that is, to the ambition of obtaining power and wealth. When strongly tempted by private interest, men often find the means of enlisting reason in its service; and invent excuses for disregarding the *public good*, which *ought* to be, and for the preservation of republican government *must be*, the ruling motive of citizens.

"The *virtue* which is necessary to preserve a just administration and render a government stable, is *Christian virtue*, which consists in the uniform practice of moral and religious duties, in conformity with the laws both of God and man. This virtue must be based on a reverence for the authority of God, which shall counteract and control ambition and selfish views, and subject them to the precepts of divine authority. The effect of such a virtue would be, to

bring the citizens of a state to vote and act for the *good of the state*, whether that should coincide with their private interest or not. But when or where has this virtue been possessed by all the citizens, or even by a majority of the citizens of a state? History does not authorize us to believe that such virtue has ever existed in the body of citizens in any community; or to presume that such a community will ever exist."—pp. 269, 270.

In the course of this letter he analyzes the expression, "all men are born free and equal," compares the tyranny of kings and nobles, against which our fathers took care to guard themselves and their posterity, with the tyranny of the people acting by a majority, against which it is not so easy to guard. He speaks of the operation of universal suffrage; of the rights of person and of property; of the difficulty there is, from the extent of our territory, of the great body of the electors becoming acquainted with the comparative merits of the different candidates for office. He adverts to the extensive patronage of the President, which enables him, if disposed, to bribe his supporters; of the jealousies between the rich and the poor; of the attempt to excite prejudices against learning and literary institutions; of the opinion, that the legislator is bound to follow the wishes of his particular constituents; of removals from office; of the doctrine, that there are no vested rights; of the opinion, that a state may at the end of nineteen years from the date of the contract, repudiate its debts; of the doctrine, that if a small number of persons are guilty of violating law, they may be indicted, but if a great number outrage law and rights, they are not to be indicted or punished; of the opinion, that offices are created for the benefit of individuals, rather than for the state.

On these topics he presents his thoughts to us in his own excellent style of writing, perspicuous, terse, and vigorous, characterized, like his other productions, by his intimate acquaintance with our mother tongue; reminding us of the best writings of Hamilton, Madison, and Jay; breathing forth the same spirit of patriotism, and instinct with the same intellectual life.

Animated by the spirit that pervades this letter, we would say to every one who intends to perform the duties of an American citizen, it is not enough for you to become acquainted with the general features of American society, and of American institutions. What you want to know so far as you can, is the exact "form and pressure" of the present times. You want to know the very shapes of the circumstances in which you will be called personally to act.

Our country, commencing its existence under the happiest auspices, is furnished with abundant materials of present good; while the omens of future good lead us to expect a glorious destiny. There are so many physical causes in climate, soil, water power, and facilities of intercourse; so many political causes in the freedom of our institutions; so many moral causes in education, religion, and the power of the press, that we very easily, in our self-admiration, adopt the opinion, that our country, in the words of one of our own bards, "the queen of the world and the child of the skies," will go on in improvement, from glory to glory, until she will become the joy of the whole earth.

But while one prophet from his elevated position is thus ready to say, "How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob, and thy tabernacles, O Israel! blessed is he that blesseth thee, and cursed is he that curseth thee;" another prophet, gifted with as clear a vision, is ready to say, "How is

the gold changed, and the fine gold become dim! ah, sinful nation, a seed of evil-doers, how art thou become a hissing and a by-word among all nations!" When some political seer, some foreigner, puts forth such a prediction, instead of giving him any credit for "mystical lore," which may enable him to see "coming events in their shadows," we upbraid him with the insinuation, that his "wish is the father of his thought." But instead of this, should we not rather imitate the prudent mariner, who, with a wary eye, looks out for storms even in fair weather? Is there no evil at work in our system, which with a terrible efficiency tends to this predicted result, which we rejoice to believe it will never reach?

In the physical world there is what is called a principle of compensation. Where there is a peculiar advantage or convenience, it is balanced by a corresponding deficiency or inconvenience. Thus, under the sunny skies of beautiful Italy, the malaria reigns. The same principle appears in the moral world. In this mixed state of being, we find that when nations or individuals enjoy peculiar blessings, they are subject to corresponding evils.

What then are some of the advantages which we as a nation enjoy, on the one hand; and what are some of the correspondent evils?

First, then, the age in which we live is characterized by *great freedom of opinion*, in opposition to mere authority. The ages of prescription have gone by. Men will not adopt fundamental doctrines in politics, education, and religion, merely upon the authority of great names. They ask for evidence; and they feel competent of themselves and by themselves, to judge of the evidence. In the early periods of human society, the great mass of the people were willing to enroll among the gods, as worthy of

divine honors, the man who made discoveries in science, or inventions in the arts. In later periods, if they did not deify such, they still were willing to honor them as princes in the empire of knowledge, to whom others should do homage. Thus was it when Aristotle reigned with imperial sway, over the minds of men, who were contented with this intellectual vassalage. Thus was it during the night of the dark ages, when he of the triple crown proclaimed his infallibility to believing millions. Thus was it during the dawn and after the risen day of the Reformation, when Luther and Calvin, even when in their graves, ruled as lords paramount over multitudes of retainers. Every village in Protestant as well as Papal countries, had its lord spiritual and its lord temporal, who exacted the homage of the many as their right; even though the one lord was a New England justice of the peace, and the other a parish minister.

But we in this age, delivered from this intellectual vassalage, enjoy to the full the right of private judgment, and liberty both of speech and of the press.

But while we rejoice in the good, let us look at the evils which in the way of compensation are put into the other scale. One evil growing out of this state of the public mind is, that in their opposition to authority, men will not believe even on the authority of God, any truth that is mysterious. There is danger that men in the pride of intellect, will reject some of the fundamental doctrines of the gospel. There is danger, that, while they avoid repairing to the great light of the world for illumination, they will in the pride of reason walk in the light of their own fire, and in the sparks which their own hands have kindled. Are there not even now those who lean away so far from the authority of God to their

own understanding, that they measure themselves by themselves rather than by the Bible, which they consider to a large extent as obsolete. Are there not those who reigning as kings, without their teaching, set themselves up to be teachers of what they do not understand, the originators of new and crude doctrines in politics, new and wonderful nostrums in medicine, and new revelations in religion? But do you say, give truth an open field for encounter with error, and we need not fear for the issue? Yes, but you should remember that error is multiform, while truth is but one. Error has a natural affinity for the universal depravity of man, while truth can not be omnipresent with appropriate evidence, to meet it.

Another evil connected with the good mentioned above, is, that while men enjoy the advantage of being free in their opinions and conduct from the authority of the press, they are exposed to become the vassals of the many, in their subjection to what is called public sentiment. In our popular form of government, as the majority must rule, there is supposed to be a positive excellence in numbers, independent of the virtue and intelligence which they may include. As men are at liberty to form any opinion, they are under a constant temptation to adopt the opinion of the majority as the most profitable. Watch the workings of their minds. "That cause will prevail, therefore I go for that cause. Those opinions will generally be adopted, therefore I adopt them now." If they are in doubt which side will prevail, they are, in the language of the day, unwilling to commit themselves, lest they should be found on the wrong, that is, on the unpopular side. Now to talk of such men being free, when they are the slaves of the many! why, they will follow the multitude to do good, or they will follow the multitude to do evil, es-

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pecially if by so doing, there is a chance to *lead* the multitude. They can not bear the loss of popular favor. They cower and hang their heads beneath the frown of popular indignation. They tremble and quail beneath the tyranny of public opinion. The sense of their individual responsibility is lost in the mass of minds with which they are associated.

Moreover, the age in which we live is characterized by the love of *practical*, to the comparative neglect of *speculative* truth. In former times, there were sages and philosophers who retired from the haunts of business, to seek for truth in the calm meditations of contemplative life. In their seclusion, they held communion with God, with nature, with the spirits of the mighty dead, with their own great minds, that they might become acquainted with the living form of truth, with the first good and the first fair. Admiring the forms of intellectual beauty, they sought for them in the fields of original investigation. They loved knowledge as an end, not merely as a means. In thus extending the bounds of knowledge, they were the benefactors of our race; but to a large extent they were so unintentionally. They did not apply their knowledge to any useful purpose. And besides, they not unfrequently employed their minds on subjects that lie beyond the scope of the human intellect, or that in their nature are frivolous and unprofitable.

But in our times there is not this waste of intellect. The grand inquiry now is for useful truths, namely, for those that have a practical bearing in promoting the arts of life, the well being of society, and the salvation of the soul. Look for a moment at the application of physical truths to the construction of machinery, that can by one directing mind do the work of a thousand hands; or at the application

of political truth to a system of internal improvement, which is diffusing through the land, wealth, convenience, and comfort; or at the application of moral truth to the temperance reformation; or at the application of religious truth in Sunday schools. If you look carefully at things like these, you can hardly fail of being convinced, that there is scarcely an important truth known in physical science, in politics, in morals, in education, or in religion, which has not been applied to some purpose, if not to some useful purpose.

One evil to which we are exposed in consequence of this attention to the application of truth, is, that men will think lightly of those truths which they can not perceive to be immediately useful. They are so much accustomed to consider truth as valuable on account of its application, that they overlook its intrinsic excellence. Thus the noble science of astronomy may be valued only as it is applied to the art of navigation; the wonderful science of chemistry, only because it can be applied to the prevention and cure of disease; mechanical philosophy, because it can be applied to steam engines; political truth, only as it will help to sustain a party; and religious truth, only so far as it will help to make converts. In this way it is, that Truth, who dwelt of old in the bosom of God, as his own daughter, comes down to man, not as the child of the skies, but as a mere menial, useful, but degraded.

The tendency of this, is, to give a superficial character to all the important professions. If the farmer studies the art of agriculture only so far as is necessary in order to make money; if the mechanic learns his trade in the shortest possible time, so far as it is necessary in order to undersell his competitors; if the physician studies the science of healing only so far as is

necessary to get a multitude of patients; if the clergyman studies theology only so much as is necessary to draw after him a multitude of admirers; can they be otherwise than superficial? Said one of the most successful politicians of the present time, men do not love truth now-a-days. They want only so much truth in a given case, as will gild over a falsehood and give it currency. The whole secret of success in politics is to employ a little truth, and a great deal of management. If political agitators find that they can arouse and sway large masses of men by party machinery, will they not be tempted to reject the doubtful aid of truth? They want only those truths which are immediately available, and not the whole truth. They want a candidate that is available, and not the best man. What they want is loyalty to their party, just as in a monarchy there is loyalty to the king. The party can do no wrong, just as the king can do no wrong.

And is there not danger moreover, that religion will in this respect follow in the steps of politics; that those who plead her cause will rely more upon machinery, than upon the great truths of the Bible. If the politician forsakes the grand principles of the constitution, in the use of truths that are available to the present success of his party, is there not reason to fear that Christians may forsake the great doctrines of grace, in the use of those fragments of truth that are found to be most available? If the politician labors not so much to instruct, as to produce immediate results at an election, is there not reason to fear that leaders in religion will aim chiefly at immediate results, rather than at thorough instruction? If the politician dares not trust the people to form their own views of public measures, but must make as many as they can, commit themselves at some public meeting, is

there not danger that leaders in religion, will in some way make as many as they can, commit themselves to certain movements, so that pride of character will do for them what conscience would not. If the politician is in the habit of showing forth his patriotism by *talking*, rather than by *doing* the duties of a good citizen, is there not danger that the religionist will endeavor to show forth his piety by talking, rather than by doing the duties of a good Christian. In short, is there not danger from superficial views of Christianity, that the religion of our country will assume the character, and the defects, of our political institutions?

Again, the present age is characterized by improvements in *physical comforts* and *the arts of life*. This is the natural consequence of the application of knowledge. A large amount of labor that used to be employed in making the necessities of life, can now, by the use of machinery, be employed in improvements. Every man knows, that there is fair chance for bettering his condition. Reverses there have indeed been during the last six years. But compare the country now with what it was twenty five years since, and you will have no doubt that great progress has been made in these improvements.

One evil growing out of this good, is that of discontent. The chance of bettering their condition, will not let men rest satisfied with their condition, though theirs is a good one. They can not let well alone, while they know there is a better. They must engage in some promising enterprise, even if it is hazardous, or they envy those who have been more successful than themselves. And then too, as money answereth all things in gaining these physical comforts, they have learned to sacrifice the virtues and charities of social and domestic life at the shrine

of avarice. The cry is, with all thy getting, get money.

Another evil kindred to this, is, that inasmuch as men have changed their condition in many respects for the better, they have come to feel that change is the same as improvement; that what is old, is bad; that what is new, is good. On this ground, they are ready to exchange their old political opinions, their old modes of education, their old forms of worship, their old religion, for new political principles, new modes of education, new forms of worship, and a new religion; just as they would exchange an old garment for a new one. They plume themselves upon being up with the times; but they forget, perhaps they never knew, that old errors are raked up from the rubbish of centuries, and embraced with rapture under new names. If you join a political party, they will change their principles and "shoot you as a deserter," if you do not change with them, even though you joined them on account of the principles which they have deserted.

Moreover, the age in which we live is characterized by a *spirit of active benevolence*. A vast number of Christians acting on the principle, that they are not their own, being bought with a price by Him who went about doing good, regard the spirit of benevolence as at once the test and the fruit of discipleship; as at once the pledge and the earnest of heaven.

While we rejoice over the good, let us as before, look at the corresponding evils. One evil is, that we are exposed to have a bustling and ostentatious religion. There is a certain kind of honor connected with patronizing the various objects of benevolence, whether by money or influence. For the sake of gaining this honor, men may be tempted away from the modest and retired modes of duty, to a violation of the injunction: "Take heed that ye

do not your alms before men to be seen of them." This spirit of benevolence, so excellent in its nature, has created a vast number of offices to which ambition can aspire, by means of the various organizations which it has originated. These offices may not offer as large an emolument, to tempt avarice; but they confer as much respectability and influence, as some of the higher offices of prelacy, and they may be coveted as much.

Another evil is, that by yielding the mind habitually to reasons addressed to benevolent feelings, the moral character of an action comes to be measured by the *good* which it produces. "Such an action produced a great amount of good; it must therefore be right." Just as if a man may perpetrate any enormities, and call them virtuous, provided they appear to produce good. Just as if the end being good, will sanctify the means! Just as if truth may be violated, and promises broken, and justice outraged, if good appears to be produced by so doing!

Another evil to which we are exposed is, that in the subdivision of the objects of benevolence, certain associations, through the activity of their agents, will teach the community to attach a disproportionate importance to the objects which they were organized to promote. Some of these objects, more exciting in themselves than other objects equally important, when presented by some eloquent agent who has his speech perfectly committed, make a strong impression on the public mind; while the other objects are overlooked. These men, in their zeal to form public sentiment, deal in high-wrought descriptions and startling statements in favor of their cause. They place in the foreground of the picture their own object, in bright colors and in strong relief; while other objects, if noticed at all, are placed far in the back-

ground, in dim perspective, as of much less importance.

But besides thus presenting a distorted view of the gospel, which exposes the Christian under its influence to the danger of losing the symmetry of a perfect man in Christ for a monstrous development, there is another evil. By the presentation of thrilling description, high-wrought statement, impassioned appeals to the public mind, it is taught to lose its relish for simple truth, just as the drunkard loses his relish for pure water. Something more exciting is needed. The simple truths of nature and revelation must be distilled in the alembic of a heated imagination, to furnish a moral alcohol for the public taste.

Besides, by multiplying organizations of this kind, there is danger that large classes of the most active and efficient Christians, in their attachment to some particular associations, will decline from the higher and more spiritual doctrines and duties, into narrow views and intolerant feelings; that, in this way, some of these associations will become arrayed against each other, like two hostile armies; that there will be challenge and defiance, crimination and recrimination, bitter words and bitter feelings, until, in the rage of contention, the great doctrines and duties of the gospel will be lost sight of on both sides. And what aggravates the evil of this war is, that it is carried into the very heart of the church. Formerly there were standing controversies between the religious denominations. These controversies appear in some degree to have subsided, so that now, in the opinion of some, there is more of a tendency than formerly to union. But, unfortunately, while there has been a gain, so far as the external relations of some of these denominations are concerned, there has been a loss, in some degree, of internal peace.

As the last general topic, we shall

notice the great susceptibility of the public mind. The fact that such a susceptibility exists, is too well known to require any proof. The time has gone by, when subjects deemed important were treated with indifference. Hardly a subject connected with politics, morals, education, or religion, can now be presented, without its awakening emotions either of dislike or approbation.

Without dwelling on the obvious good connected with this susceptibility of the public mind, we will bestow a glance on the comparative evils. There is danger that the public generally will acquire an habitual love of excitement. This is perfectly evident from the nature of the human constitution. Excitement, through the passions of the mind, can become habitual, as well as through the appetites of the body; the excitement of anger as well as the excitement of alcohol. There is an intoxication from the passions, as well as the intoxication from ardent spirits; and what is remarkable, they agree in their immediate and their remote effects. The one is equally seductive as the other. Now it has been found that by using the appropriate means, it is perfectly easy, on any important subject, to get up an excitement in the community. By means of the press and the eloquent tongue, especially if there is a combination of effort, it has been found that public opinion can be manufactured in any quantity, and public feeling excited to any degree. This is the approved recipe for doing it. First, get up an alarm in respect to some important interest. Then agitate the public mind with terror for a time. Next, prepare and recommend certain agencies and measures as certain remedies, for the treatment of the case. Then declare that we shall all be ruined if we reject these proposed agencies and measures. Lastly, denounce, as the enemies of God and man, those who refuse to employ

these proposed agencies and measures. This recipe never fails.

Having been under this treatment, they will burn down a convent at one place, and a hall at another; hang up men without judge or jury; move in mobs, especially at elections; assault private houses and the mansion of the president of the nation; while in a thousand minor ways they will outrage the proprieties of life. They will violate the majesty of the law and the shrine of justice, and even the sacred rights of our common nature; and all for what? They have been told that some great interest is thereby promoted. Fixing their thoughts upon a narrow range of objects, they are hurried on by their excited feelings, first to decide important questions without evidence, and then to act regardless of consequences. How their understanding is warped by their passions! "All is fair in politics," is a practical rule with them. Why? Because success in their eyes is more valuable than the truth and honor sacrificed for its sake. "Any measures that will accomplish the conversion of a sinner," is a maxim sometimes adopted; just as if his happiness is of more value than the rectitude of his spiritual guide.

But such excitements in some cases embitter as well as corrupt the public mind. They injure the temper of the subject of them, as evidently as the excitement of alcohol. He shows it in his unsocial and morose conduct towards those who differ from him, in his censorious words, and even in the tones of voice and in the harsh expression of his countenance. Thus it is that they plant many a root of bitterness in the community, which springing up, troubles it. For some years the public mind has been in a chafed and excited state; and just in proportion to the degree of excitement, whether on politics, morals or religion, has there been a repulsion between the

elementary parts that compose it, just as bodies charged with electricity repel each other. A fierce and fiery spirit has been awakened in large masses of the people, which ever and anon blazes out with destructive energy, in different parts of the country, threatening to lay waste our fair heritage.

In the above remarks it has not been our intention to sustain the positions we have taken by an induction of facts; since the memory of the intelligent reader can furnish

them. Nor was it our intention to illustrate them by moral painting, though this can so easily be done. Our aim has been simply to present a connected view of certain advantages which our country enjoys at the present time, with their attendant evils, in order that we may not only be grateful to the Giver of all good for these advantages, but likewise having a distinct knowledge of these evils, we may successfully guard ourselves against the dangers to which they expose us.

Merrill Richardson

A PLAIN DISCUSSION WITH A TRANSCENDENTALIST.

Mr. B. Is there any prospect that the community will ever understand your new system of philosophy and faith? For years the inquiry has been "What is Transcendentalism?" and no intelligible answer has been given. The terms you use to express your ideas are new and hard to be understood. If you will drop your strange terminology and give your thoughts in plain, common sense language, you will do me a favor as an honest searcher after truth. If you have new *things* as well as new *words* and *names*, why can not you in a familiar way, communicate them?

Mr. A. You can readily see that a person may have ideas which can not be conveyed with precision to those who have had neither the ideas nor the words by which they are expressed. It is so in all the sciences, and particularly in the science of thought. But the principal reason why we are not understood is, men think so superficially. Most minds skim over the surface of a thousand subjects, but few dive deep into the sea of thought, remain long enough for distinct vision, and seize and bring up the precious pearls. How often do you throw out thoughts which, to your own mind, are great

and comprehensive, scarcely a gleam of which enters the brain of one in twenty of your hearers! How little original thinking is there among that numerous class of our citizens who are called educated. Most of them dare not trust themselves with an idea which did not come from their text-books. If the guardian angel, genius, should suggest a new thought to their minds, they would crush it in the birth lest it should grow into an heresy. Look at the books which fly from the press like autumn leaves from the tree, without one new thought. An original mind, a genius, rarely appears, and is as rarely appreciated by his own age. The prophet is not in honor in his own country. This has been true in all time; it always will be true, for to be a genius is to be in advance of one's own age. Human pride and self-sufficiency predispose men to be ungrateful for teachings more inspired than their own. "Dost thou teach us?" is their contemptuous reply to those who now attempt to open the eyes of the blind; and "they cast them out."

Mr. B. Well, granting that to your mind there is an extent and depth of meaning in the terms of your philosophy which I do not see,

yet is it not possible to convey to my mind some true and definite idea of the thing called Transcendentalism? Dropping its scientific terms and all technicalities, can we not talk upon the real thing in plain English?

Mr. A. I trust we may, to some extent at least; for *the thing*, as you call it, is more generally felt than you suppose. It has been said that every one is, in a sense, a poet; no one can read a poem well if not in a poetic mood. So I would say, every one is, in a sense, a transcendentalist; that is, all who allow their minds any latitude of thought, at times have thoughts and feelings which are properly called transcendental. Hence we have aimed to establish schools, that the mind even in childhood, before it becomes cramped by forms, and before the inner light of the soul becomes dimmed or totally extinguished by the senses, may receive a right direction; be made to think for itself, and be led to see—not the forms of things, but things themselves. All men, though in different degrees and varied forms, would be transcendentalists if they received a spiritual rather than a sensual culture.

Mr. B. Let us here come directly to the point. I have long suspected myself of transcendentalism, and would gladly gather from you some clear idea of it, that I may know whether I am within or without the pale of discipleship.

Mr. A. But you must remember that this is a very extensive subject. It would lead us a long way back, to Kant and even to Plato. The writings of many in Germany, of some in England and France, and a few in our own country, must be discussed, in order to get a clear view of the whole. And then there are all varieties and degrees of transcendentalism. Those in Germany who followed Kant and adopted much of his philosophy, differed from him in many important particulars. Fichte,

Schelling, Hegel, had each his own system, though they have been called transcendentalists. What, in loose language, is termed transcendentalism, is variously modified in different countries by different individuals, who have embraced that system of metaphysics which, leaving the field of sensual knowledge, soars into the regions of pure thought. The transcendentalists of our country, influenced to a great extent by the writings of Carlyle, have made great advances upon the Kantian philosophy; we have not only gone farther in our search for spiritual truth, but we have applied our philosophy to different subjects, and made it bear more directly upon the duties and relations of life.

Mr. B. We will leave, as far as possible, names and systems, as well as technicalities, out of view. I wish to talk with you upon *your* transcendentalism, and know whether it is possible for us to understand each other.

Mr. A. I will comply with your request upon one condition. You shall not reproach me with nonsense and fog if you fail to apprehend my meaning. Your sensual school of philosophy—

Mr. B. Stop, lest we raise bad blood in settling the preliminaries. I accept the condition, and propose that we commence with *man*. You claim that your views of man's spiritual nature are altogether truer and nobler than those which generally prevail.

Mr. A. Instead of considering man a mere creature of sense and intellect, but little superior to animal instinct, we view him a free, spiritual existence, of unlimited capacities, possessed of a soul truly god-like, and in every way qualified for knowing truth and duty. Locke has entirely misled the world in some of the most vital points. Making the soul a blank leaf, upon which, with the pen of the five senses, external objects wrote whatsoever they listed,

he left man, like the brute, at the mercy of any thing that chanced to leave upon his brains the deepest impression. He left man no fixed pole-star by which to direct his course, but only the flickering taper of self-interest, in following which, he has been wrecked upon every sand-bar. He granted him reflection, but this was only a kind of ruminating upon the gross food furnished by the senses. This chewing of the cud only aided the digestion; it gave no new spiritual aliment to the system. Man was to ascertain truth and duty, not from listening to the clear response of the divine oracle within him, but from the prompting of the appetite; that was truth which was sweet, that a lie which was bitter to the palate. Duty, virtue, properly speaking, there were none. If a man, by balancing pains and pleasures, present or future, could find which end of the steel-yards would probably preponderate, *there* lay his duty. Such has been the philosophy, for the most part, of the civilized world. In opposition to this sensual system, we maintain that man has other faculties than the bodily senses—a soul distinct from the stomach. He is endowed with reason and strong religious sentiments, which intuitively know and spontaneously feel truth and duty. That is *true*, not because of its greater profit or pleasure, but true because it is in agreement with the eternal nature of things. And God has gifted man with the faculty to discover this truth. Duty rests upon this discovered truth. Man has no arithmetical calculations to make to find his duty; it lies revealed to this faculty. The *right* is to be followed, come pleasure or pain; his obligation to do right is infinite, having all the weight of established and unchangeable truth. We give the soul a faculty which is wanting, or which is certainly overlooked in the common philosophy of the age. And this faculty is the chief quality be-

longing to man. It is this which, together with conscience, distinguishes him from the brute creation. This faculty is a divine, truth-seeing, reason. Man appears to me in a new light, belonging to a higher order of beings, since I have studied him as he is. He is associated in my mind with celestial beings, rather than with creeping things. This view of man affects all his moral relations. It sets aside, or rather rises superior to all that endless calculation and argument about God, conscience, religion, which for centuries have occupied the church.

Mr. B. I can heartily respond to much which you say. And certainly man needs to have his attention turned more to those great facts relating to his spiritual nature. But you will pardon me if I call your attention more particularly to some things which you have stated. This higher faculty of reason which you claim as so great a discovery in mental science, and which you glory in as a distinguishing feature of your system, I believe to be important, but can not see to be new.

Mr. A. It is as old as Plato and Abraham. But for centuries men have lost sight of it. We claim only that we have found what had been lost. Practically it is a new discovery, though the time was when the great truths which this faculty reveals animated and inspired the greatest minds.

Mr. B. But I can see nothing in this which has not been recognized, and which is not now recognized in some form by those whom you would hesitate to call disciples of your school. You have justly laid more stress upon this faculty, I will admit, than has been usually done; but how can you claim it to be a new discovery, even in the sense you have stated? Has not every enlightened moralist and Christian preacher advocated the idea that truth and falsehood, right and wrong, are, in their very nature, eternally

separate? How can this have escaped you, when, for example, you have read the argument in favor of the Christian religion drawn from the *nature of its doctrines*? How repeatedly has it been asserted that the mind is such a thing that it sees and knows many of these doctrines to be true?—that man is compelled, from the nature God has given him, to assent to the rightfulness and the righteousness of the precepts of the gospel? It has ever been claimed that the fundamental precepts of moral conduct are so plain that the fool need not err, and the heathen are without excuse. When the spirit of infidelity, coursing up and down the page of revelation, has sought some weak point at which to commence its sacrilegious work, where has it alighted? Upon the fundamental doctrines and precepts of Christianity? By no means. And why? Because infidelity itself has been forced to acknowledge this citadel impregnable. The leading doctrines of the gospel mankind have felt to be true. They appeal directly to the soul, conscience, reason, the whole inner man, and, except in a strait of desperation, the infidel has not dared to lay his hands upon these truths, but has made his attacks upon some apparent discrepancies in the chronology of Moses, or points alike insignificant, knowing that the common sense and reason of the world would cry out against him, if he assailed the love, the benevolence, the humility, the charity, the forgiveness, the repentance, enjoined in the gospel. When infidelity has denied the validity of the evidence in favor of revelation, and inferred that man is under no obligation to practice the virtues there enjoined, what has been our reply? Why, that proof or no proof on this point, there was still another ground of obligation, one which it could not gainsay, viz. the testimony of man's reason and conscience to the truthfulness of the practical doctrines

contained in the Bible. Hence in various forms and relations we have always held to a truth-seeing and duty-knowing faculty in man.

Mr. A. But you have confounded it with the understanding, which can never see either spiritual or universal truths, but has to do only with the senses. And thus you have subjected all classes of ideas to the scrutiny of the logic of the understanding, which has led to questioning and denying every thing, to throwing religious and sensual truths into the same category, producing endless confusion.

Mr. B. Why not elucidate this matter of the reason and the understanding thus:—Looking upon the mind as a unit, and not a medley of separate faculties, we say, the mind, when acting in one capacity, judges; in another, remembers; in another, imagines; in another, wills, and so on. It is the whole mind, acting in its various directions and capacities, that gives rise to this distinction of faculties. Now when we speak of the understanding and reason as separate faculties, or as heading two different classes of mental operations, we mean no more than that the mind, as one active agent, occupied with one class of objects, or in one capacity, is called the understanding; in another capacity, or acting upon a different class of objects, is called reason. Take an example given by one of your own writers to illustrate this distinction: We draw a triangle, and by examination find its angles equal to two right angles. This is a discovery of the understanding. Now the understanding would never see that *all* triangles *must* have their angles equal to two right angles; but the *reason* sees this universal truth. Very well. It is the mind, dropping any particular triangle, which grasps a fact common to all such figures. It is the understanding, say you, which is occupied upon the natural sciences, in classifying men, ani-

mals, vegetables, minerals, &c. into genera and species; but it is the reason which sees those facts common to all of the same genus or species. But the whole mind is occupied in all this; and those who never heard of the distinction between the understanding and the reason, recognize both these powers of the mind.

Mr. A. But what the reason does here is quite an unimportant part of its official work, compared with what it does in the higher sphere of spiritual truth. The understanding would indeed make blundering work any where, without some aid from the reason. It is only a kind of intellectual hopper, which the senses furnish with grain, and by means of a little grinding power of the reason, it is enabled to furnish flour well bolted, bagged, and ready for use. But while the reason assists the understanding in manufacturing these materials of the senses, its peculiar province is to know God, virtue and religion, and here it receives no aid, but is hindered in its operations by the senses and the understanding. You have tried to make the intellectual mill grind spiritual things as well as material. You have set the senses laboriously to work to fill the hopper with their coarse grains,—arguments for a God, a soul, a Christianity, a religion,—then hoisted the gate, and with deafening squeakings and monotonous scranell pipings, you have produced—meal? the driest unsavory bran, and nothing more, say most, and then you fall to disputing with them whether it is bran or meal. Is it wonderful that none but dyspeptics will partake of such a questionable dish? Not only is there a radical distinction between these two faculties, but it is of the utmost importance to a spiritual religion that it be maintained.

Mr. B. I have no objection to the distinction; I deem it important; but I can not sympathize with your objection to employing the

mind; the whole mind, or any one of its faculties, in discussing religious topics. Religion, say you, is not the province of the understanding, but of the reason. Well, if of the reason, then of the mind in the exercise of reason.

Mr. A. Yes! but man has a soul, and you would leave him nothing but a fragment of intellect, to be occupied indifferently, either upon a piece of carpentry, the different methods of cookery, or a system of religion. What faculty, in your metaphysics, is it, by which a man is thrown into raptures by the beauties of nature, the inspirations of the poet, or contemplations of the godlike? You would secularize every thing, and look cool as an icicle, upon the face of beauty, or the wonders of a wonder-working God! Your philosophy has so benumbed your spiritual nature, that you can not even talk upon this subject. You remind me of the clodpole who grunted out—"pshaw! what's the use of those weeds," as he saw a lovely damsel weaving a bouquet. Standing under the roar of Niagara, your only thought would be, whether the position were eligible for a sawmill. You must change your whole method of thinking, and look with a different eye upon the universe, before you can see all that is visible to man's divine reason.

The reason is a faculty quite different from the logical power, by which one gets the better of an opponent in an argument. It directly sees, and at the same time feels the truth, and beauty, and goodness, of all things. True, mind is essentially the same in all men; yet upon almost every subject how varied are men's opinions; and upon no subject do their speculations differ more widely than upon religion. And not their opinions only, but their feelings and whole spiritual nature differ entirely. Of the millions who cultivate the earth, or of the less numerous but more favored

class of mere consumers, few, like Burns, are alive to the beauty and infinity of its forms. He saw more in the thistle at his door-stone, than others would see in traversing the whole of leafy India. The soul of one is thrilled with the music of the spheres, while thousands stare at the heavens with the stupidity of the ox. The language of devotion is uttered by every tree, flower, and running brook, but seldom is there an ear to hear, and a heart to feel. Yet the tympanum of all ears is of the same construction; dissect men, and you will find the heart, ventricles, veins, and arteries, the same in all. Why then, you may as well reason, is there such difference in the hearing and feeling of living men? Why this deafness, blindness, insensibility, in some—while others, in the same outward condition, see, hear, and feel sensitively? The only answer is, after abating much for different natural endowments, most men look at every thing through the eye of the understanding, rather than through the eye of reason. I maintain, that all possess the godlike faculty of discerning religious truth, but they neglect to use it. They must argue every point; call councils and diets to weigh evidence, and by a majority of votes, put the matter beyond dispute, decide what is orthodox, and what men shall believe upon due pains and penalties. Hence to-day, *this* is sound doctrine; to-morrow, the mail arrives bringing intelligence from some such ecclesiastical debating club, that if you continue to believe it, you shall be hung, and no mass said for your soul. The fact has been entirely overlooked, that the understanding is not adapted to the discovery of truth in things spiritual. Men have endeavored to settle points in religion, as they settle questions about railroads and banks, and thus the faith of the church has changed with every fresh breeze of eccle-

siastical discussion. Notwithstanding the infallibility of popes and prelates, the orthodox and the heterodox have changed places some hundred times. And as long as men disregard or overlook the inner light of reason, and place religion and Christianity among the subjects of debate, so long will these shiftings of belief continue.

Mr. B. Did it belong to the object of our present discussion, I would attempt quite a different solution of this change in religious belief. You seem to grant that reason has been recognized as a mental faculty. I claim, that appeals have ever been made to it in the search for truth, and particularly in the examination of scripture doctrines.

Mr. A. Why then those volumes of arguments, *a priori* and *a posteriori*, to prove that there is a God, a Christianity, even a religion in the universe? Why have not your Christian philosophers pointed men directly to the facts of a religion as they exist, and can be known to exist in the bosom of every man, as they would point them to the existence of any objects of vision, and there leave them, taking it for granted that these facts were *seen*? Instead of this, they have debated all these points as problematical; God's very existence has been left a peradventure, and all truth and duty disputable. So far from turning the mind in upon itself that it might see truth, and feel the infinite weight of duty, you have only led it to question whether they are realities. I am willing to concede that some minds have recognized a reason superior to the understanding. It is too obvious to be overlooked by those who think deeply. Still, this distinction has, to the infinite detriment of truth, been disregarded.

Mr. B. These points have been discussed that the mind might be turned to them. Argument affects the mind in reference to a thousand

things concerning which there is really no disbelief. When the sceptic, one starry night, was dealing out his atheistic notions to Napoleon, and Napoleon looked up and asked, "Who made all these then?" there was an argument, virtually the whole argument, for the existence of a God. Now I ask, where was the harm of such a reply? Every thinking mind has seasons of doubting almost every thing which has been considered matter of settled belief. As some of your own philosophers have said, no one has thought sufficiently to be a metaphysician, who has not thought to doubting. Now the mind rights itself at such times by *evidence*, internal or external, of the reason or of the understanding, I care not which, I approve of both.

Mr. A. If men had been rightly educated, taught to look within rather than without, made acquainted with their own powers and the proper method of viewing subjects, they would escape those doubts.

Mr. B. Will you then grant that, under existing circumstances, it is better to continue the discussion?

Mr. A. By no means. Nothing is gained, while much is lost. The man who needs to be convinced of religious truth by the deductions of logic, though his language and outward conduct may be somewhat changed by such conviction, still remains the same at heart. He is no more spiritual. He is still destitute of genuine faith. His religion continues a mere matter of calculation, embodied in outward forms, and not in the rapt emotions of a spiritual life. Much is lost, for while we continue to argue upon those fundamental, intuitive truths, they will continue to be disputed. It is appalling to think to what a depth of spiritual degradation the sensual philosophy of our age has sunk us. We have been led to question whether we have souls even; the being of a God denied;

faith, except in things which can be seen and handled, rooted from the heart, and duty reduced to a mere problem in the rule of loss and gain. Let us stop this low and false argumentation at once; for better have no metaphysics, than to continue in this way. Why, only reflect! How have you attempted to convince men that they should be religious? By showing that religion is *useful*! On your system, men are told they had better have religion, for reasons like those which induce them to buy an article of furniture, or a meal of victuals—it will do them good! Really, how such motives can consist with virtue, I can not see. Does not every thief, for the time being, reason that his theft will profit him? And is this same scoundrel a good man, when, convinced his gains will be greater, he ceases to steal and begins to pray? The possession of a Spanish galleon laden with Peruvian mines could not offer such rewards to the pirate, as Paley offers him if he will be religious. Strange that any one should have overlooked the self-evident truth, that, properly speaking, there can be no virtue in acting from such motives. Self must be annihilated, denied as the gospel of Christ hath it, and Right, Truth, Goodness, seen, felt, and followed for their own sake, in order that we may be holy. Turn the minds of men in upon themselves, make them see their divine nature and exercise their divine reason, and let them act in a manner *worthy* of happiness.

Mr. B. This is the very thing we endeavor to do. We preach the doctrine—would we could do it in thunder tones, that men should obey the truth, and be virtuous because this is *right*. That duty should be done for duty's sake. "Justitia fiat, ruat cælum"—let justice be done, though the heavens should fall. No danger, nor suffering, nor glory, nor gain, nor pleas-

were, should make us swerve a hair from the path of rectitude. And let me say, that a little more candor, or more of that deep thinking which you so highly recommend, would correct your idea of the true happiness-principle, as held by its intelligent advocates.

Mr. A. I never will admit that as a principle in morals. Man, godlike man, is something more, or he is something less, than a mere motive grinder, or, as Carlyle calls it, a mere balance for weighing hay and thistles, pains and pleasures.

• *Mr. B.* Well, permit me to correct your conception of the principle; for I apprehend that if we look at things and not at terms only, we shall not be so wide apart here as you suppose. Follow truth and duty, we both say, without regard to consequences. We both say that the mind is such a thing, that it can see truth—that it does this, either by the faculty you call Reason, or by what some call the Inner Light, or by what others call Reflection—truth, moral, spiritual truth it *can know*. So far we are agreed. Here you stop, and protest “that farther than this we should not go in our inquiry; and can not with safety or advantage.” I too am willing to stop here—to leave entirely out of view the *utility* of virtue, and simply inculcate the duty. But I do not believe it hazardous or wrong to take one step more in our reasoning, and inquire—Why do we spontaneously feel that certain truths *are* truths? that is right? that is duty? Why do we feel, and intuitively see, the truthfulness, the beauty, the righteousness, the goodness of certain actions? You say, “Because we are so made!” Undoubtedly. And do we not find ourselves *so made* that these things would not so appear, were they not adapted to our spiritual nature? And do we not see this adaptation in their tendency so directly and so certainly to ennoble and bless us?

Were they *not* thus adapted, did they *not* harmonize with the reality of things—did they tend to *pain*, rather than to happiness, I have some doubt whether the happiness-principle would have received such unqualified condemnation by your philosophers. And when, in some connections, you so extol the noble qualities and tendencies of your own system, I have fancied I saw you expose the cloven foot of this same happiness-principle. It would not be a difficult matter to find the very thing in the works of your favorite Carlyle; his French Revolution and his Chartism are full of it, and it is impossible for him or any other man, to write upon such subjects and not tacitly recognize it. In his last work, “Past and Present,” p. 25, is the following: “They (quacks) are the one bane of the world. Once clear the world of them, it ceases to be a Devil’s-world, in all fibres of it wretched, accursed; and begins to be a God’s-world, blessed, and working hourly towards blessedness.” Also, p. 27, “When a Nation is unhappy, the old Prophet was right and not wrong in saying to it: ye have forgotten God, ye have quitted the ways of God, or ye would not have been unhappy.” And the same idea is conveyed more than fifty times in this same book. And if you call this “stomach-happiness,” inasmuch as it has reference to governing and feeding men; then let me ask, why will you, night after night, till the oil is gone from your lamp, sit reading with glistening eyes the works of your Carlyle? “O such thoughts, heaven-born, soul-inspired, they rivet a man to his chair!” exclaim you. Will you do yourself the kindness to think a little more deeply upon that answer? If the belief of this principle tends necessarily to selfishness, I have not yet discovered it. Moses, Paul, Christ himself, alluded to it approvingly. The more a man loves the true, and

the good, and is stimulated by this love to pursue them, the better he is. To say of men, they *delight* in iniquity, is to rank them with fallen spirits. To say that they *delight* in holiness, is to rank them with celestial beings. But as you will not listen to any thing in favor of this principle, I propose another topic—your idea of a God. I grant you are peculiar in your views of the Divine existence, and also respecting several important subjects intimately connected with it. Transcendentalism, if I comprehend it, is rather a religion than a philosophy. Your principal oracles often repeat the idea, that religion is the one chief fact in regard to man. And all your writings have a direct bearing upon this point.

Mr. A. It is time some men raised their voice in its favor; for religion, except in what is outward and ceremonial, has well nigh been banished the civilized world. Your sensual systems of faith as well as philosophy, have left little hope, or belief, or spirituality in the soul. You have separated God from his works, seated him upon a throne somewhere in infinite space, at an immeasurable distance from man, and taking it for granted that He had retired from the business of inspiring the heart, working miracles, and controlling all things, you have taken the work of religion into your own hands. And truly you make noise enough about it. God's voice in the soul is hushed; the earnest, rapt spirit is wanting. Your religion is empty and hollow-hearted, a product of the senses and not of the soul. It has not the silent strength of the river, but the rustling noise of the brook rushing over its stony bed. You take a false view of God, and consequently your worship is idolatry.

Mr. B. Do favor me with a clear statement of *your* idea of God.

Mr. A. God is Good, or Goodness; or the animating Principle of

goodness, truth, beauty, every where operating in nature and in the soul of man. External nature is but the emblem or parment of the Deity, and serves to body Him forth to the eye. But it is the eye of reason which sees Him, and the soul that feels his presence, while conscience continually whispers his voice in our hearing. God is within us and around us. The truly pious soul feels his presence, hears his voice, and sees him working every moment. Men of genius, of true spiritual insight, have ever taken this view of God. They have seen through the dead matter of the world, and looked directly upon God. Poets, prophets, sages, and all the devout of every age and nation, have viewed all objects which we call material only as the symbol, or visible manifestation of the Eternal Spirit. Some have had a faith which saw every thing as a part of God, the keenness of their spiritual vision scarcely noticing such a thing as matter. Not only was God the *animus mundi*, and

"All but parts of one stupendous whole,
Whose body Nature is, and God the soul,"

but all was God, and God was All. Pantheism, a word full of denial and scepticism to superficial minds, is one of the highest products of the devout spirit of man. It has been well said that Spinoza was *God-intoxicated*, transcending time and space, all forms and appearances, God to him was All and in All. Few have sufficiently disentangled themselves from flesh and sense, and from the influence of a wrong education, to rise to such a height in the spiritual world. Some of the ancients, and some at the present time in Germany, and possibly in other countries, have become thus spiritual. But while I admire their spirit, and long for their attainments, I confess I fall short of their faith. While I see God in all things, I do not, strictly

speaking, see all things to be God. For example, I can see God in that rose, as the animating principle which gives it its exquisite and esthetic form and tint, yet I can not say that rose is God. But I do say, God is to be loved and worshiped in the rose. If we have the inner eye to see the beauty of such objects, so far we love, admire, and therefore worship their Maker. Still more clearly do we feel God present in the human soul. Man's conscience is God's voice directly speaking to him. Yielding ourselves up to its clear and truthful notes, we are right. O that all would listen to it, and obey!

Mr. B. As we are upon that feature of transcendentalism which gives coloring to your whole system, I wish you to be more explicit upon one point, viz. In your view, is God, in such a sense separate from men and nature, that, as a distinct being, He controls, governs, rewards and punishes his creatures? You know the prevailing idea of God in enlightened countries—a being distinct from his works; who exercises a providence over them; who takes cognizance of the moral conduct of men, pleased with all right affections and purposes of men, and displeased with their wrong conduct.

Mr. A. If you insist upon a direct answer, I would say, No. The vulgar notion that God, as a person, after creating the world and the universe, and setting causes in operation, or establishing laws for the continuance of all things, retired from his works to watch their operation, and occasionally to interfere, particularly in his moral kingdom, to give a little instruction, or to correct some of the grosser wrongs of men, I do not believe. This view is practical atheism; it virtually excludes God from nature and from the soul. Whereas God,—for he is omnipresent,—is constantly operating every where and in every thing; growing

the grass; the tree, the flower; animating and inspiring the soul; producing new forms of beauty; working, as he has eternally worked, works of wonder and goodness. If the sensual philosophy had not so benumbed the soul, men would see this. It is seen by those you call heathen. The wild Indian hears the whisper of the Great Spirit in every breeze; listens to it coming from every dell and cave of his mountains; sees God in the forest, acknowledges his hand in giving him his fishing brooks and hunting grounds. To the earnest Arab soul the star that shines upon his desert path is but the eye of God. As the sun warmed and fertilized the vineyards of the ancient Persian, he worshiped the kindly influence—God. The Ganges fertilizes his rice-fields, and the inhabitant of Hindostan pays to it the homage of the heart. Those eastern people, situated in the garden of the world, have always been a devout people. Not mere dead matter, but the spirit of beauty and goodness, which animated surrounding nature, has always been worshiped by them. In their simple way, with childlike and sincere emotions of wonder, they have bowed before the Eternal in these manifestations of himself.

Mr. B. Really, you must have a transcendental eye, for it is something more than a poet's, to see so much beauty and true piety in those eastern idolaters. You doubtless see the same in the Chinese, in their worship of those half dozen fat hogs kept as gods at Canton. The funeral pile, the hook-swinging, the infanticides, and the thousand disgusting and horrible rites of Bramah, all must come up to your mind with peculiar attractions, in as much as you think them sincere acts of devotion. But it was not my present design to ascertain your views of religious worship. I wished first to understand your idea of God.

Mr. A. I wish to say that I would

not be understood to mean that the great mass of those nations are truly spiritual. But there is among them the recognition of an omnipresent Deity, and there are real worshippers. The great body of people in every country are idolaters. They worship the image or form rather than God, the living principle of goodness. But, to come back to the point, I believe God does mark the conduct of men. How can it be otherwise, when He is every where present in his works? And that the obedient are rewarded and the wicked punished, is a matter of consciousness to every one. Not a law of man's nature can be violated without internal discord and misery, while all is harmony and sweet peace when man falls in with the eternal reality of things. The true prophet, poet and philosopher,—for they are the same,—have always represented the soul of man as a divinely constructed instrument, a true *Æolian harp*, which, rightly tuned, gives forth heavenly music; but, disordered by sin, its sounds are harsh and discordant.

Mr. B. Wherein are your sentiments different from the doctrine that man receives the full punishment of his sins in this life? How often, contrary to all human experience, in the face of what every wicked man knows to be true in his own case, is it asserted that, by the remorse of conscience and the evil consequences of sin in this life, men are equitably and fully punished! If I understand your idea of God, you do not consider him a being distinct from man and nature, possessed of personal intelligence, susceptibility and will, but a kind of vivifying principle every where and at all times operating. I do not wonder that you object to producing *evidence* of God's existence, for your God, or rather principle, must be seen intuitively, if seen at all, and this too by a faculty purely transcendental. You complain of the want of faith and of

the universal prevalence of scepticism. At times you seem clothed in sackcloth, in view of the infidelity of the age. You profess the most ardent desire to revive belief and earnest spiritual life on the earth, and yet if the great mass of people could be made to understand and embrace your views, there would be nothing to restrain them from the worst of crimes. You remove from man the piercing eye of a conscious God; you place him under no government but certain natural laws, and if he will risk (as he most surely will) the natural consequences of vice in this life, there is no more for him to fear. In fact you discard all appeals to fear as a means of moral government, maintaining that man should be so educated that what you call his natural love of truth, beauty and holiness, will be sufficient. If you succeed in making this feature of transcendentalism believed, it needs no prophet to foresee that it will sweep every vestige of pure religion from the world. Not what you call religion, for there will always be minds alive to the beauties of nature and art, and hearts enraptured with the works of God, in which consist your religion and religious worship. But the mass of mankind are never sufficiently refined in their sentiments to appreciate your sentiments, and keep devout on your plan. They will enjoy the beauties of nature, but will never arrive, in their admiration of landscapes and beautiful thoughts, at what you would call earnest spiritual life. It is much to be desired to have the heart softened and ennobled in the contemplation of the works of God. There may be true worship in this; but how many, who, like Byron, feel exquisitely every form of poetic beauty, are hostile to religion, when she lays a restraint upon their passions! Much which you say in this connection is good and important to be said, but it never will be all that man needs. If we

stop with mere poetic beauty, with the religion of romance, we shall soon be destitute even of this. There is no man who can not feel in some degree the beauty and grandeur of certain objects. So far you would call him religious: so far he worships your God. We might as well call him so far religious, as he loves a dish of turtle soup or a bottle of Madeira; for while the one may indicate a higher refinement than the other, both are equally involuntary, and both may exist in bad as well as in good men. David, Job and Isaiah, to whom you often refer, all saw God in his works, all "mused on nature with a poet's eye;" but this was not all their religion. They had deep repentance for sin,—for sin committed against God as a being, and not a mere principle. There was faith in those men, but a faith widely differing from your faith. You appropriate the poetic beauty of the Bible and of nature to your system, and leave out of view those truths which are most necessary for man to believe.

Mr. A. You must be aware that, owing to the difference in genius and education of men, we must always have both the exoteric and the esoteric doctrines. The inspired sages of Greece found this to be necessary. There must be a statute religion for the mass, certainly till they are elevated immeasurably above what they have ever been. Hence we never wish to controvert the common notions respecting the Bible, inspiration, religious forms, &c., since these are necessary for a season. But infidelity is chiefly among the educated. During the last century it prevailed in its worst forms in the higher circles of France, and even throughout Europe and America. The sensual philosophy led to this result. We wish to reach this class of men. Let the doctrines of Pythagoras and of the still more divine Plato be expounded and taught, with slight modifications, and we shall

arrest the progress of doubt and denial.

Mr. B. Here again I must call for explanation. You apply the epithets *divine*, *inspired*, and *god-like*, to men unknown to sacred history. But from your idea of God, of worship, of man's reason, I suppose we are to understand that you call Plato, Shakespeare, and certain writers of our day in Europe and America, *inspired*, in the same sense in which Isaiah, David and Christ were inspired. That is, they have genius, true spiritual insight, and utter what the heart spontaneously responds to as truth.

Mr. A. Exactly so! Yet there are all *degrees* of inspiration. And we consider Christ much more inspired than any other man, and it is owing to this that his religion is superior to all others, and is received in the most enlightened countries. Much of it will doubtless live through all time. When the poet or sage utters true spiritual thoughts, we say he is inspired. His thoughts are the voice of God; they are beyond common ideas, and we know not what else to call them. We read them, they strike us as true, beautiful, good, and we spontaneously exclaim, "Surely this is the voice of God!" Hence we can see by the light of reason, that David had more inspiration than Moses, John far more than the other apostles, and Christ so much more than all others, that they may well call him Master. I trust we have a few in our own day, some even in New England, who listen attentively to the eternal oracle within, and utter divine responses. The Dial is a clear indication that there is still faith, genius and inspiration among us.

Mr. B. I give you credit for clearness and candor, whatever I may think of your common sense. This is no mysticism. To place the Dial and the Bible, as it respects their inspiration, on the same footing, is certainly intelligible, and in

all other respects is truly transcendental. Pardon me, Mr. A., but I must ask you if you are serious in this?

Mr. A. You infer too much. I did not design to consider the writers of the Dial on a par with Christ. I only mean that they have uttered the truest things which are uttered among us,—many things truly inspired,—though in their earnest zeal they have said much that I would not say. They do not deserve the contempt in which they are held by many. Every inspired teacher has been deemed by his formal age either a madman, a fool or a knave. It is the fate of genius to be persecuted. The Pharisee, wrapped in his forms, saw nothing true or good in the teachings of the divine Jesus; Socrates was persecuted to death; Kant was sneered at as a deluded dreamer, and Carlyle, after years of true spiritual endeavor, hardly begins to be appreciated at home, though we deem him one of the brightest stars in the constellation of genius. But such men count the cost of their devotion to truth. The world's teachers have had little cause to be pleased with the world, yet they have loved and sought to bless their race. Truth, omnipotent truth, is their support. It is enough for them that they are right. They look to the distant future, when many will rise up and call them blessed.

Mr. B. But you must be aware that your views undermine the foundation of all that is peculiar in Christianity. Here, you profess to be a Christian, and weep strange tears over the unbelief and idolatry of the age. You appear, at times, reverently to worship "God, manifest in the flesh;" but the very next act of your devotion is to kneel at the shrine of a favorite philosopher or poet, pagan or Christian. These you call as truly divine, as really inspired, and in every way as worthy of religious reverence, as Jesus, only in a less degree. You pay no more

respect to Christ than a pagan emperor of Rome was willing to pay him,—give him a temple in common with a thousand other deities. Certain parts of the Bible you are ready to pronounce of heavenly origin, in the same sense in which you think the writings of many other men were divinely inspired. The only moral law ever given, your writers assert, is the voice of God in the heart. Your belief is this: Plato had his system of religious philosophy, Mohammed his, Confucius his, Kant his, and Christ his; and all these, so far as we perceive their truth by the light of reason, and no farther, are to us the oracles of God. Some of your sect are willing, but others are not, to give Christianity the preference. You use the language of Christians, with the addition of some buckram phraseology of your own, but with a meaning entirely different from its usual signification. I can not believe this honest. The Universalist, the Unitarian, the infidel, the atheist, frankly state what they believe, in plain terms. I have no desire to class you with them, though it is evident your whole system of religious philosophy may be found in the writings of these various schools. You throw around your transcendentalism such a devotional air, and so much of the language of evangelical piety, that your real meaning is not perceived. The obscurity of your system would vanish instantly if you expressed yourselves in plain language. Not to refer to points already discussed, take the published opinions of your school respecting *miracles*. You are aware that all this has been advanced a thousand times. You only hit the thing differently. You take the same course upon miracles as upon inspiration. As you inspire *all* men rather than deny the inspiration of the sacred penmen, so instead of denying miracles you make every thing *miraculous*. ●

Mr. A. Carlyle has placed this subject in its true light in the chapter on "Natural Supernaturalism," in his *Sartor*, which I would commend to your special attention.

Mr. B. I have read it, and will give all the credit you can ask for the genius there displayed. Perhaps we could not take a better illustration of your method of treating subjects connected with religion. Instead of direct denial, backed with the usual arguments, you virtually deny the miracles of the Bible, by making all things so marvelous, and by clothing your expressions in such imagery, that one thing appears to be as miraculous as another. The rising of the sun would be a stupendous miracle to a man who should see it for the first time. The rising of a dead man would not appear to be a miracle if we should see dead men rise every day. The chemist could work miracles in the eyes of ignorant heathen. That is, all is miraculous to men which they are not familiar with. Had we an eye to see a little farther into the operation of natural laws, every miracle recorded in the Bible or any where else would appear a natural rather than a super-natural event. Therefore, whether any thing shall be miraculous or not, depends not upon the thing itself, but upon our degree of insight into the laws of nature. This is the leading idea of Carlyle's chapter on Natural Supernaturalism, and the substance of all your writers have to say upon the subject of miracles. Granting that there is truth in this view of the subject, yet the most favorable construction I can put upon the argument is, to call it an evasion of the real point at issue. True, you exhort us with earnestness to think deeper, that we may see more of the miraculous with which we are constantly surrounded. But, believe in a miracle; in any proper sense of the word, you do not.

Mr. A. We are heartily weary of

the endless debate upon such questions in the Christian system. It tends only to doubt and denial. The whole forensic discussion from the first century to this, upon the *proofs* of Christianity, have been fruitful in nothing but infidelity. A religion—any part of a religion—which needs the logic of the understanding for its support, is not worth the argument. If men have not an eye to see and a soul to feel religious truth, argument will avail nothing. Religious men should take the high ground that religion is a native germ in the heart of man, and is to be cultivated by other means than disputes about the forms which Christianity has assumed. Let us leave the questions of plenary inspiration, miracles, trinity and unity, the humanity and divinity of the Savior, the sabbath and the church, all which are entirely foreign to religion itself, and retire within ourselves, to listen to God's voice in the soul, and be religious.

Mr. B. Ah! but there is a question to be answered—yes or no—upon which very much depends. If at the word of Christ the dead awoke to life, and the eyes of the blind were opened, did he not exercise a power superior to that of the chemist or man of genius; and so much superior that none can doubt it to be supernatural. And you need not be told that if the works attributed to Christ could be shown not to have been wrought by him, instead of being an inspired teacher sent from heaven, as you often term him, he was an impostor. One can hardly give you credit for sincerity, when you eulogize Christ and his religion, and upon the same page say, what, fairly interpreted into intelligible language, stigmatizes him as a deceiver. These inconsistencies need to be explained. You are ready enough to discuss other questions of history; why not those connected with the Christian religion?

Mr. A. It is one of the first lessons of our religion not to use the sensual logic with men, but to turn their attention to the great truths that are written upon the tables of the heart. We expect like the great Master, to be reviled, but we shall not return reviling for reviling. You will yet see, and I hope in this life, that there is enough which is miraculous without going back eighteen hundred years. But at present I must leave you to gaze at God's world, without seeing any thing wonderful in the thousand forms of beauty and goodness which lie in every direction; but only a little chemical matter to be analyzed, explained, and scientifically arranged. But it is painful to see man, standing in the midst of wonders, like the stupid ass, with his whole attention upon food for his stomach; or like an ambitious boy, beating his drum to arrest the eyes of the world, as if he were the only real prodigy to be admired. The secret of the universe is open, but only to those who have an eye to see it. Men must retire into the holy of holies, their own souls, and then the Shekinah will appear, and from the altar of the heart acceptable incense will ascend. Be silent, my brother, as you stand in this star-domed temple of God, and his presence shall overshadow you; and you shall feel that man—all that is in him and around him—is a miracle! Man is the high-priest of Nature beautifully emblazoned in the priest of Jewry; he is the eye of the earth which should be turned towards heaven. He is the highest form of the godlike. "Be still and know that I am God," is a text I beg of you to consider.

Mr. B. And I would request you to preach your doctrine from any text in your numerous Bibles, to any uninitiated audience you can find, that you may be convinced of the impracticability of making mankind understand such a sublimated religion. You extol earnest, rapt emotions, whether in the Mussulman at the tomb of his prophet, or in the worshiper of the sun, the river, the star, or any other created object. Try your transcendentalism then, and see if the eye moistens, and the fire of devotion burns in the heart under its influence? You call attention to your new philosophy, and as hearers we have a claim on you to speak in a *known tongue* the very thing you mean. You attack almost every article of our belief, and we have a right to know just what you would have substituted in its place. Our views of God, of Christ, of the Bible, of Christianity, of worship, of man—his nature, his duties, and his destiny—our system of moral science, our literature, and even our civil institutions, are in your opinion defective. You call for a radical change. One of your writers says, "It is not to be denied that the principles of this system are those of reform in church, state, and society, and for this cause they are unpopular." Thus we find ourselves attacked in a new and peculiar manner. We are exhorted in the phraseology of Christianity, to throw off all its present forms of belief and practice, and go on unto perfection! But before we strip naked in this style, we wish to know whether you have better garments for our covering.

PARTY SPIRIT.

IN all that we say concerning those great evils that grow out of human nature under the conditions of society, we would not so far disparage our country nor ourselves, as to charge them upon our political institutions, as if they were exclusively American; and if any of them appear more rank and noxious here than elsewhere, we would not exaggerate their relative importance, by forgetting that other and greater evils abound under institutions of a contrary nature. We are persuaded that on the whole, if an impartial hand could hold the scales between this nation and any other, as to the good and evil, the weal and woe, of their respective conditions, they would turn in our favor. It is the fault of alarmists and cynics to think only of existing evils, and to rail at their external condition as if it were alone responsible, and therefore the worst possible. And on the other hand, it is a narrow provincial presumption, a sort of diffusive vanity, in some other men, that blinds them to the more dangerous tendencies peculiar to their own condition. The latter are too boastful to be vigilant; the former too distrustful to be active. For Americans to croak over even the evils that are peculiar to republican institutions, instead of expounding and applying a remedy, is at best an unwise discontent; and to crow over their advantages, instead of securing and enhancing them, is only a more amiable folly. As long as human character retains its radical imperfections, not only must social evils be looked for under every kind of government, but every kind of government will be found to foster one class of evils rather than another, a republic as well as a monarchy having its own pernicious tendencies. Our rare

freedom brings with it already certain mischiefs, and threatens greater. It can not be won nor kept without a price; "with a great sum obtained we this freedom." And among the evils that have the most room and encouragement under such institutions as ours, must be reckoned the one we have named at the head of this article. It is generally acknowledged to be a chief source of harm and insecurity to our country, and has become a common topic of declamation. We should not think it worth while to descant upon it in that general way, saying only what is admitted to be true, and may be repeated again with no effect; but there are some things concerning it not so generally borne in mind, that we choose to have understood and considered by all good citizens. And if our readers would come to a just conclusion as to their individual duties on this subject, let them not only take it for granted that party spirit produces various mischiefs, but recur distinctly to some of its effects, and in order to revive the just impression of them, we shall speak of them with some particularity. There is now, as there has been of late, in political affairs, a pause of fatigue and uncertain expectation, while yet some vague preparation is going on for new strife. The time is more favorable therefore than those tumultuous seasons, when calm words can not be heard, for gaining candid attention to such subjects. And here, once for all, though we speak chiefly of partisanship in political affairs, yet we request our readers to observe for themselves how far the same spirit works similar mischiefs in the affairs of religion, and how far it calls for the same severe amendment in the action of all that call themselves Christians.

We reckon it among the most serious mischiefs of party spirit, though the fact is generally overlooked, that it occasions the sacrifice of individual dignity. He who has become a partisan, has in one sense ceased to be a man. Instead of standing by himself, filling his own sphere of thought and action, and making a corresponding impression by what he is and what he does, he has given up his individuality, and become like every other man who belongs to the same faction. He is melted into the mass, and contributes to its successful movement by swelling its bulk. If he would be himself alone, he would receive and give an individual impression in his political as in his social relations; but now he is nothing more than one item, like every other item, in this or that column of political calculations. That is all there is of him. Instead of exercising the privileges of a freeman, he is put to the use of voting. When he might be a thinking, active man, whose opinions and wishes give at least some impulse to political operations, he is not even a whole political machine, but rather a wheel among wheels, or a cog, by which one drives another. Partisanship in civil affairs has the servility, without the honor, of military obedience; for the man who only votes with a party and not otherwise, has no more to do with the science of government, than a soldier who builds his section of a breastwork or fires his shot, with the evolutions of a battle or the plan of a campaign; and he only follows a leader where there is no danger to be encountered, and therefore no glory to be won. Now all this is unworthy of one who calls himself a freeman. He only takes his choice of masters, or he is the servant of many masters rather than of one. It is injurious to himself, so far as he is affected by his political rights: for he surrenders his

opinions and feelings and course of conduct, when he might ennoble himself by maintaining them in conscientious and manly independence. It is injurious to the public interests: for if it is important that he should be entitled to give a vote, it is because he is supposed to be capable of knowing how to bestow it, and ready to bestow it, for the advantage of his country; yet he follows the dictates of another without the use of his own independent capacity, which is thus lost, whatever it may be worth. It is a sad thing for one who boasts that he commands a vote which will go as far as any other man's, to take his place as unintelligently as the ballot-box itself; to be as little moved by wise and patriotic considerations on his own part, as the bit of paper prepared to his hand.* Yet is not this the picture of a man who has no opinion, no choice, no vote, but with a party to which he has attached himself?

Another evil is, that it commits men to action in matters of which they are not qualified to judge. The mere fact that a man has the opportunity of putting forth some influence on public affairs, by his vote or otherwise, is not alone a reason why he should avail himself of it. He ought to act, if at all, either from his own convictions of what is conducive to the public good, or from his reasonable confidence in the convictions of those whom he believes competent to guide him on such subjects. Now a partisan does not seek out those persons on whose authority he thinks he may most properly rely, and follow them for that reason, but in fact, though without acknowledging it, rather commits himself to the leaders of his faction for some accidental rea-

* We could wish the printed ballot were still declared invalid, as a device of party convenience, often making men unduly answerable to others, as in *secret* voting.

son, while his knowledge of their capacities and dispositions is confessedly too scanty to warrant any such confidence. Still less can he be supposed to act generally from his own convictions; for many of the political questions on which he puts forth such influence as belongs to him, are beyond his reach. Some of the subjects now agitated between the contending parties in this country, are in themselves difficult of investigation, presenting exceedingly intricate questions, questions indeed which no man is competent to settle who has not given time and attention to them, and made them in some measure a part of his business. Almost every individual will confess himself perplexed by them. The tendencies of banking systems, the fluctuations of currency, the exact ultimate operation of free trade or a protective policy—these are really profound subjects, and we would be all ready to say, if questioned individually, that we need information and reflection before we can speak positively on many of the questions they involve; we have more to learn than to teach upon them. Yet what confidence, what vehemence, do we witness among all sorts of men, on the one side and on the other of these same questions? The men who would look about modestly for advice, if there were the same perplexity in their personal affairs, are as noisy declaimers as any others on our national embarrassments. Every newspaper writer presumes to discourse of them as readily as if the whole domain of political economy were mapped out under his feet, and he could correct every blunder of every administration. Surely there is some evil in all this. It is not right that the zeal of a partisan should so far outrun the judgment of the man. Of course we do not mean that we ought not to entertain any opinion on questions of national policy, until we are wise enough to

have a place in the cabinet; but we do mean that it is a serious calamity to any country that its great interests should be swayed chiefly by the impulses of any party, and that they who are least competent to understand those interests should give heat and bulk, where they can give nothing more, to the faction that may happen to control those interests. It is to be lamented that men who individually, to say the least, might do no harm, should band themselves together and plunge beyond their depth into those troubled waters which they can not purify nor calm.

As an effect still worse, it corrupts moral habits. We have all observed that men will do as partisans what they would be ashamed to do as men. The trickery of politicians and the profligacy of party presses, are among the commonest subjects of complaint on every hand. The saying, 'all is fair in politics,' is understood to be a common principle with the actors in them. The very name of politics has an ill odor with upright men generally. Every diligent observer of these times learns to put very little confidence, on subjects of this nature, in the candor of men, whose honesty in other things he would not think of distrusting. An editor who does not misrepresent nor discolor facts, for or against any party, is either reckoned a singular man, or reviled by every party. In political movements, whether on a great or small scale, what deceptions, what perversions of facts, what misconstruction of motives, what lies, what virulent contentions and reproaches, what base intrigues, what miserable counterfeits of patriotism! And these things are witnessed, not in those persons who quietly entertain and modestly express their own opinions on proper occasions, but in such as are pledged to a party, and always keep pace with its

march, never stepping out of its rank and file unless on a new maneuver. Now in all the prejudice, malignity, deceit and heartlessness, thus fostered, we need not say there is incalculable evil. Not to speak of the time thus wasted, and the energy thus diverted from more salutary pursuits, there is a wear and tear of moral feeling, a corruption of popular sentiment, which are more to be lamented than the heaviest external calamities. The worst public embarrassment is the too just suspicion that possesses the public mind; the bankruptcy that is most to be dreaded, is that of moral worth in the conflict of servile factions.

The same spirit, as none can fail to see, does injustice to public men. The moral corruption that has just been spoken of, shows itself in the spirit of censoriousness and defamation that pervades the political world, as plainly as in any other fact. Partisans will say that of each other, which they would neither desire nor dare to say in private life. They will believe and circulate reports which have no foundation out of the newspaper in which they happen to appear, without a moment's inquiry or a charitable doubt. For political purposes, the darts of calumny are made to pierce the shelter of domestic life. The most eminent public services are disparaged; personal worth is discredited; an antagonist is not allowed to cherish the most common sentiments of patriotism; the richest gifts and acquisitions are virtually denied all merit. Too fearful a tax is imposed upon every man who would serve his country in her distinguished offices, for he must consent to be traduced as if he were her worst enemy. For examples sufficiently remote, and not now exposed to misconstruction,—examples in which readers of every party may now feel the recoil of such abuse,—let it be remembered that in the contest by which one of our most popu-

lar presidents came into office, and in the early part of his administration, besides the common assaults which he might have expected, the retirement of his family was invaded by the lowest ribaldry, and the reputed piety of his wife was made a mark for public jesting, and this too by cherished organs of the party that boasted of their superior regard to truth and decency. And on the other hand, one of the most prominent members of the government, under a subsequent administration, has found it necessary to defend himself by oath against the groundless imputation of gross immorality. Still more common is the injustice done to talent and patriotic worth in our public men of all parties. Familiar as we are with the power of prejudice and partiality in blinding the judgments of mankind, it is yet really surprising to see how incapable the great mass of one party are of appreciating the most splendid abilities and most successful efforts among their opponents. On one side of the field of strife, you are not suffered to believe there is a really great or honest man on the other. In judging of opposite men and measures, no allowance is made for human imperfection, nor for providential contingencies. Really it is impossible for us to know the worth of public men, unless we discard the testimony both of their adherents and antagonists, and suffer them to represent themselves to us as if we were foreign observers, uncommitted and unbiassed. It can not be doubted that the coarse abuse now heaped upon them by the press and by political declaimers, is owing in a great measure to the spirit of party, without which there would hardly be a motive for such systematic injustice, and few individuals, as such, would take the responsibility of inflicting it. And plainly it is a great evil, one that is complained of indeed in all quarters. There is always evil in doing injustice, whether

it be fraud or defamation. Every libelous scribbler, every reckless partisan, injures his own moral feelings; and besides the pain endured by those who fall under such aspersions while endeavoring in their sphere to serve the community with honor to themselves, no doubt the prospect of such an ordeal repels many men of the noblest powers and the finest sensibilities from all participation in political affairs, and thus robs the country of services as valuable as any of her sons can render. If many in every party may exempt themselves from such a charge, certain it is that there are those who have made themselves odious in this thing before God and man, and who must yet bitterly repent of their wrong, if they have any conscience left.

Another result is not less obvious, that it distracts public counsels. That such distraction exists to a most lamentable extent, cannot be denied. It is witnessed in every state legislature, but most of all in Congress, both under former administrations and under the present. So far as we know, there is not another legislative body in the world whose deliberative character is so grossly perverted. Nothing is done without intolerable delay and noise. Some cry one thing, and some another, for the assembly is confused, and the greater part seem not to know wherefore they have come together.* It is like the town-meeting in Ephesus, without the clerk who appeased the people. Measures and men are confused in angry warfare. The gravest debates are spun out to a length not known in the British parliament, and they are turned into personal abuse and re-creation, or at best unprofitable harangues for the country. It has been very pertinently asked, "Must some Cromwell go in and turn out these eternal talkers?" The waste

of public treasure is the least evil resulting from such proceedings. The dishonor brought upon the nation is worse, and still more serious is the impossibility of prompt and salutary legislation in such circumstances. Political truth is not thus elicited, the nation can not thus be wisely governed, whatever party may happen to prevail. Now several causes concur in this state of things, but unquestionably the presence of unrelenting party spirit is one chief cause. They who should act for the republic, act for a faction. Great principles of political economy give place to the watchwords of a party. Public measures degenerate into factious maneuvers. The governing influence is antagonism between two sets of men, while both profess to aim chiefly at the common good. If the members of Congress would become so many individuals, each standing on the proper footing of a legislator, instead of being arranged in opposing bands, under the spell of names and prepossessions, their heat would fast abate, and they would seasonably do the public business, and go home to their own. But so long as the same warfare is waged throughout the land in popular elections, it will penetrate and pervade the halls of legislation, transforming even honest and sagacious counselors into pledged and captious disputants. In those emergencies, such as we have seen, when care is most needed that the republic suffer no injury, she is left to bleed and languish, looking in vain for any prompt provision from those to whose counsels she has entrusted her affairs.

We name one more evil, which some will know how to appreciate, when we say that this spirit stands in the way of desirable reforms. Our readers have observed the difficulty of carrying forward public enterprises of a social or civil nature, which at any stage may need assistance from the laws of the

* Acts xix, 32.

land, without what is called "mixing them with politics," and the danger arising from such a real or supposed connection. Hence there springs a formidable obstacle in the way of enacting and of enforcing local regulations against demoralizing amusements, or the sale of intoxicating liquors. In such an enterprise we may have the individual sentiments of the majority of the community on our side, and go on auspiciously for a while. But soon we are cautioned against any political bearing that may be supposed to lie in our movements, and at certain seasons of the year it is suggested that on that account another time would be more favorable; and all this too while politics have not once come into our thoughts. Presently one and another of those whom we have reckoned friends of such measures, become inactive and reserved. A spell is on them from some quarter. The explanation is, they are afraid that the responsibility of the movement will come upon the party to which they belong, that their opponents will take advantage of it to secure the votes of those few persons whose practices or profits will be affected by our success, and that thus the political balance will be turned against them. More than once in this way, men who would have enforced some of the most salutary laws, have had their energies paralyzed, seeing themselves deserted in a crisis by the very people on whose coöperation they had relied, but whose partisanship prevailed against more generous philanthropic impulses. The thing is understood in every town where such efforts have been made in vain. In cases where the majority of both the opposing parties, if individually consulted, would be favorable to a proposed reform, it is yet found that they are so far arrayed against each other, as to make both afraid to act upon it with candor and independence, lest either should lose some-

thing in numbers or position at their next contest. This is not the least evil resulting from party spirit, as it has prevailed sometimes within our observation. There are other hindrances, too many and too great, in the way of every benevolent reformation, without such embarrassments as this. A man's individual responsibility is more than he is generally willing to meet for the sake of doing good, without an additional responsibility for any body of men whatever. If it were not for the sinister influence of partisanship, there would be no such danger as is apprehended of "mixing politics" with every moral reformation that is carried on by the aid of law, and the dreaded interference, if it should exist, instead of being hurtful, would be itself a salutary result. But against this influence the most wholesome laws can not be enacted in behalf of public morals, or if enacted, can not be carried into effect.

Such are some of the mischievous tendencies that show themselves in the working of party spirit in our times and under our peculiar institutions. The evil is acknowledged to be such, and perhaps lamented, by many of the very people who cherish it most warmly. It appears to them as pernicious as to us, yet they virtually set it down as a disease of the body politic under free institutions, incurable, and therefore to be borne as it best may be. "Of what use is it," they ask themselves, "to expatiate on what is a necessary fault of society?" Now it is true that while men continue as they are, in such a country as ours, there will be too much partisanship in all political affairs; but is that a reason why any should go on indulging it in themselves, and countenancing it in others? As much may be said of almost every public vice, and of all sin; yet we would not leave it to do continued and increasing mischief. We properly endeavor to restrain and reduce an evil, if we can not expect

at once to extirpate it. And by reflection and suitable vigilance, we may guard ourselves against the influence of party spirit, if we can not banish it from the whole community. The contrary impression, that the evil is irremediable, and therefore to be let alone, has done much to perpetuate and extend it.

And besides the supposed necessity of party spirit, the notion has come to prevail, that party organization is also necessary, and that every man must necessarily submit himself to it, or else be content either to incur the ill will, by thwarting the schemes, of all factions, or to throw away his just influence over the affairs of his country. But if we would rid ourselves of the evils of partisanship, such views must be discarded. By such views they are made worse and worse.

Of course there should be, and must be, to some extent, concert and mutual understanding among patriotic men for specific purposes; but there is something different from this, as every body sees, in the spirit and the machinery now at work on every side. As citizens, we can not be insulated; but it is not necessary nor expedient for us to lose our political individuality, and become incorporated wholly with a party. It is possible and desirable for us to be freemen, not partisans, in the proper sense of those terms. That individual independence is not a mere figment, nor a virtue impracticable in common life, there are examples enough to show. There was a time when the doctrine that now prevails, of subserviency to organization, had no countenance from the more intelligent class of citizens,—when the word *caucus* was an abomination, as well as an Americanism,—till they unhappily concluded that they must of course employ the same weapons by which they were assailed. The doctrine may yet be repudiated. And there are examples at this day, of men who intelligently and

honestly refuse to enroll themselves among the servile followers of any man or set of men,—who obey their own convictions and keep their own counsel, in exercising their political privileges. Nor are they liable to any just reproach for taking such a position. It is always the fashion among partisans of every sort, to represent those who call themselves “no party men,”* as time-servers and pretenders, “fence-men,” and the like; but such judgments, pronounced by men who would rule, on those who will not be ruled, may be safely disregarded. There is a paragraph from Dean Swift, which goes the rounds of the press now and then, to this effect, that every man must in fact belong to some party, and if he claims to be independent of all, he has some sinister ends to answer by it; but the saying is a mere assumption. Unprincipled men may renounce all existing parties, sometimes to form a new one, sometimes to reserve themselves for the most successful; but when our position is mistaken for theirs, it is enough to reply that there are men who, without proposing to themselves any selfish advantage, do yet refuse to be regarded as if they had no choice but of belonging to this or that faction,—who lend what influence they have to such public men and measures as they individually prefer, at the cost of dissenting from all factions. There is independence and dignity in such a position, whether in the state or in the church, in political or ecclesiastical strife, however liable it may be to reproach from those whose dictation is resisted. The phrase, “non-committal policy,” is used to signify a crafty concealment of one’s opinions or designs; but often it has been applied, by way of undeserved reproach, to conduct the most high-minded and

*The absurdity of the phrase, “no-party party,” is chargeable on their opponents, not on themselves.

conscientious. There is a better sense in which we do right in not committing ourselves to others. The phrase should not always seem reproachful, since we read of One who "did not commit himself" (*oûk êntis-tzeu*) unto the multitude, "because he knew all men." We put too much faith in men when we of course identify our judgment or will with theirs. We have no right to throw off our personal responsibility in political affairs upon a faction, any more than on a church in religion. It is not patriotic nor manly to surrender our opinion and choice, or to have none of our own, when we are entitled to maintain them.

But it is said, that by such a course as we recommend, one throws away his influence,—that his single effort, being alone, is lost, whereas in concert with others it would contribute to the result, and might secure it. There are cases in which such a consideration is legitimate and important, but it is not the only one to be regarded here. The present effect of such a course, or its bearing on the success of a particular measure, is not of the highest consequence. It may be better that a man should throw away his influence, than wield it effectually, yet in a manner which sanctions a growing and alarming evil,—better that he should act single-handed, or not at all, than that he should make himself efficient as the tool of a demagogue, or the slave of a prejudiced and corrupt multitude. His first care should be, his conscientious use of whatever influence he has, whether other men conspire to carry out or frustrate that influence, and he will be happier, though his favorite measure should altogether fail, though the candidate he approves should be utterly defeated, than in any success to which he could otherwise contribute. To act thus is not to disregard all expediency, but to maintain certain principles which carry the

truest expediency in their ultimate and extended operation. And as a part of this operation it should be observed, that so soon as any considerable number of men come to act thus independently, their influence, instead of being thrown away, must become exceedingly effective and salutary. Let all parties understand that besides those who can be counted in their ranks, there is a reserved body who can be won only by the integrity and wisdom that mark their men and measures. It must then become more obviously the interest of every party to bear such a character, by most successfully aiming at the good of their whole country, rather than at any factious and inferior advantage. Parties will still exist, made up mainly of such as know not how to think or act without them; yet they will find a salutary check and guidance among as many as may move independently yet harmoniously toward the public good. The history of our elections shows that a few men may hold a casting vote between contending hosts. Let but a fiftieth or a hundredth part of the freemen of this land take their individual positions, aloof from the control of every faction,—and the crisis may come which will put the nation's destiny into their hands.

Something more, therefore, is due from conscientious citizens, than merely to lament the prevalence of party spirit, as an evil which can not be remedied nor alleviated. So far as they partake of it, the remedy is in their own hands. It is at once desirable and practicable for them to speak and act and vote, not as partisans, but as individual friends of their country, as citizens who fear God, and regard their responsibility to him in their use of the privileges he has given them, and who esteem truth and righteousness to be the paramount interests both of individuals and of communities. If these words of ours shall stimulate any of our

readers to such republicanism, we have done the "state-some service."

And if other dissuasion from party spirit were needed, besides the mischiefs that have been named, we would say, that God has summoned the American people to the correction of this evil. He has suffered party spirit to prevail so far as to become, in a degree, its own punishment. The people have been alarmed and ashamed on account of excesses and frauds, to which nothing could have led but the madness of partisanship. It is the common foreboding of thoughtful men, that if other grounds of apprehension for the harmony and liberty of this nation in years to come were removed, a most formidable danger remains in the rage of parties, as it has been witnessed in other republics, and sometimes in our own. We can not be insensible to the necessity there is for reformation here, before we may indulge confident expectations as to the purity or permanency of our institutions. Nor can it be yet forgotten,—the singular dissonance in our public affairs reminding men of it from time to time,—that this

people have received at least one signal rebuke for the fierce and relentless violence of party feeling. We had seen factions run high, and dash against each other with noise and fury. At last a brave old man rode on the top of the wave, the idol of the multitude, the chief of a triumphant majority. One month was allowed for victory. We shall not soon forget the day when the bells rang out their joyous peal in welcome of him whom the nation delighted to honor, nor that other day when the same bells tolled in announcement of his more imperious summons to another world. At once bitter reproach and intemperate applause were silenced. Partisans felt themselves fearfully admonished. The lesson, if it has been disregarded, can not yet be forgotten. Now, as then, God would have us remember that, more momentous than all political contentions, there is a conflict going on between truth and error, between righteousness and sin, in which every man individually participates, and that far above all factious leaders, the Lord reigneth, and that "the Lord—he is God."

THE RELATIONS OF MAN TO THE MORAL LAW.*

A DISTINGUISHED writer on moral science, President Wayland, maintains, that an action may be wrong in itself or naturally wrong, and not morally wrong; or that what a person can not do lawfully, he may do without contracting guilt. "Right and wrong," he says, "depend on the relations under which beings are created; and hence the obligations resulting from these re-

lations are fixed and unchangeable. Guilt and innocence depend upon the knowledge of these relations and of the obligations arising from them. As these are manifestly susceptible of variation, while right and wrong are invariable, the two notions may manifestly not always correspond to each other." In his opinion, a person may in certain cases fail to do that 'which from the conditions of his being he is under obligation to perform,' and yet be innocent. This position we consider untenable. Unless we are greatly mistaken, there is nothing

* *The Elements of Moral Science*, by Francis Wayland, D. D., President of Brown University, and Professor of Moral Philosophy. Chap. III, Sect. 2d, pp. 98—99.

which can wholly justify the voluntary doing of an act by a moral agent which is contrary to his obligations, or which it is in any sense wrong for him to do.

Whoever will consult the chapter referred to in President Wayland's work, will see that his opinion is founded on two groundless hypotheses, namely, that mankind may sustain relations of which they have at the time no hint or are necessarily ignorant, from which nevertheless obligations arise; and that they may be totally ignorant of obligations arising out of their *known* relations. Every transgression of such obligations is, he thinks, *wrong*—but not necessarily *morally* wrong. This depends on the *cause* of the present inability of the agent to know the rule of rectitude. If his ignorance is owing to his own previous misconduct, our author considers him responsible (liable to punishment) for all the misdeeds that he ignorantly commits. But if his ignorance is not owing to his own fault, he considers him innocent. In the former case wrong and guilt are correlative; in the other they are not—the agent does a wrong act without criminality. Confident of the correctness of these views, our author is emboldened to take another position, not indeed more indefensible, but more manifestly at variance with sound philosophy, namely, that man is constantly responsible for all that capacity for virtue, and all that usefulness, to which he would have attained by a life of uninterrupted obedience to God. Such, we are persuaded, is not the relation in which man stands to the moral law; in proof of which we shall endeavor to show, that man sustains no practical relations, of the existence of which he has no intimation or means of present knowledge; and that he can not be so ignorant of the obligations arising from his known relations, as to be impelled by an un-

equivocal dictate of conscience to disregard them.

Should this proof be furnished, the following points will be established, in the light of which, the actual relation of man to the moral law will be obvious.

Innocence and guilt are coextensive with right and wrong in human conduct.

The guilt of an agent, in a given case, is not measured by the actual results of his misconduct, but by the resistance of his will to his duty.

Man is to-day responsible for that amount of virtue and well doing only, for which he now has a capacity.

We say then that man sustains no practical relations, none in respect to which he is called to act, or out of which obligations arise, of which he has at the time no intimation or is necessarily ignorant. The cause of his inability to perceive the relation—whether it be natural imbecility, want of opportunity, or his own previous neglect or perverseness—can not in any way affect his present obligations. Whatever may be his present disposition, and effort, he can not now know, for example, that there is a God—then he sustains no practical relation to God. The heathen, who have never heard of Christ, are not naturally, any more than they are morally, obligated to believe in him. The want of Christian faith is not a moral wrong in them; neither is it a natural wrong; that is, they bring no evil on themselves or on others, and transgress no law, by not believing in Him of whom they are thus ignorant. They neither do what is forbidden to them, nor neglect what is required of them. Faith in Christ in their circumstances, is not required by the conditions of their being; nor is any duty arising out of the Christian revelation. Their obligations are confined to the narrower circle of natural religion—to the relations

which they perceive, and which they now have ability to perceive. Their duty is measured by the rules of rectitude applicable to perceived and perceivable relations. By obedience to these rules, they would be prepared to receive Christ as soon as they should discover his existence. But at present they sustain no relation to him which imposes obligations on them, so that their want of Christian faith is wrong, and, if it can be traced back to some past misconduct of theirs, criminal. Thus universally, relations, of which man is necessarily ignorant, are not yet sustained by him in any practical sense; they are still in futurity as the sources of obligation, like the filial relation in infancy; and no obligations now exist in regard to them. A foundling may arrive at manhood in ignorance of his origin, and be daily associating with his parents without knowing them in this relation. It is then in no sense wrong for him to treat them as indifferent persons. The conditions of his being do not require him to act the part of a son to them. A knowledge of the relation might promote the happiness of both parties, but while that knowledge is wanting, there is nothing naturally wrong, any more than there is moral turpitude, in his treating them as mere neighbors. In a practical point of view, they are to him nothing more than neighbors. And so in respect to them; if they do not know him to be their son, and if they have no present means of knowing it, they are not under any kind of obligation to perform parental duties to him, not even if they were the guilty authors of this mutual ignorance. They do not now sustain to him the relation of parents in any practical sense. When a relation is not perceived, no obligation arises from it, unless the mind of the agent has some hint or intimation of its existence, which binds him to investigate the

subject. When such an intimation is wanting, the mind not only does not perceive, but can not yet perceive the existence of the relation—and conscience does not bind it—the rule of rectitude does not require it—to act in harmony with that relation, or to pay it the slightest regard. This was not the position of Saul of Tarsus in respect to Christianity. He did not indeed perceive the Messiahship of our Lord. But he had a hint, an intimation, and evidence at hand, of the truth of this claim of Jesus of Nazareth. The claim he knew he had not fairly investigated, so that he could not with a pure conscience reject it. His ignorance of the relations of Christ as the son of God, was not in fact total—for this intimation was sufficient to bind his conscience not to reject Him without farther inquiry. The position, therefore, that man sustains no necessarily unknown relations from which obligations arise, will bear to be modified by substituting for “necessarily,” *totally*, or *absolutely*. Whoever is totally ignorant of a relation is under no obligation in respect to it; for total ignorance excludes every intimation of its existence, and implies that the mind is now unable to perceive it. That the moral law takes no cognizance of the conduct of men beyond the limits of those relations of which they have some hint, seems no less obvious than the exemption of an idiot, or brute animal, from human obligations. Total ignorance, as we have defined it, that is, ignorance from which the mind has no present means of relief, is incompatible with the existence of a relation in that practical sense which makes it the source of obligation.

But it is also maintained, that a person may so far mistake the obligations arising from his *known* relations as to be innocent in disregarding them. Total ignorance of

an obligation does undoubtedly vacate the obligation; but is such ignorance of the obligations of a person possible? Can conscience be wholly deceived in respect to the moral character of an act, which a person is bound by the conditions of his being to do or to refrain from doing? Is it possible, in other words, for man to do what it is wrong for him to do, and not at the same time transgress some known rule of moral obligation, and contract guilt? We think not. It is not to be believed, without examination, that our Creator has made us susceptible of being incited by an unequivocal sense of duty, to perform actions opposed to His will or our own well being and usefulness. That man is often hurried on by passion to do things contrary to his obligations, persuading himself that they are lawful, is a fact of familiar observation and experience. But the question is, whether he can do such an act with a perfectly pure conscience. Does he unhesitatingly believe on reflection, in the rectitude of his conduct? Is he impelled by an unequivocal voice of conscience to do what is wrong, or to neglect what is required of him "by the conditions of his being?"

This hypothesis sets up the judgment of man even when erroneous, as the rule of rectitude. Whether an act is naturally right or wrong, the agent contracts guilt, if he does it with a hesitating conscience. "He that doubteth is damned if he eat." Rom. xiv, 23. Hence, if he is fully convinced, that he ought to do a wrong act, he ought in fact to do it. He must otherwise do what he believes to be wrong. He must choose to sin against God, which is actually sinning; or else he must do that, which in itself ought not to be done. He ought to lie, to steal, to commit murder, to worship idols, to persecute heretics, if he sincerely believes it to be his duty? What

if these acts are contrary to the immutable law of rectitude, would he not break that law by refusing to do what he believes, though erroneously, to be required by it? Is not the papist, if he feels bound by conscience to worship the virgin Mary, obliged to worship her, or disobey God in fact though not in form? For refusing to do what he believes to be his duty, is really a refusal to obey God. Thus the notion, that conscience may unhesitatingly impel us to act unlawfully, exalts the erring judgment of man to the rank of a supreme lawgiver.

This notion does violence to the common sense of mankind. It sometimes happens that the fires of religious persecution rage, when brother delivers up brother to death, and parents their children. In such cases the delusion of the mind is very strong. But is it complete? Does the persecutor entertain no secret suspicion, that his conduct is not, in all respects, right? Is he truly conscientious? Is it possible for him to feel, on reflection, that there is no doubt of the rectitude of his conduct? If so, he is placed under the necessity, either of refusing to obey God, or of delivering up his kindred and neighbors to the fires of persecution. The common sense of mankind revolts at such a conclusion. However superstitious and ignorant a persecutor is, they consider him guilty; they believe he acts more from passion than intelligent conviction, and if he would honestly ask himself whether he has ever duly examined the moral nature of his present conduct, he would feel self-condemned.

This hypothesis contradicts also the representations of the Bible respecting the conduct of the pagan world. The murder of superannuated parents, the exposure of infants to perish in the streets, the sacrifice of human beings to false gods, and all the cruelties of idol

worship, idolatry itself—are apparently practiced by the heathen without compunction. They plead, that it is an act of humanity to destroy the aged who can only suffer if they live, and also infants of feeble constitution or of poor parentage. They claim also, that it is their duty to worship idols, according to the custom of their ancestors. Such, in general, is their blindness, that if they sin by such conduct, it is a sin of ignorance. But is it true, that they commit no sin against conscience by these acts, which it is admitted are naturally wrong? Is it true, that their faith in a false god, renders it their duty to worship him? Is it possible, in other words, that they should be so fully persuaded of the truth of these errors, as to feel, on reflection, no doubt respecting them. Paul teaches us the contrary. In Rom. i, 32, he informs us, that they who do such things as he had charged upon the heathen, are worthy of death. He represents them to be guilty for performing those actions which are naturally wrong, of which he gives an extended catalogue, and of the obligation of which we should suppose them to be ignorant, if entire ignorance is possible. Nor does he justify their *idolatry*, which it is reasonable to suppose they conscientiously practiced, if man can be truly conscientious in any conduct which is condemned by the light of nature.

This hypothesis is moreover liable to the objection, that it supposes a person may be led by such an examination of the subject, as seems to him candid and complete, to an unhesitating belief that he ought to do that which is naturally wrong. For if, on reflection, he can not refer to any such ground of conviction, that he is doing his duty, his reason will tell him, that he may be wrong, and conscience will refuse to pronounce an unequivocal sentence of approbation on his con-

duct. He can be satisfied only by what he believes to be a full and candid investigation; and it is improbable, if nothing more, that such an investigation would lead him to a false conclusion in regard to a question of natural duty.

What indeed is this hypothesis but the pernicious doctrine of infidelity, that sincere differences of opinion in regard to religious and moral obligations, may be honestly entertained; and that such opinions, if erroneous, are only to be pitied, not condemned. This spreads a shield over the conscience and reputation of wicked men; for whatever may be their misconduct, they feel justified, if it corresponds with their creed, and they expect the community will pronounce on them the same favorable judgment.

This hypothesis farther implies, that human governments may justly punish men for doing their duty to God. Whoever commits murder or robbery is punished, on detection, by the civil power; yet who knows, if a person may be unequivocally impelled by his conscience to do what is naturally wrong, that the most atrocious crimes may not be committed under this conviction? And if so, the crimes ought, in those instances, to be committed; or the agent is placed under the embarrassing necessity of sinning, whichever course he may adopt.

The Bible, we believe, invariably charges man with guilt when he does things which are naturally wrong; and represents his ignorance to be only a *palliation* of the crime. Thus, Luke xxiii, 34, "Then said Jesus, Father forgive them; for they know not what they do." They were ignorant in some respects, which mitigated their offense; in other respects, they knew better; and hence they needed forgiveness. Luke xii, 47, 48. Those who are destitute of a written revelation, are represented as not know-

ing the will of their master, and yet doing things worthy of stripes. Their ignorance is comparative, not absolute; which mitigates their desert of punishment. This is the uniform representation of the subject in the Bible, with only one apparent exception. Paul declares in his sermon on Mars Hill, Acts xvii, 30, that God winked at the ignorance of former ages, but now commandeth all men every where to repent. But this language can mean no more than the forbearance, with which God had looked upon the sins and impenitence of the heathen, in consideration of their partial ignorance; not that he acquitted them of all blame. For the Bible elsewhere charges them with guilt, and represents the wrath of God to be revealed from heaven against their wickedness. Rom. i, 18, 19. Hence, as a person is manifestly not culpable for actions which are naturally wrong, as murder and idolatry, if he is impelled by an unequivocal sense of duty to do them, we see no way of reconciling the fact with the Bible, but by denying that such an unhesitating belief is possible. A perfectly pure conscience belongs to those only, who, with pure motives, do acts which are not naturally wrong—which are to them in every sense right. It often happens that the mind decides, in view of certain considerations, that a given act ought to be performed, which, in view of other considerations of higher authority, it decides ought not to be done; at least not at present, not with existing feelings, not until some prior act or further deliberation. This feeling of the mind, that we ought to reflect, or ought to do some other thing before we proceed to a given action, which we deem to be our duty, is a dictate of conscience paramount to that which urges us to perform that given action. It takes precedence of it; it speaks decisively, without hesitation, with-

out ambiguity; it must be obeyed before the conscience can insist unequivocally on the performance of the other act. Thus in all cases, in which a person thinks himself under obligation to do that which God forbids, he would, on reflection, see reasons for a different opinion. This prior reflection, or a candid and full examination of the subject, is demanded by the conscience before it can pronounce an unequivocal approval on our conduct. Although a religious bigot, under the influence of pride and malignity, may feel he ought to persecute heretics, yet his self-approbation can not endure the ordeal of calm inquiry, such as his conscience requires. He must feel on reflection, that he is acting with wrong feelings, or without due deliberation. We must admit it to be universally true, that conscience thus demands, first of all, an honest and full examination of the question of duty, and that such an examination never leaves the mind in uncertainty, at least not bound by an unhesitating belief that a wrong action is right and obligatory; or else that God has placed us in a condition, where we can not ascertain his will.

We have discussed this point at length, because it is only by an accumulation of probabilities, that the result can be established.

While, however, it seems certain that every voluntary act of a moral agent, which to him is naturally wrong, is also morally wrong; his ignorance may very much palliate the criminality of his conduct. The degrees of guilt, which mankind contract by violating the same law, depend on various circumstances, familiar to all, such as their respective ages, professions, information, and even habits which are the result of their own conduct. A strictly temperate person who believes the use of intoxicating drinks to be unlawful, and has strong hab-

its of self-control, would incur more guilt than a common drunkard by deliberately drinking to intoxication.

The question, therefore, arises, whether man is responsible for all the natural results of his misconduct. It is the opinion of President Wayland, that a person may be equitably punished for acts, which at the time he thought it his duty to do, because his conscience was blinded by previous misconduct. This notion embraces the hypothesis, which we have endeavored to refute, that a person may be unequivocally impelled by his conscience, to do that, which is naturally wrong; and then, to relieve the difficulty, which attends the supposition, that he is blameless for such acts, affirms that he is guilty, because, if he had always done his duty, he would not have mistaken it in the present case. This is manifestly throwing the whole guilt of the agent, whatever it may be, back upon the misdeeds which lead to his present blindness. It virtually asserts that he is not directly guilty, that he may even deserve commendation, for the actions of to-day, though they are naturally wrong; but that he contracted the same amount of guilt by the previous misconduct, from which his mistake arises, which he would incur by performing his present actions with a full conviction of their unlawfulness.

This hypothesis is carried still farther by the supposition, that a person may be justly held responsible, for whatever amount of virtue and usefulness he would have attained, by a life of undeviating obedience to the moral law—that no present incapacity to do good, which is the result of past negligence, or crime, absolves from the obligation of doing it.

"Man," our author says, "is created with moral and intellectual powers, capable of progressive improvement. Hence, if he use his faculties as he ought, he

will progressively improve; that is, become more and more capable of virtue. He is assured of enjoying all the benefits which can result from such improvement. If he use these faculties as he ought not, and become less and less capable of virtue, he is hence held responsible for all the consequences of his misimprovement. Now as this misimprovement is his own act, it manifestly does not affect the relations under which he is created, nor the obligations resulting from these relations; that is, he stands in respect to the moral requirements under which he is created, precisely in the same condition as if he had always used his moral powers correctly."

"As he is at this moment responsible for *such a capacity for virtue*, as would have been attained by a *previously perfect rectitude*; and as his capacity is inferior to this; and as no reason can be suggested why his progress in virtue should, under these circumstances, be more rapid than that of a perfect being, but the contrary; it is manifest that he must ever fall short of what is justly required of him—nay, that he must be continually falling farther and farther behind it."

"And hence, although it were shown that a man was, at any particular period of his being, incapable of that degree of virtue which the law of God required, it would neither follow that he was not under obligation to exercise it, nor that he was not responsible for the whole amount of that exercise of it; since, if he have dwarfed his own powers, he is responsible for the result. And, conversely, if God require this whole amount of virtue, it will not prove that man is now capable of exercising it; but only that he is either thus capable, or that he would have been so, if he had used correctly the powers which God gave him."—Moral Science, pp. 93, 4, 5.

These opinions we think erroneous. Suppose, for illustration, that A and B commence life together, with similar advantages. A embraces all his opportunities of self-improvement, and becomes distinguished for piety and usefulness. B takes a different course, and sinks into vice and imbecility. The result is, that A now recognizes and performs cheerfully a multitude of duties, to which B is either incompetent or indisposed. Is B responsible for failing to do from day to day the same amount of good which A accomplishes, or which he would do if not prevented by past mis-

conduct? To this it may be replied:

So far as the previous misconduct of B has merely increased his aversion to right moral conduct, his present duty is what it would have been, if his past conduct had been right. A mere indisposition and inaptitude to right conduct, since it is no proper inability to do his duty, is no excuse for omitting it.

So far as his past misconduct has destroyed his capacity or proper ability to do good, he is under no obligation to do good. He is responsible for only that amount of piety and well-doing to which he is now competent. The talents, the knowledge, the health, the influence, which he might have acquired, and which he is guilty for having failed to acquire, he does not now possess. A can, therefore, do more good than he, and more than he is under obligation to do. His present powers are all which he can refuse to devote to God, and all which he can choose to prostitute.

The criminality of each wrong act of the life of B, is measured by the violence with which he then resisted his obligations. This is the reason why wrong actions are aggravated in proportion to the light which the agent possesses respecting the nature of his conduct. The more he knows of the moral turpitude of an action, and of its bad effects, the more criminality he contracts by performing it. The clearer his conviction is, that he ought not to do an act, the more guilt he contracts by doing it, because he resists more powerful motives to obedience. Thus, every foreseen and probable bad consequence of an action augments the guilt of the act, because the agent chooses, for the sake of forbidden gratification, to give birth to those evils. The bad disposition which he manifests, acts with different degrees of intensity, in proportion as the counteractive influences which it encounters and overcomes

increase in power. This disposition measures the guilt of the agent, because he is worthy of the displeasure of God in proportion to the violence with which his will resists his duty.

B, then, is not responsible for all the unhappy results of his misconduct. In consequence of previous negligence and crime, he is now unable, in many respects, to do the good of which he might have become the author. His sins have reduced him to want, to disease, to mental imbecility. Repentance itself will not completely repair the injury which he has done to his powers. He can not serve God with the ability of A. Nor, as we have seen, is he now under equal obligations. His present duty is bounded by his present capacity. Neither are the acts which have led to this incapacity chargeable with the same amount of guilt which he would incur, if, possessing the requisite power, he should now refuse to perform the duties for which he has neglected to qualify himself. His past misconduct is loaded with that amount of guilt only, which was contracted at the time by the violence which he did to obligation. The results, which it was impossible for him to anticipate, had no effect on the moral quality of his actions. Because a person steals a pin in his youth, he may in manhood steal a horse; but in stealing the pin, he may contract no more guilt than by a like act in subsequent life, and probably less, since in mature life he sins against clearer light. So far as he knew, in childhood, the effect of small thefts on character, and anticipated as probable the consequent crime of horse-stealing, his guilt in stealing the pin was enhanced. But since many of the bad consequences of wrong conduct it is impossible to foresee, they are not to be considered in estimating the guilt of the agent. Take a familiar case: A man, who knows he can not drink

wine freely without losing his reason, drinks to excess, and in a fit of derangement kills his wife and children, whom in his sober moments he tenderly loves. In this dreadful act he is not a moral agent. Is he then guilty? Not for this act. He manifestly contracts no guilt in doing what he has no free agency in doing. Of what then is he guilty? Of the act of consenting to expose himself to the possibility of such a distressing deed. His criminality is not precisely that which he would have incurred, if he had foreseen the result, not that which would have accrued if he had killed his wife and children in his sane moments, but that which is involved in his consenting, for gross pleasure, to expose his family to the fury of a maniac. Thus, too, if a man sells ardent spirits to a drunkard, and the drunkard is consequently thrown from his horse and killed, though the vender is guilty, he is not guilty to that precise amount which he would have incurred, if he had murdered his customer, or if he had foreseen the consequent catastrophe. This might, if necessary, be made still more evident, by less doubtful examples of the same general character. Suppose a man cuts off his hand, to avoid fulfilling an engagement to labor. Is he responsible for all the results? What if, in process of time, he stands on the bank of a stream, in which a fellow creature is struggling, and, without assistance, must perish? What if he can not render this assistance, solely because he has only one hand? He stands an afflicted spectator of the death of his brother, lamenting his inability to rescue him. Is he as truly guilty of the crime of murder as he would have been if he had not maimed himself, and had stood there withholding voluntarily the relief in his power? Or did he, when he cut off his hand, contract the guilt of murder? The answer is obvious. He could not rationally have antici-

pated the loss of life, as one of the consequences of his act, much less have certainly foreknown it, and hence he is not guilty of the crime of murder.

Thus, universally, the acts which occasion an incapacity of doing good, which it was impossible to foresee, are not chargeable with guilt for the subsequent omission of what would otherwise have been obligatory. Nor is any thing more required of a person, than the right use of his present powers.

But is not man responsible at the outset of life, for the highest excellence to which he would attain by uninterrupted acts of duty during his whole life? Certainly not. He is not responsible to-day for the conduct of futurity. He is responsible for his actions as they rise from day to day. He is bound to use his powers in discharging his whole duty as it meets him. But if at any time he fails to do so, and this failure impairs his capacity for virtue, he will subsequently be responsible for that amount of virtue only, to which his impaired capacity is adequate. Were it true that man's natural capacity for moral excellence is not affected by his misconduct, but only his moral disposition, it might be said that he must answer for that amount of virtue and usefulness, to which undeviating obedience to God would lead him; for this would only be saying that he will be responsible for all these duties as they rise, and this on the ground that he will have capacity to do them. Since, however, it is true, that the misdeeds of to-day may result in diminishing his capacity for virtue and usefulness, to an extent, which in early life particularly he could not anticipate, it is manifest he did not incur the same guilt when he committed them, which he would have contracted if all these results had been foreseen.

But although no one is responsible, at the commencement of life, for all the personal excellence and

usefulness to which uninterrupted acts of duty would lead, he is responsible from day to day for the right use of all his powers. He is bound, to the full extent of his capacity, to do good, and in all his acts to obey God. At the last tribunal, he will be called to render an account for the use of his powers at each successive period of his life, not for the use of powers which he might have attained, but for those which he actually had. He will be held guilty for all the misconduct, as idleness, waste of time, intemperance, prodigality, impiety, which dwarfed his powers, or prevented their full development; yet his guilt in these acts will be estimated, not by the actual results, but by the violence with which, at the time of doing them, he resisted his obligations.

Here it is proper to remark, that the guilt of an act is enhanced by the apprehension of the agent that bad results may follow, although his suspicion may be wholly groundless. Every circumstance which presents to his mind a reason why the act ought not to be done, augments the guilt of performing it. Hence the misdeeds of to-day may be loaded with greater criminality than would be incurred by the agent if he could foresee all the results. It is plain, if a person is subject to fits of insanity, from the use of wine, that he would contract far less guilt by drinking to intoxication, if he could be positively assured he should do no harm to others, than he actually incurs when he knows the result to be uncertain.

REPUDIATION.*

In 1838, when the capital of the then existing banking institutions in Mississippi amounted to forty five millions of dollars, the legislature of that state incorporated the Mississippi Union Bank, with an additional capital of fifteen and a half million dollars. The funds of this latter institution were not to be furnished by stockholders, but were to be supplied by the state. For this purpose bonds to the amount of five millions of dollars, executed, as we suppose, in the usual form, and bearing date, June, 1838, were delivered under the law incorporating this institution, by the governor of the state to the managers of the bank. The managers sold these bonds in August, to Mr. Biddle, the president of the United States Bank

of Pennsylvania. The credit of this last institution was then unshaken, and these bonds were thrown immediately into the European market, and were there speedily disposed of to a large amount to purchasers; a small amount being at the same time sold in the United States. The bonds were executed in the proper form, pledging the faith of the state on their face, and there was nothing on their face which could induce the purchaser to inquire whether any conditions which had been originally prescribed by the constitution or laws of the state, as precedent to the validity of their sale and transfer, had been in fact complied with. The great body of these purchasers became so undoubtedly *bona fide*, buying the bonds at the fair market price, and they were thus as they supposed, both equitably and legally, the creditors of the state. When the interest which was semi-annually payable

* The signification given to this word throughout the following article, has become so popular and almost technical, that no apology is supposed to be necessary for having adopted it here.

upon these bonds became due, the pecuniary resources of the state had become deeply embarrassed, and it was already apparent that her connection with the Mississippi Union Bank was to be disastrous rather than beneficial. Certain of her leading politicians, among whom as it would seem the then governor, McNutt, was foremost, soon began to broach and then openly to defend the notion, that this interest ought not to be paid, and that the entire sale of these bonds should be considered fraudulent and void. This was unhappily soon made a party question, and a decided majority of the people of the state were speedily persuaded to sanction this notion. The legislature which was afterwards elected, refused to make any provision for the payment of the interest upon these bonds; and the governor subsequently declared in a correspondence with Hope & Co., of Amsterdam, that the state would never pay either the principal or the interest. To this declaration, the state has thus far literally adhered.

Events such as these could not occur, without producing a deep sensation both in our own country and in foreign lands. For a state to violate its plighted faith was an almost absolutely unknown event, the Yazoo purchase, in which the legislature of Georgia were the actors, being the only other instance. And as nearly half a century had elapsed since this first precedent was set, and none of the sister republics had ventured to follow the example, it was universally deemed, as the lawyers say, an anomalous case—to be neither defended, nor cited. When then the legislation of Georgia was thus revived in that of Mississippi, and this latter state thus openly proclaimed that the contracts which had been made by one legislature might be nullified by a subsequent legislature, the least reflecting looked on in surprise and perplexity,

“doubting whereunto this might grow.” The first and, as was to be expected, the loudest of the complainants were the purchasers of the bonds. These, as has been already said, resided principally in different countries in Europe, and they were composed of persons of every condition in life. Among them were literary men, officers on half pay, and other persons whose resources were limited, most of whom had bought these securities with as full confidence in the safety of the investment as if they had been depositors in a savings bank. They had bought as in all other cases, relying on the good faith of the state; they had made a fair market purchase, and as confidently expected the interest to be paid as do the creditors of the national debt of England. And when their debtor, the state of Mississippi, in the exercise of her sovereign pleasure, had thus pronounced her own public acts to be void, and had proclaimed her own bonds to be nothing better than brown paper, it was not strange that they should denounce these proceedings as a system of fraud. What participation, they exclaimed, could be charged upon them in any unfaithfulness or bad management of the agents who had originally disposed of the stock; and what was this pretense of the state, but a mere cover for its own dishonesty?

Nor was the feeling of our own citizens any less equivocal, so far as it found expression. One mode of utterance has been that of the press, and its voice has been that of almost uniform condemnation. Party spirit seems happily to have slumbered upon this question, men have tried the issue by the simple standard of right and not by that of momentary expediency, and they have come accordingly to the same conclusion. Several of the legislatures of other states have also adopted solemn resolutions, virtually

condemning the legislature of Mississippi, and have thus *repudiated Repudiation*. And no formal, disinterested attempt has been made, so far as we are aware, to defend their conduct. If there have been apologies, they have been offered by the parties directly concerned in these proceedings; or if others have stepped forward, the very defense has shown that the champion was ashamed of his cause. So far as the national feeling can be inferred from such indications, the American pulse has generally beat full and true, the people of Mississippi have been "left alone" with their "glory." Even in the halls of Congress, not a voice has been raised in her behalf, except by her own representatives. We can scarcely hesitate to assert, that not a native citizen east of the Alleghany Mountains, who values his own personal character and the honor of his country, has as yet undertaken the perilous effort of defending these proceedings. Every man, except the mere demagogue, has mourned over the reproach which he was conscious would be thus cast upon the country, and has sought to free himself personally from the stigma, by condemning them. While thus affirming, we are also aware that sinister omens of a similar nature have been subsequently visible in other quarters of our political hemisphere, but the voice of the country has undoubtedly spoken in decisive tones here. So strong has been this feeling, so unenviable the notoriety which the state of Mississippi has thus acquired, that her estimable citizens must have often blushed to be recognized as such in other portions of the country. And the public credit of the state is destroyed. Let her now attempt to obtain a loan on any security, any pledges whatever that she can offer, and she could not procure a dollar. A town pauper's promissory note would be regarded

with as much respect by our moneyed citizens, as the bonds of this independent state.

Still more decided has been the condemnatory voice from abroad. The great bankers and other large dealers in public stocks in Europe disposed of the Mississippi bonds, with the same confidence in the good faith of the state which they had so often previously given to that of the United States, or of the crowned heads of Europe, when concerned in similar transactions. The Barings of London, the Hottinguers, and the Hope & Co.'s of the continent, doubtless as little anticipated that the bonds which they transferred to purchasers would be ever declared void by the state of Mississippi, as they anticipated their own personal repudiation of debts which themselves had contracted. When then her legislature refused to pay the interest upon this debt, what other epithets could these "merchant princes" who give the law to commercial credit and character throughout Europe, attach to the state and her agents, but dishonest and fraudulent? And the different nations of Europe, so far as they have become acquainted with these transactions, have but echoed and sanctioned this decision. Whether the English, or the French, or the Dutch, have spoken, it has been the same. And were this reproach confined to the people of Mississippi alone, who could have felt surprise or regret? But instead of state dishonor, it has become national dishonor. Most of the inhabitants of the different countries in Europe, even those of England, are too little acquainted with the peculiar structure of our national and state governments, to be competent to distinguish between them; an Austrian and a Parisian, nay, many a London merchant and knight of the shire, are as unable to separate the two as to define the jurisdiction of the different popular tri-

bunals of ancient Athens. And the enemies of free institutions, even where well-informed upon this subject, have been ready to blend the state and the nation together. Here was one of the united republics of North America publicly falsifying its own acts, violating its own engagements, and this was warrant sufficient for an outcry against the whole. Here was one instance of the manner in which American faith was maintained, and this was sufficient occasion for the friends of despotism to exclaim—*Panica fides!* Perhaps no single transaction has ever equally soiled the brightness of our national escutcheon, as seen by men on the eastern side of the Atlantic. Defects, or incongruities, in our system of government would by many be overlooked; the republican directness, if not bluntness, of our manners would be pronounced characteristic; even the dark blot of Southern slavery might be partially veiled; but a direct refusal by one of our states to pay the debt which her own legislature had contracted, admitted of no apology, no explanation. This is not the language of exaggeration. The English presses during the last two years have been speaking more indignantly and bitterly than this. And our own countrymen, whether residing or traveling abroad, hear similar remonstrances and reproaches. Till within a few years, an American traveler needed not but to proclaim his country, to secure consideration wherever he went, even though personal good will might be withheld. But the story of Mississippi repudiation now precedes or follows him, and he is often constrained to blush when he avows his native land. He may tell the true history, and then insist, that as a citizen of Massachusetts, or Connecticut, or Ohio, he is not responsible for the misdeeds of a state at the opposite extremity of our vast country—that national character is

not to be thus forfeited. And he may be civilly heard, and the devoted friends of free governments may accept his explanation, but with most of his auditors this plea will not avail. It is easier for them at three thousand miles distance to confound than to discriminate, and they have chosen to pronounce it all a national act, by which every American has been dishonored. And the wound thus given to our honor has equally reached our credit. As the state of Mississippi has disabled herself from obtaining the smallest loan here at home, so neither other states whose credit is here unshaken, nor the United States, can now procure a loan abroad. Successive attempts of this nature have been already made, and they have proved ineffectual. Foreign capitalists will not undertake to dispose of stock, for which foreign purchasers can not be found.

We view personally these proceedings of the state of Mississippi as unjust, as a direct breach of her plighted faith, and as therefore only dishonorable to her character. We deem every defense of this doctrine of repudiation, if we may term it a doctrine, as nothing more nor less than a justification of public fraud. Every legislature, state and national, is thus invited to break its solemn contracts, whenever it may be inconvenient to fulfill them. Let such transactions be only regarded with indifference; let any language respecting them except that of condemnation become popular, and we shall soon behold their frequent repetition through the Union. True it is, as has been already remarked, that the legislature of Mississippi have as yet found but few responsible apologists; but true it also is, that in other states which are burdened with debt, repudiation has been broached as the only available policy. Indiana and Michigan have already entered on the same road; in Maryland the measure has been so warmly recom-

mended as to excite disquietude, and the course of Pennsylvania also has been sufficiently equivocal. While professedly denouncing repudiation, her legislature have made no provision for the payment of the interest due upon her public debt for the last year. Fearful of the effect upon their own popularity, were a system of direct taxation to be adopted, or otherwise criminally insensible to the duty of preserving inviolable the faith of the commonwealth, they have adjourned, and left their most momentous trust unperformed. Are not these occasions for alarm to every thoughtful mind that loves its country? Are not such clouds ominous of a tempest that may hereafter sweep away the very foundations of our national polity? And if but a tithe of such apprehensions is warranted, a somewhat free examination of the subject may be seasonable in the pages of the New Englander. We shall accordingly consider the most plausible defenses that may be offered for these proceedings of the state of Mississippi, and after having exposed their evident unsoundness, shall allude to several minor topics which are intimately connected with the general subject.

One defense which, we fear, is secretly deemed by many as valid, although few are as yet hardy enough to avow it, is this: that *a state, a legislature, is not subject to the moral laws which bind individuals*. This would be termed, substantially, a plea to the jurisdiction *in foro conscientia*; it denies that a political body is morally amenable. There are few indeed, even among the veriest demagogues and their partisans, who venture openly to assert this principle; but is not the number of those who have privately espoused it rapidly increasing? The tendency of our free institutions, under the working of that depravity which is natural to man, is, as every attentive observer has noticed, towards the side of licentiousness, and never towards that

of restraint. The danger ever is, that the standard recommended will be that of expediency, and not that of justice. And when men, whether they are legislators or private citizens, are perpetually told that the state of which they are members is sovereign, that it is independent, not only of foreign governments, but also of the United States, except within the granted powers of the constitution, it requires no great increase of self-complacency to believe, that the state and those who represent its sovereignty are virtually independent of the moral law. What other explanation than this needs be given of the unquestioned fact, as melancholy as it is notorious, that the annual sessions of Congress, and of many of our state legislatures, are notorious for their corrupting influence upon the communities in which they are held? Men who, as private citizens, show some regard to personal character and to public opinion, often become regardless of both when sent to Washington, or to the capital of their own state, to aid in making the laws. The law has exempted them from all responsibility to man, for aught which, as legislators, they may say or do, and this they construe as a release from all accountability to God. Is not much of the legislation of Congress during the last twenty years explicable on this principle? Have not many acts of obvious injustice or impolicy been passed, and many a demand of equity refused or neglected, under its sway? The practical conviction of the legislator has been, that his personal responsibility was at an end,—as a public functionary his private character was for the time lost, or himself, as a unit, was merged in the multitude by whom he was surrounded. This is an opinion which has been every where rapidly gaining ground, and, as the consequence, whatever may be the proceedings of a legislature, there are many who are more or less

ready to justify them, or, if this can not be decently attempted, to refrain from condemning them. Who can doubt that the repudiation of Mississippi was thus vindicated by multitudes of her own people, or that there is a secret willingness felt by many in every other portion of our country, to advance the same plea? But what shall be pronounced as to its soundness? A legislature not subject to the moral laws which bind individuals? The citizen or the subject responsible to the government of God, but Congress or the despot not responsible? We have but two questions to ask here. Has God prescribed moral laws for the obedience of man, and if so, which of those laws releases the ruler from obedience, while it binds the ruled? Even the infinite Lawgiver himself is pleased to observe the very laws which he has given to his creatures. His adherence to justice, to truth and faithfulness, and to every other moral obligation, is perfect and unchangeable. If the legislature of Mississippi could thus violate the pledged faith of the state, they might on the same principle disregard every other act of former legislatures; they might destroy all the rights which had been thus vested, and overthrow all preceding legislation. Here was a contract into which their own predecessors had deliberately entered, entrusting to them the work of providing for its fulfillment at the due time. What could they plead, either in the nature of civil government, or in their own state constitution, or in the laws of God, which could release them from the performance of this trust? If not bound sacredly to observe every moral law, that of justice for example, then they were bound to observe no such law. In the exercise of their own supremacy they might rightfully enact that every man wearing a cocked hat should be capitally punished, if they might rightfully nullify the contracts of

their predecessors. The absurdity and the criminality of such a principle are so obvious, that a formal reply appears like an impeachment of the common sense and morality of the reader, and yet we deeply fear that its hold upon multitudes is too strong to be thus shaken. The legislative omnipotence, or the power to pass any laws whatever, which Blackstone virtually ascribes to the British parliament, many of our legislators are assuming as their own prerogative, so far as the constitution does not sternly prohibit them. They are answerable to no human tribunal, and the only question which they feel constrained to ask anterior to any act of legislation, is, not whether it will be right, but will it be popular? It was popular in Mississippi, for the moment, to refuse to pay the just debt of the state, and her legislature refused accordingly. And were it a popular measure throughout our country, to exclude that state, by an act of legislation, from our Union, Congress might, on the same principle, enact that all her people should be henceforth hewers of wood and drawers of water. Never can the prince or the president or the senator escape from the least moral restraint, until he can escape from his personal identity. His artificial public relations are but a mere robe which never hides his personal character, and they only augment his responsibility before the last tribunal.

A second defense,—and it is that which was publicly advanced at the time, and that on which the main stress has been placed,—is this: *that the sales of the state bonds by the agents were vitiated by their unfaithfulness or their fraud.* In examining the soundness of this defense, we may be compelled occasionally to use somewhat technical language, but we shall adopt it as rarely as possible. According to the allegation of Governor McNutt, in his celebrated reply to Hope &

Co. of Amsterdam, these bonds were delivered by him to the managers of the Union Bank; under his express directions that they were not to be sold at less than their par value, and only for cash, and this the law which gave the bank the credit of the state, also required. They were in fact sold by the agents of these managers to the president of the United States Bank, on credit, for the same amount to be paid in five equal annual installments, two millions of which, however, were paid within the first six months. These bonds were then sold in the market in the United States and in Europe, and were made payable at the agency of the United States Bank of Pennsylvania in London, in sterling money, and with interest there payable semiannually.

It is this express disregard by the managers of the Union Bank and their agents, of these directions of Governor McNutt, and their equal disregard of the provision in the law just specified, and of an article in the constitution of Mississippi, forbidding the passage of any law authorizing a loan of money on the credit of the state, which are alleged as a justification of the subsequent measures of repudiation.

The plain and decisive answer by the holders of these bonds to this plea, is its utter irrelevancy. How can their rights be lessened by any thing which occurred between the governor of the state and the managers of the Union Bank, six or twelve months previously? How could they, by any possibility, become acquainted with the verbal directions respecting the sale of the bonds, that were then given by the former to the latter? Whether these were legal or illegal, whether he had attached two conditions or forty, or none whatever, to the transfer, was immaterial to them. As little force has the allegation that the bonds were not sold at their par value, and for cash, when the law and the con-

stitution required both. How could purchasers in London and Amsterdam know that such was the requisition, and that it had been disregarded by the managers in the original sale? All that they knew or could be supposed to know, was what was legible on the face of each bond itself, and on its back,—the one being the engagement of the state of Mississippi to pay the sum of money there specified, the other naming the place of payment and the currency in which payable. Neither of these furnished any hint of the existence of what is thus alleged as a defense; neither directed the purchaser to make inquiry as to the laws and constitution of Mississippi, prescribing the original mode of sale; all was in the common form of similar securities. The purchaser bought them for a fair price, relying on the express promise of the state, and the state gave him no reason to suppose that the whole transaction *ab ovo usque ad mala* was not constitutional and legal. If then the original sale by the managers proved to be finally detrimental to the Union Bank and to the state; if these agents were equally unfaithful and dishonest, the purchasers may still reply, "What is that to us? These are matters between the state and its immediate agents, with which we have no concern. Punish these agents, as criminals, if dishonest; hold them responsible in their private estates, if unfaithful; but refuse not to pay us, honest creditors in Massachusetts and New York, and in Europe, on such allegations as these." Still more evident is the irrelevancy of this defense, when we consider the original design of the issuing of these bonds. This was to procure a banking capital for the Union Bank, by pledging the faith of the state. The bonds were to be executed in due form, and were then to be sold, on purpose to procure that capital from the moneyed world, which Mississippi could not herself furnish. It

was one mode of procuring a loan on the credit of the state, and the sum to be raised was \$5,000,000. And had these qualifications respecting the sale of the bonds for cash, and at par value, been incorporated within the bonds themselves, so as to constitute a part of their tenor, no sale could have been ever effected to the amount of a single dollar. Not a purchaser in the United States or in Europe would have parted with his money, when, as a preliminary matter, he was thus informed that the security which he was invited to buy would prove worthless, unless it should appear at the time of maturity that these precedent conditions had been all complied with. When public stocks are transferred, no buyer thinks of first sending an express from London by a Liverpool steamer, or from New York by a rail-car across the Alleghanies, to the state of Mississippi, that he may first ascertain whether some unknown law or article in her constitution has been exactly obeyed by the state commissioners of the loan. State bonds and state credit would have but little to do with "cash" and "par values," or with any value above a minus quantity, if such were the condition. This professed justification has so little speciousness, that Governor McNutt, when alledging it to Hope & Co. at a distance of five thousand miles, must have felt that all this wide interval was needed to screen him from their indignant looks and exclamations. Were the state of Mississippi a natural instead of a corporate person, a brief dialogue between these two parties would be in somewhat of the following strain: "Is that seal yours?" would be the first interrogation propounded by the Amsterdam bankers, after taking up one of these bonds and pointing to its face, and her republican highness would be constrained to answer, "Yes." "Was it originally issued by your own agents?" would be the second

question, and the reply must here also be in the affirmative. "The interest upon it has been now due for three years and more: will you pay it?" would be the third query. And here "the sovereignty," if even indifferently honest, could give but one answer. Her incompetent or knavish officers she might indeed punish as they should deserve, turn them out of her house, expel them from her broad farm, confiscate their property, if they had any, and thus make them a terror to all future evil-doers; but her own just debts she must pay.

Still a third defense, or semblance of defense, may be alledged. *The state of Mississippi was utterly unable to pay either the principal or the interest of these bonds, at the time when the latter first became due*; and she was thus compelled to refuse payment by absolute necessity. We suppose that this allegation is partly correct. The capital of the banks and of similar institutions existing in that state at the beginning of the year 1838, amounted, as was observed at the commencement, to forty five millions of dollars; and in addition to this enormous amount, the Union Bank was then incorporated with a capital of more than fifteen millions of dollars, which the state undertook to provide. Sixty millions of banking capital for a state, whose population then exceeded that of Connecticut by a fraction only, and whose pursuits were almost wholly agricultural, attended probably with a still larger issue and circulation of bank paper:—what but a degree of ignorance in her successive legislatures, amounting almost to fatuity, could have created these institutions; what but unmeasured borrowing, and then reckless expenditure, and then a general inability to pay, and then an all but universal bankruptcy, must have been the speedy result! This fearful reaction had commenced before the ori-

ginal sale of these bonds, and when the first payment of interest became due, the clouds were still blackening; and had a demand been then made upon the state for the payment of the principal, to meet it would have been a literal impossibility. But the interest only was then payable, no part of the principal falling due before 1850, and sorely crippled as was her strength, it is probable that this additional burden could have been shouldered without staggering. No pretense to the contrary appears in the letter to Hope & Co. already cited, and by this document as the plea of her chief executive officer, may she be fairly tried. The annual payment of but a twentieth of the amount of the principal, for the interest was but five per cent., would have preserved untainted the credit and the character of the state; and what efforts should not be put forth by any community to prevent the sacrifice of these priceless jewels! The demagogue who panders to the basest passions of the populace, would indeed be recreant in such an emergency, and so would many a timid legislator who is honest in his private dealings; but no man of strict integrity could hesitate. But admit that the payment of the interest was then impracticable, suppose that the state was for the time bankrupt; what then? Does this justify repudiation, or the refusal ever thereafter to pay any portion of the principal or interest? Yes, just so far as the present insolvency of a private individual is, *ipso facto*, his final release from all indebtedness. What immunity can the debtor state claim in such case, which is to be denied to the debtor citizen? The remedy, originally granted by the constitution to the private creditor of summoning a state as an individual before the national tribunals, has indeed been taken away; but his rights are not thus divested, he has but lost the most effectual

means of enforcing them. The indebtedness of the state, legal and equitable, evidently thus continuing, and thus irremovable by her own act alone, with at the same time an admitted inability to pay;—are we asked, what should have been the course of her legislature? The answer is obvious. First, to affirm the sacredness of the claims of these bond-holders to the full extent, principal and interest. Secondly, to proclaim the fixed purpose of the state to pay the interest at the first moment practicable. Thirdly, to give every bond-holder the proper additional security for the interest already due. If in addition to these primary measures, the legislature had at once entered upon a system of rigid economy as to the public expenditures, and had also imposed some tax, however small, for the payment of the interest, all would have been then accomplished which could properly be asked. Scarce a foreign or an American creditor would have then parted with these bonds at a sacrifice, the faith of the state would have been untarnished, the character of the nation would not have been lowered abroad before friends and foes alike. And far more than all these, the first step in the beaten road of dishonor might not have been yet taken. Mississippi repudiation, with all its existing evils, and these are fearful indeed, is still to be dreaded—mainly as a precedent. It is the first stain on a vestal's fame: all was spotless before, but there is now a broad leprous spot—the harbinger of widely spreading disease. And there is the greater cause for fear, when we consider how peculiar is the sympathy which pervades the population of a great republic. Their very equality, their unrestricted intercourse with each other as individuals, their union amid every diversity of interest, and their tendency to act in all public matters as parties, or masses, rather

than singly, are all auspicious in some emergencies, but they are ominous of fatal danger in others. Let but a foot of our soil be invaded, the heart of the nation beats high with patriotism, and the glow is felt at the most distant extremities; and let but the doctrine of repudiation be adopted by two or three of our state legislatures, and no statesman can assure us that other states will not also enter on this precipitous path, until half of the Union may be seen hastening in company to dishonor and bankruptcy. Here, as in numberless other cases, communities, like individuals, are more easily persuaded to do wrong than to do right; to break their faith, than subsequently to make full restitution.

"Facilis descensus Averni :
Sed revocare gradem—hoc opus."

It is this fearful sympathy, this almost universal tendency to act in all public matters as communities or parties, rather than as individuals, which constitutes perhaps our greatest danger. The citizen loses sight of his personal responsibility, because he acts with a great party; public opinion is his opinion, and immense numbers rarely think of adopting any other standard. With such persons the inquiry is not, what does justice require in the particular case; what does the will of God evidently prescribe; but what has the legislature enacted, what has our party pronounced; what is the course of public opinion; what do certain political presses declare to be true, or expedient? And when the answer is given, the question, however momentous, is in their view settled. There may be troublesome misgivings long afterwards, and under better influences many may be led to retrace their devious steps; but they move at the time as men are borne along in the midst of a mob, to adopt measures and do acts, from which, if

alone, they would have tremblingly recoiled. Perhaps not one tenth of the legislature, or of the people of Mississippi would have approved of the repudiation of these bonds, had the measure been proposed to them merely as individuals; but as soon as a few of her leading men had boldly recommended it, and the flame had begun to spread, all resistance became for the time hopeless. Her governor then affirmed, and the state has thus far sustained him in the affirmation, that Mississippi "will never pay the five millions of dollars of state bonds issued in June, 1838, or any portion of the interest due, or to become due thereon." And should a majority in the legislature of Pennsylvania, which is to be chosen in the interval between the writing and the printing of these pages, openly espouse this Mississippi mode of dealing with the creditors of a state, then, unless the measure is at once indignantly rejected by great multitudes of the people, and demagogues are for the time terrified into silence, the legislation of that great commonwealth may be made to sanction the rightfulness of state frauds.

We say state frauds, because we insist that a state or a nation, when it has once contracted debts, can never in any circumstances whatever be released from her indebtedness, except by actual payment. We say, if the debt has been actually contracted; and the fact of indebtedness depends not on the consideration, whether the state itself has received a full equivalent, or any equivalent. If she has induced individuals, within or without her jurisdiction, to part with their own property in consideration of being subsequently repaid by herself, then she is the debtor, and they are the creditors. Whether some articles in her constitution, or some provision in the particular law authorizing the sale of her bonds or other securities, has been observed, or

disregarded, is a perfectly irrelevant question, provided there is no reference to such article or law on the face of the securities themselves: the purchasers have bought, trusting to the explicit promise of the state, and the state can not be permitted to assert that the promise is not absolutely binding. Now how can a state, when thus indebted, be ever released, except by a full payment to the creditors? Her legislature, in the wanton exercise of what is called parliamentary omnipotence, may profess to affirm or to nullify the contract, just as they may profess to nullify the laws of Congress, or to release the citizen from the obligations of an oath. On the same principle, a giant may discharge himself from paying the debt which he owes to a dwarf. The dwarf has not sufficient physical strength to compel the giant to be honest, and perhaps the holders of her bonds can find no tribunal that will constrain Mississippi to pay either the principal or the interest; but when we speak of a release from the obligation of a debt, we refer to some other discharge than that of club law. Right and wrong are still realities, justice—as between individuals respectively, or between a community on the one side and individuals on the other—has a fixed moral, and not a conventional, meaning; and we accordingly ask once more, how can a state, when indebted, be ever released, except by a full payment to the creditors? Her actual inability to pay, even if it be that of utter bankruptcy, alters not the fact of her indebtedness; she will be justified in not paying while this inability continues, but she is still a debtor, and as soon as her solvency returns payment must be made.

We are here arguing, it will be seen, upon the assumption that the rights of the creditor are equally sacred, whether the debtor is a natural or an artificial person, a

single citizen, or a sovereign state. And what can render these rights less sacred in the latter case than in the former? The words, right and obligation, are perfectly reciprocal terms. If a state can sustain the relation of creditor, it can also sustain that of debtor; if she possesses all the unquestioned rights originated by the one, she can assume all the obligations which appertain to the other. The remedies may indeed be different in the two different cases, but the rights and obligations will be reciprocally the same. Can then the individual debtor be ever released from his indebtedness, except by actual payment, or by the creditor's voluntary relinquishment of the debt? We know, as who does not know, that every commercial country has its bankrupt laws, and insolvent laws, and statutes of limitation, and we mean not to assert that such legislation is unnecessary; but what do all such laws truly affirm? That the debtor has been thus released from the obligation to pay his creditor—is this their declared intention? Or is it this; that while the obligation on the one side and the right on the other continue the same, the state will not assist the creditor by the process of her courts to enforce his rights? It may be expedient for the commonwealth or the monarch to enact such laws, the complicated relations of commerce may render it indispensable, but, as has been already said, these laws take away the remedy merely, they do not and they can not lessen the right nor the obligation. Suppose the insolvent or the bankrupt should again accumulate property; is he not as sacredly required to pay his creditors, as if the laws had never professed in any sense to discharge him? His obligations to his creditors were created by the eternal principles of justice, and not by the acts of a legislature or the rescripts of a despot; how then can

any human legislation set him free? He contracted his debts, not as a mere member of a political society, not as a citizen or a subject, but as a man, as a moral being; and whence does civil government derive the power, we ask, to extinguish such obligations? If the state can release him from the duty of paying his debts, it can release him from the duty of speaking the truth; for the obligations of justice are as absolutely sacred as those of veracity. If it can lessen in the least degree the sanctity of any one right and of its corresponding duty, it can abolish all rights, it can release from every duty. And are we then asked, why, if such views are to be sanctioned, does so much misapprehension on this subject prevail, why do men so generally consider themselves released from all indebtedness by the operation of these specific laws? We will give a twofold answer: most men are willing to adopt the laws of the land as their own standard of morality; and but very few men are strictly, absolutely honest. Twenty

generous, kind, amiable persons can be found, as we believe, where there is one strictly honest man. Theirs are the virtues of impulse, or of instinct; but his is the virtue of immovable principle.

Did the limits which we have prescribed to ourselves permit, we could pursue this train of illustration at length; but we must close. The subject in many of its aspects, is indeed most unwelcome; but our motto, although we rest on other hopes than those of the ancient Roman, is—“*never despair of the republic.*” Mississippi herself appears to be awaking, slowly indeed, to a recognition of the dishonor which she has thus attached to her own name. So large a body of her citizens are now insisting that these repudiated bonds must be paid, that they will ere long, as we trust, become the majority. And the justice, the equity, of the whole matter is so apparent, that even her partisan politicians must in mere shame retrace their own footsteps, when the tempest which they have temporarily excited shall have passed away.

WHITTINGHAM'S CHARGE TO HIS CLERGY.*

THE “bishop of the diocese of Maryland,” formerly professor in the “General Theological Seminary” in New York, is known to theologians as the American editor of Palmer on the Church—a book of much learning and much sophistry, the principal design of which seems to be to show that Episcopalians in England and America, Roman

Catholics in the countries included within “the Roman obedience,” and the members of the Greek communion in Russia and the East, constitute the one catholic church, now unhappily divided by mutual misunderstandings, but hereafter to be gloriously reunited; and that all “dissenters” who have either separated themselves from this catholic body, or have been in due form excluded from it, are without the pale of that church out of which there is no salvation. The cool atrocity of such a system—wrought out with all sorts of sophistry, and propped up with all sorts of authorities—a

* The Body of Christ. A charge delivered to the clergy of the Diocese of Maryland, by William Rollinson Whittingham, Bishop of the Diocese; at the annual convention in Baltimore, Thursday, June 1st, 1843. Published by order of the convention.

system which, without a shudder, consigns to perdition such saints of God, as Owen and Bunyan, Watts and Doddridge, Edwards and Erskine, Fuller and Dwight, Brainerd and Carey, and all, however distinguished by the fruits of the Spirit, who have dared to trust in Christ without trusting in the intercession of a human priesthood—indicates not only an unsound judgment, but a disordered moral sense, on the part of the Oxford author and his American editor.

We have now an opportunity of becoming further acquainted with Bishop Whittingham, as he exhibits himself in a "charge" addressed by him to his clergy at Baltimore, in the month of June last. In the marks of scholarship and of a vigorous though erratic mind, it answers well to the reputation of its author; and on the whole, it leads us to entertain a more respectful opinion both of his intellect and of his moral and religious sensibilities, than we had been able to gather from his editorial labors betowed on the volumes of Palmer. It seems important to notice the manifestations of opinion in the Episcopal church, especially such as proceed from men of eminence and of official or personal authority. The interests of pure Christianity may be promoted, by bringing before the public the true points of difference between the system prevalent in that church and the evangelical system. In this point of view, a certain Episcopal charge recently published in New England, has an importance which will justify us in reserving it for a distinct and deliberate consideration. A solemn official announcement of the opinion of the Episcopal church in one of the New England states, on "the errors of the times," is a document, the value of which in determining the true character and position of that church in relation to evangelical religion, no reasonable man

can question. The charge now before us has merits of its own in respect to extent of learning, force of thought, and dignity of style, far superior to the common standard—we will not say of Episcopalian, but of episcopal literature. The authority of Dr. Whittingham is not merely official, but personal. He speaks not simply as the bishop of a diocese, but as a ripe scholar, a practiced professor, an earnest thinker, a zealous and enthusiastic sectarian. In the progress of the controversy now pending between the system of "organized unity," and the system of "individual responsibility," we shall expect to hear often from the author of this charge.

It is a great mistake, to suppose that the difference between the Episcopal church and other communions called evangelical, is merely or chiefly a difference about organization and forms. As we understand the matter, and as Bishop Whittingham understands it, the difference respects the very nature and being of Christianity. Some Episcopalians, we are aware, do not so understand it. There is a small but respectable party in that church, who are most honest in the belief, that a ministry consisting of prelates, presbyters, and deacons, is of divine right, and was instituted as such by the Apostles—who hold that every Christian community not taught and governed by such a ministry, is irregularly and imperfectly organized—who heartily adopt the forms of their own church, as on the whole better than any other existing mode of public worship—and who, at the same time, hold distinctly and unequivocally, the doctrines of the evangelical system. But these persons do not give character to the Episcopal church. Of some of them it may be said, that though they are in that church, they are hardly of it. In her history, in her constitutional

structure and tendencies, in her liturgy, in her actual position and influence, "the church" as a body is entirely against them. They are Christians more than they are "Churchmen." The genuine Churchman, who is well grounded in what are called "church principles," holds a system of religion, which, just in proportion as it is distinctly developed, is directly antagonistic to the religion of the New Testament. Multitudes, including not a few of the Episcopalian ministry, hold that system vaguely, in its mere rudiments, and with various incoherent admixtures of the true Gospel. In many such, the truth which they receive counteracts the error which they mix with it, and becomes effectual by the grace of God to their spiritual regeneration, and to the salvation of their souls. In Episcopalian pulpits, and even in those which are episcopal, there is often a vague and obscure way of touching upon the great truths of spiritual religion, which on the one hand, never brings home to the careless conscience, lulled to repose by the steady observance of formalities, the great duty of immediate repentance—and on the other hand, rarely astounds such hearers as may be accustomed to evangelical ideas, with any explicit denial of the doctrines of grace. Sometimes this is simply the legitimate result of vagueness and obscurity in the mind of the preacher. Sometimes, we suspect, it may proceed from a well considered "reserve in the communication of religious knowledge." The consequence is, that, within and without the Episcopal church, the system of doctrines fairly belonging to that church—the actual difference between that sect, as a sect, and the great catholic communion of evangelical Protestants—is to a great extent imperfectly understood.

We turn then to Bishop Whittingham's charge—an official produc-

tion of a chief dignitary of the Episcopal church; and we inquire, what is the theory of Christianity held by this learned and able writer?

"THE BODY OF CHRIST." When we see this phrase in the work of an Episcopalian, we are at no loss to conjecture what the writer is thinking of. It is continually assumed by such writers, that inasmuch as the church is the body of Christ, therefore some definite organized society, under the name of the church, must be exclusively Christ's body, and membership in that organized society is the only known union of the soul to Christ. In accordance with this assumption, the author before us talks about "the revealed plan of salvation through membership in the body of Christ," (p. 3,) meaning that there is no salvation revealed for any who are not subject to the regulations and officers of that particular society, or fraternity of societies, which he recognizes as the only church. In accordance with the same assumption, he affirms that "the Divine commission of the ministry, in apostolical succession, as the authorized dispenser of justifying and sanctifying grace in the sacraments of regeneration, and of the communion of the body and blood of Christ, has been the uninterrupted doctrine of the church, since she received it in and with the Scriptures, down to the present day." p. 15. In the same way of reasoning, he sets it down, in language borrowed from Bishop Beveridge, as the utmost achievement of the "skill and power" of Satan, in his "spite at *our* church," "to draw as many as he can from its communion"—that is, from the communion of membership and subjection in that particular organization which is governed by bishops, and ministered to by sacrificing priests and preaching deacons—"and to make them schismatics; that so, being separated from the

body, they may not partake of the spirit that is in it, nor by consequence receive any benefit from this promise of our blessed Savior to the governors of the catholic and apostolic church in all ages, 'Lo, I am with you always, to the end of the world.'" p. 16. In like manner it is declared by our author, that "the Scriptures afford no authority for believing that Christ can be truly preached otherwise than *in the church*," (p. 17.) that is, in the church as organized under a prelatical government, professing to have come down, in an uninterrupted succession, from the apostles. In the same way, our author "teaches the reality of the interest in Christ which pertains to membership in his visible Body;" and he declares, that "of the Body which the sacraments unite and seal as His, it is explicitly revealed that it is His body, into which, entering by baptism, we are baptized into Jesus Christ, and have put on Christ, and in which, eating His flesh, and drinking His blood, we dwell in Him, and He in us." p. 18. In the same way, it is declared that the redemption through the cross of Christ, is "applied to the individual believer by the Spirit *in the ordinances*;" and that it is "the grace transmitted in the church, from the Root through the branches vitally joined to it by faith, which *alone* enables them to bear their fruit." p. 20. And, not to multiply these quotations unnecessarily, it is said in the same way by this same author, that the true knowledge of "the Gospel in its fullness, its freeness, and its power," is "the knowledge of Christ as the Savior of the Body, and therefore of its members *as* in the Body—of ourselves as members of His body, of His flesh and of His bones, nourished and cherished by his Spirit, *ministered in his ordinances*, and received by faith." p. 21.

These views are not Popery; al-

though the Roman Catholic church holds substantially the same views. We have not made these quotations for the sake of stigmatizing them as Popery, or Romanism, or even as Puseyism. Pusey and the Oxford Tractarians hold these views it is true; but we have yet to learn that these views are peculiar to the writers of that school. Popery, or Romanism, is not the doctrine which the church of Rome holds in common with other bodies of nominal Christians. Puseyism is not that doctrine which the Tractarians hold in common with the formularies and the most honored prelates and authors of the Anglican church, in almost every successive age since the Reformation. What Hobart held, and Seabury—what was held by Sancroft and Laud, by Montague, Cosins and Andrews, by Bancroft and Queen Elizabeth—what stands as it were engraven on a rock in the catechism and offices of the church—is not Puseyism, but "church-of-Englandism." The quotations which we have given are valuable, as exhibiting frankly and with high authority, a scheme of religion which is diligently propagated in many portions of our country, and which has much to recommend it to the deceitful and corrupt heart of unregenerate man, but which is not always stated by its advocates with so little reserve. The system may be briefly and methodically summed up in the following propositions.

1. Christ as a Savior is related, not directly to individual sinners who repent and believe, but only to the church as a visible corporation, and to individuals only as members of that corporation. Consequently, the doctrine of election, as it is commonly called—the doctrine which "considers the election of the individual believer as the immediate end of the Divine counsels"—is a great mistake, a piece of "Calvin's misspent ingenuity." p. 6. God's

chosen people then, "predestinated according to his purpose"—"chosen in Christ before the foundation of the world"—are not the individuals whom he did foreknow, but are the aggregation, the body corporate, of the visible organized church, with its threefold ministry, and its ordinances and ceremonies; and he who is united to that visible church is one of God's chosen.

2. The church, as the body of Christ, and as enjoying a priesthood descended by an uninterrupted series of successive ordinations from the Apostles, through bishops ruling over two orders of inferior ministers—the church as a visible corporation related to Christ, is the exclusive possessor of all the grace, and all the hopes and promises of the Gospel; and membership in the church is the only appointed way of salvation. The church, with "its commission deducible in direct succession from Him whom the Father sent to found it," is to be recognized "as the witness and keeper of holy writ, the preacher of the Gospel, the conveyer of spiritual life and nourishment, the sealer of the promises." p. 11.

3. The grace and salvation which belong to the church are communicated to individual members in the ordinances or sacraments. Baptism, rightly administered, makes the recipient a member of the church; it removes the guilt of original sin, and of all actual sins up to that moment; it regenerates by the communication of supernatural grace, and thus is the commencement of a new life; hence it is called "the sacrament of regeneration." In the Lord's supper, rightly administered—or, to use the language of the system, in "the eucharist," the bread and wine are not mere symbols and memorials of Christ's atoning death for us; they are a real oblation to God; and it is only by participating in that sacrifice, by eating and drinking at that altar, that the bene-

fits of Christ's death can be applied to the individual believer for his sanctification. Eating at that altar, he really and not in a figure—not symbolically only, but in an unsearchable mystery—eats the flesh and drinks the blood of Christ, and thus becomes completely united and incorporated with Christ. In accordance with this theory, our author says that Christ has appointed the *sacraments* to be to the church "its joints and bands, through which nourishment is ministered, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, from Him, the Head." p. 20.

4. Yet it is not to be supposed that this system formally dispenses with faith, or with a personal experience of the work of the Holy Spirit on the mind. If we should permit any of our readers to take up such an impression, we should feel that we had misrepresented the system which it is our purpose to represent plainly, but with exact fairness. Be it understood, then, that the system in question does not profess to deny the necessity of repentance, faith, and spiritual renovation, in order to the salvation of the soul. It teaches that "formalists and hypocrites have rested in the visible membership, without the witness of the Spirit in the inner man which is its life." p. 18. It teaches that "redemption through the cross of Christ only," while it is "applied to the individual believer by the Spirit in the ordinances," is "apprehended by faith alone." p. 20. Its doctrine of grace is the doctrine of "the grace which, transmitted in the church, from the Root, through the branches vitally joined to it by faith, alone enables them to bear their fruit." Our author's theory of religion is, in his own statement of it, "God in Christ; Christ in the church; the church in her offices, ordinances and members; all bound together in one mystic Body, visible in its human members and sensible administra-

tions; but vivified and energized by the Spirit of truth, holiness and love, dwelling in the whole Body as its Soul, and thereby making it, as a whole, His temple; while in each member He also dwells, according to the measure of the gift of each, thereby making the mortal body of the individual a temple of the Holy Ghost which is in him, which he has of God." "This mystery of grace," says the Bishop, "is the basis of the whole superstructure both of faith and holiness." pp. 20, 21. In other words, faith is indeed essential to justification and salvation; but the church, the priesthood and the sacraments are equally essential. Faith is indeed essential; but faith itself fastens upon the church, entrusts the soul to the authority and legitimacy of the priesthood, and apprehends Christ and the benefits of his redemption, only as they are exhibited and sealed in valid sacraments. A personal experience of the inward work of the Holy Spirit is essential; but the Holy Spirit is given only in the true visible (that is, the Episcopal) church, by a legitimately constituted ministry, through valid ordinances. There is indeed a certain "union and communion of the Head with the individual members," (p. 23,) but it is only a union and communion of the Head with those who are members, not directly of Christ by faith, but of the organized visible church by a participation of the sacraments; and in the words of our author, if you "aim at maintaining the individual access of the believer to his Lord, independently of his connection with him in the Body, [that is, in the Episcopal church,] you isolate him from the fount of blessing, and lead him to broken cisterns that will hold no water." p. 23.

This whole scheme of religion seems to originate in the idea that "the church" which Paul frequently calls a body, and which in several instances he calls "the body of Christ," (Eph. i, 23; iv, 12; v, 23;

Col. i, 18, 24;) is a visible corporation or society, organized after one particular form, and that therefore there is no membership in Christ's body, no vital union with Christ, except by a visible membership in that visible society or body politic. If that idea is shown to be unfounded, it will need but little argument to convince a candid man that the whole system is erroneous. And on the other hand, if that idea is warranted by Scripture, there is a fair presumption that the remainder of the system is not far out of the way.

It is worth while then to inquire, What is the 'church' which the Scriptures speak of as "the body of Christ"? What does the New Testament mean by 'church,' in such a connection?

In ascertaining the answer to this inquiry, it is first to be observed that in strict propriety of speech there is no such word as 'church' in the New Testament. The word 'church,' or some other word identical with it in signification, is found in all the modern languages of Christendom. It is the word which grew up in the middle ages to denote that vast and powerful institution which, centering at Rome, overshadowed the world. It had at the beginning one definite and unequivocal meaning,—a meaning very little differing from that which Bishop Whittingham and those of his way of thinking attach to the same word now. But at the Reformation, when the Bible was translated into the vernacular languages of Europe, this word was assumed in some translations as the proper word to represent some of the meanings of a certain word in the New Testament. Our common translation of the Bible was made in this way; so that in English the word 'church' is a Bible word, and its meaning in popular use has been modified in consequence of its standing in the Bible. The authors of the Geneva version, which King James's version was designed to supersede,

avoided the use of this word from the dialect of the middle ages, wisely judging that if introduced into the Bible it would carry something of its own associations along with it. In this they followed the example of Luther, and this was one of the things which made their version unpalatable to the powers that ruled in England. The word 'church,' all redolent of tradition and the middle ages, stands in King James's version, as the word "Easter" stands there, (Acts xii, 4,) to produce an effect upon the reader, which a literal and exact translation would not produce. True, he who reads the English Bible merely as it is, if he will read it carefully, comparing Scripture with Scripture, and allowing the sacred record to be its own interpreter, need not be misled. But he who reads carelessly, presuming that the word church in the New Testament has the same meaning which it has in history, or the same meaning which it has in the conversation or the preaching with which he is most familiar, will easily misunderstand the matter. With this explanation, then, we repeat the seeming paradox—There is no such word as 'church' in the Bible. Neither the Hebrew language nor the Greek, in the days of the Apostles, contained or could supply any word analogous to the word 'church' in English and in other modern languages. The word could not precede the thing.

Pursuing our inquiry, we may next remark that the word translated 'church,' has, in the New Testament, at least five different meanings. 1. There is the original and generic meaning, a 'meeting,' an 'assembly,' a 'congregation,' for whatever purpose, and on whatever occasion. Thus (Acts xix, 32—41) the word is used twice to denote the mob in the theater at Ephesus, and once to denote a regular town-meeting.* 2. The same word is used

to denote an assembly for the worship of God under the Mosaic dispensation. Thus (Heb. ii, 12) it stands in the translation of a verse from the Hebrew of the twenty second Psalm, (ver. 22,) "I will declare thy name to my brethren, in the midst of the congregation will I praise thee:" the allusion being evidently to the worshipping assembly before the tabernacle or in the temple. 3. The same word is used, as the corresponding Hebrew word is frequently used in the Old Testament, to denote the Hebrew nation or commonwealth. "This is that Moses," said Stephen, (Acts vii, 38,) "who was in the congregation in the wilderness," that is, who there led and governed the nation of Israel. 4. The same word is used to denote the meetings or assemblies of believers in Christ, for worship, communion and instruction. A word in the most common use, and of the most extensive signification, a word very much like our word 'meeting,' was most naturally employed, first to denote the daily meetings of the disciples at the temple and from house to house in Jerusalem, and afterwards to denote similar meetings in other places.* Whenever the word is so used, the context always determines the signification, just as the word 'meeting,' in our language, whenever used to denote a religious assembly, is understood without difficulty. 5. By a natural transition from the use of the corresponding word in the Old Testament, as one of the designations of the Hebrew nation, the same word 'congregation' is used in a figurative sense, to denote the general community of Christ's followers, the commonwealth of believers.†

In this last use of the word its precise meaning varies, just as the meaning of the word 'believer,' or 'Christian,' varies. The 'Christian

* See the *New Englander*, No. III, p. 396.

* *New Englander*, No. III, p. 399.
† *Ibid.* pp. 399, 400.

community' may mean the community of those who are known and recognized as Christians. So it is obviously to be understood in the passage, (1 Cor. x, 32,) "Give none offense, neither to the Jews, nor to the Gentiles, nor to the [church] congregation of God,"—all men being comprehended by the writer in the three classes of Jews, Gentiles or pagans, and Christians. So in the three passages, (1 Cor. xv, 9; Gal. i, 13; Phil. iii, 6,) in which Paul speaks of himself as having "persecuted the [church] congregation of God;"—he had been the enemy of all who bore the Christian name. So in another place, (1 Cor. xii, 28,) Paul says that "In the [church] congregation," that is, among Christians, "God has appointed some to be, in the first place, apostles, secondly, prophets," &c. These are all the clear instances of this shade of meaning which occur to us. To these we may add the doubtful instance (Rom. xvi, 23,) "Gaius, mine host, and of the whole congregation," where the apostle may mean to commend the hospitality of the well-beloved Gaius, either as exercised towards the members of some particular congregation, well enough known to those whom he was addressing, or as exercised towards all Christians. But let the sacred writer be speaking of Christ's followers, not as such in outward profession and recognition, but as such in spirit and in truth, and then if he has occasion to use the word in question, it assumes a higher and more spiritual tone. In such a connection, it denotes that great spiritual community of chosen, redeemed, forgiven, sanctified souls, of which Christ is the founder and redeemer, and in which he is the prince or head. This, and not any outward organization, is the true kingdom of Christ—the kingdom of God; it is Christ living and enthroned in the regenerated hearts of ransomed men; it is God in Christ reigning in the

grateful and obedient affection of those whom he has reconciled to himself. It is a community, a kingdom, a congregation on Mount Zion, which includes all those whom God has chosen from eternity to be his own, and whom in time he calls by his word and renews by his Spirit. This is "the church" by the progress of which is "now made known to the principalities and powers in heavenly places"—that is, to the angels that rejoice over one sinner that repenteth,—"the manifold wisdom of God." This is "the church" in which glory is given to God "through Christ Jesus throughout all ages, world without end." This is "the church" the relation of which to Christ is like the relation of the bride to her husband, and which Christ "loved, and gave himself for it, that he might sanctify it with the washing of water by the word, that he might present it to himself a glorious [church] assembly" of redeemed and sanctified ones, "not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing." This is "the church" which is "the body of Christ," and to which Christ is "head over all things."

It may be here observed that almost every instance of this particular use of the word is found either in the epistle to the Ephesians or in that to the Colossians—epistles, the whole scope of which is removed very far (*quam longissimè*) from such topics as the outward institutions of Christianity. To that man who imagines that "the church" spoken of in the Scriptures as "the body of Christ," must be a visible body politic, a certain organized corporation, we say, Read those two epistles carefully, see what it is that fills the apostle's mind, analyze his arguments and the various combinations and successions of his thoughts, and then judge whether the congregation of which he speaks is not identically that of which he speaks in the epistle to the Hebrews, (xii,

22—24.) "Ye are come to Mount Zion, and to the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly and congregation of the first-born who are enrolled in heaven, and to God, the judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the mediator of the new covenant, and to the blood of sprinkling that speaketh better things than that of Abel." Who will tell us that such language as this describes a certain outward corporation, with its prelates, its priests and its ordinances,—a corporation which includes such men as Leighton and Usher only by a principle which excludes such men as Watts and Bunyan, and which has a place for Henry Martyn only by shutting the door against Gordon Hall and Robert Morrison.

That "church," then, which is Christ's body, is none other than the universal community of penitent and believing souls. Another inquiry connected with the subject is,—In what sense is that church Christ's body? It is a body only as the individuals are united by some principle of unity. What is the unity, by virtue of which a countless multitude of individuals, scattered among all nations, and living in successive ages, are the one body of Christ? That principle, on the theory of the Episcopalian,—or, as he loves to call himself, the Churchman,—is the principle of unity in outward organization; it is the principle of subjection to the divine institution of prelacy, the principle of outward communion with a certain priesthood through operative sacraments. On this theory, as exhibited by "church" authors of standard reputation, the essence of the body of Christ, the uniting principle by virtue of which its many members are one body, is just the difference between Episcopalianism on the one hand and Presbyterianism or Congregationalism on the other hand. It is

just that which, to borrow terms from the dialect of that party, distinguishes all "Churchmen" from all "Dissenters." It is just that which Bishop Onderdonk and Bishop Doane have in common with the Archbishop of Paris and the Patriarch of Constantinople, and to which Dr. Alexander, Dr. McAuley, Dr. Merle D'Aubigné, and the missionary Goodell, have no title. It is just that which unites (!) the Anglican, the Roman, and the Oriental branches of the one complex and discordant "Catholicity"—one but manifold, and which separates them, not from each other, but from every body else. This *one* "Catholic" body—the unity of which, with all its boasted visibility, is about as metaphysical as the unity of three monarchies, two of which are at war with each other, and both with the third,—is the one body of Christ, by virtue of its outward and "perpetually visible" unity; and it is Christ's body, because Christ loved it as a corporation, and gave himself for it as a corporation, and endowed it as a corporation with sacraments, priesthood, prelacy, and the grace that is thus administered. Such is the 'church' or 'high church' theory. According to the opposite or evangelical theory, the church, the congregation or community of Christ's disciples, is Christ's body, because all who belong to it belong to him, and are individually and personally united to him. It is their union with him which unites them with each other, and makes them one body; and it is not their formal union with each other in one visible body, which unites them to their Savior. Christ is the vine and his disciples are the branches, (see Christ's own statement on this point, John xv, 1—10,) every individual believer is united directly to him, as the branch to the vine,—not indirectly, as the branch to the root, through the trunk; and the unity of the branches is nothing else than the

union of each with the living vine. Let him who reads the New Testament in its spiritual and sublime simplicity, without the blind guidance of early tradition and the corrupting glosses of the Fathers, judge for himself which of these theories is scriptural.

One question more may help to put the subject in a still clearer light. How does a man become a member of "the body of Christ," and therefore a member of that 'church' which is his body? What child that reads the Bible, and has not been diligently taught to misunderstand it, can fail to answer this question aright? Is it by the ordinance of baptism that a man is united to Christ? Simon Magus was baptized; and the validity of his baptism was never called in question. But Simon Magus was not a member of Christ's body. Is it by any formal and complete connection with a particular assembly or visible society of Christ's disciples, that a man is united to the Redeemer, and is made a branch of the true vine? Where is the scriptural evidence that the Apostles received any man to baptism—much more, where is the evidence that they "confirmed" him, or by any form received him to complete and permanent membership in an organized society of Christians—unless they first had reason to believe that Christ had already received him as a disciple, and thus that he was already reconciled to God by virtue of a personal union with the Redeemer? The man who intelligently and honestly offers himself for membership in a society of Christians, does so not in order to become a Christian, but because he is a Christian, and as such desires the benefits of Christian communion. His presenting himself there, if it is done intelligently and honestly, implies that he comes as one of Christ's disciples to join himself to the company of his fellow disci-

ples, and to unite himself in outward relations with those with whom he is already one in the fellowship of the Spirit, and in a living union with the Redeemer of sinners. How then did he become one with Christ, a partaker of the pardon and the spiritual life which Christ has purchased with his own blood for all penitent and believing souls? Simply by the personal acts of repentance toward God and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ, to which he has been led by the grace and power of the renewing Spirit. Repentance toward God and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ, preached as the conditions of union with the Redeemer and of acceptance with the Father—this is the Gospel. Baptism is the formal declaration and recognition of a fact—the fact, that the person baptized belongs to Christ, and has a right through grace to the benefits of the great salvation. Union with a visible church by confirmation, or by whatever form may seem more scriptural, is the profession and recognition of a fact, the fact of a union with the invisible and universal congregation of Christ's redeemed. This we say is the gospel of the New Testament. But there is another gospel, the gospel of tradition and of "catholicity." It proposes to unite the sinner to his Redeemer, and to make him a member of Christ—by baptism. It proposes to give him the Holy Spirit, and to seal him an heir of heaven—by confirmation. It proposes to make the blood of Christ's atonement efficacious to the cleansing and the life of his soul—by the eucharist. It proposes to make him one of the general assembly and congregation of the first-born—by making him a member of its own schismatic 'church.' It propounds the sign as the potent means of producing the thing signified, and builds much on the *hystero-proteron* of putting the outward profession before the in-

ward affection which is to be professed. It is the same system which in its more full development, puts penance in the place of repentance, and the pattering of Latin forms, with the counting of beads, in the place of prayer.

These are two gospels, not one in different aspects. In proportion as each is developed, and brought into full consistency with itself, it departs from the other. At one of the New York anniversaries last May, the antagonist position of these two gospels was spoken of as the great religious controversy of the age. The speaker sketched the character of two editions of Christianity. One deals with men as individuals; it makes every man stand alone before God as a sinner—alone before the cross, to believe and be forgiven, or to reject the atonement and perish. The other takes men in masses, and proposes to save them as connected with a visible organization. The one puts nothing between the sinner and his Savior. The other puts the priest there, and the church, and the sacraments. The great idea of the one is individual responsibility and spiritual freedom. The great idea of the other is organized unity and spiritual dominion. These two gospels are now in conflict, not here and there, as factions, for ascendancy in a parish, a city, or a nation; but every where, as principles and systems of thought, for dominion over the world. The world's destiny is to turn upon the issue of this conflict.

The author of the charge before us quotes from that speech, and virtually acknowledges that the question was fairly put. He tells us, that "'individual responsibility' separated from 'organized unity,' becomes a fearful source of danger, a snare and an undoing, to those who thus virtually put man out of Christ, to 'stand before God

alone.'" He says, "the difference" between these two systems, "is real. It is immense. It has been not untruly characterized, as being all the difference between spurious and true." This charge then helps us to understand on which side, in the conflict between these two gospels, the American branch of the Anglican church is likely to be found. One of the oldest prelates of a church which in this country calls itself "Protestant," a prelate who had given but three charges in a quarter of a century, has been moved by "the errors of the times" to take his position, in his fourth charge, against the principle of individual responsibility, or the right of private judgment and the sufficiency of the Scriptures alone as a rule of faith and practice—against the idea, that the Gospel deals with men as individuals and not as members of an organization—and against the doctrine of a renewal by the Holy Spirit as the beginning of holiness in the soul of man. That charge we are told by an official organ, "was received as it were with acclamation by every one." And in the charge now before us, we find another prelate, the most learned of his order, and, if we may judge from this specimen, one of the most eloquent, declaring *ex cathedra* that the body of Christ is a visible organization, united and sealed as Christ's body by sacraments; and that membership in that organization is the revealed plan of salvation; and this charge is "published by order of the convention."

We know there are Episcopalians—laymen, ministers, bishops—who have no sympathy with these anti-evangelical teachings. But what can they do? Time will show whether they can counteract the tendency which in their half-reformed communion is developing itself so rapidly.

REVIEW OF THE MAYFLOWER.*

THE author of this little volume is one of that numerous class of matrons who were "born and brought up" on the hills of New England, and who have, on reaching more mature age, helped to swell the mighty tide of emigration, which flows and will continue to flow towards our western borders. And grateful indeed should that portion of our country be, that, amid the throng of hair-brained speculators, and lazy, restless, or impoverished men, of all ages and professions, who wend their way to the El Dorado of the Mississippi valley, there are mingled such as our author, persons of strong hearts and sound heads, who take their position upon an eminence, and looking down on the turbulent movements of society about them, with an honest purpose and a judicious selection of means, do their part to "calm the angry storm," to cherish in their growth the seeds of freedom and true happiness, and to repress or eradicate whatever is in its natural tendency disorganizing and hurtful. It is by this class of persons that the already teeming population of the west, which, in the expressive language of one of her most eloquent divines, is "rushing up to greatness," is to be molded aright, and made to assume a true and well-founded greatness; a greatness arising from honesty, liberty and truth.

In this view, we hail with delight every token of the working of the healthy mental and moral materials of our western states: and in this view, we greet with special joy the volume before us. It makes its appearance in an unassuming form

and bearing an unassuming title. But no less a person than Dr. Johnson once said, "Books that you may carry to the fire, and hold readily in your hand, are the most useful after all. A man will often look at them, and be tempted to go on, when he would have been frightened at books of a larger size and of a more erudite appearance." We remember, also, that the most valuable goods often come to us in the smallest packages, and that puffs and recommendations are too often, like bolsters and swathing-bands, the indications of weakness rather than of strength.

We have so much to say in praise of the *Mayflower*, and so little in the way of fault-finding, that we shall notice at the outset some things which have seemed to us to be blemishes, and then trust to make our way to the end of this article in perfect harmony and good humor with the author.

A serious fault, yet one by no means uncommon in writers of this age, has sometimes exhibited itself, as we have turned over these pages. The fault in question is that of employing words of uncommon usage, or those which are derived from the less known languages, as the Latin and Greek, rather than those of Saxon origin. This we regard as decidedly the most glaring blemish of the volume before us. We have said that this is no uncommon fault in writers of our time. So far is this true, that it is already a matter of serious complaint on the part of readers. Nor is this complaint confined to the lower class of readers in point of refinement and classical learning. If these dislike, when perusing an off-hand tale or sketch, or a political squib, to be knocked down or stumbled by a long jaw-cracking word of ten syllables, which has

* The *Mayflower*: or Sketches of Scenes and Characters among the descendants of the Pilgrims, by Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1843.

been raked up from the charnel-house of Grecian or Latin antiquity; so, on the other hand, does the scholar and the man of ripe and polished accomplishments find something in such a use of words, which violates propriety and shocks his taste. Our mother tongue, it should seem, is rich and copious enough to accommodate all the wants of the writer or speaker. Such, it is found by the best masters of style in our own time, and such any one will find it ever to have been, who will take the trouble to turn over such authors of a former age as Addison, South, Jeremy Taylor, Barrow, and numerous others. That brilliant reviewer, Macauley, speaking of Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," and passing judgment upon its style, says:—"There is no book in our literature on which we could so readily stake the fame of the old unpolluted English language, no book which shows so well how rich that language is in its own proper wealth, and how little it has been improved by all that it has borrowed." No: our own "well of English undefiled" is enough for our wants, and to display under such circumstances the fondness which many do for terms of foreign use, renders them, as to this subject, justly obnoxious to the apostle's charge of being "without natural affection."

While we are upon this fault, we will take the liberty to dwell for a little space upon one which is akin to it, although not one of frequent occurrence in the book which we have made the subject of the present notice. What we mean here to condemn, is that propensity so often exhibited in nearly every kind of writing, and upon almost every subject, to make numerous quotations, not only from the ancient and dead tongues, but from the modern languages of the west and south of Europe. Hardly any popular writer, much less any writer who is below mediocrity, is exempt from this fault.

In some cases, as in common newspaper and magazine stories, it really seems as though the writer had resorted to a dictionary of quotations, and hunted its pages with a diligence worthy a better direction, in order that he might, if possible, spice up his vapid stuff with an air of learning or classic nicety. To such an extent does this charge lie against the authors of the present day, that it has become necessary, if one would fully comprehend a writer of English, so called, that he should make himself acquainted at least with the French, German and Italian languages, to say nothing of the Spanish and Dutch, the gibberish of the Northmen, or the works of the masters of hoary antiquity. Indeed a distinguished living writer of England, in treating the subject of female education, declares it is requisite that ladies should be able to read French and Italian, and assigns as the reason, that they may be able to understand their own writers! Such writings as we have now under contemplation, remind us, by the variety of materials used in their composition, of Virgil's description of one of the thunderbolts of Jupiter, as manufactured by the Cyclops:

"Tres imbris torti radios, tres nubes aquosæ
Addiderant, rutili tres ignis et alitis Austri.
Fulgores nunc terrificos, sonitumque, metumque
Miscebant operi, flammisque sequacibus iras."

We have always supposed that the great object of writing is conviction. Certainly it may be said to be conviction or amusement. But how is one to be convinced by words which he does not understand? The endeavor to convince by such means, is as judicious and as likely to succeed, as an attempt to check the fury of a wild bull by a long chain of syllogistic reasoning, or to govern the whirling planets by the ten commandments. Or, how is a man to be amused by quotations from Dante's *Inferno*, Moliere or Rochefoucauld,

Cervantes or Homer, when he knows nothing of the languages of those authors? True, at times these quotations are little else than graceful expansions of the thought which has just been expressed in homely English, and in such cases we can not say that we are unable to comprehend the writer. But sometimes the very pith and meaning of a paragraph is made to hang on some quotation from a foreign author, in which case the poor reader, if he is not master of a dozen tongues, is left to beat his brains in vain for the writer's meaning.

Now this fault of our writers is really

—"most tolerable and not to be endured."

The great mass of written productions are for the unlearned,—for those who have been initiated into the mysteries of their mother-tongue alone, and to the apprehension of this class of readers the mass of writing ought to be adapted. It is only a waste of time and learning on his part, and a waste of time, patience and good temper on the part of the reader, when a writer cuts up his piece to intersperse it with extracts from foreign works. In a professed essay, oration or review, which is not aimed so exclusively at the common and lower stamp of mind and education, a spice of the authors of antiquity, as they have come down to us mellowed by age, is not amiss. It gives a richness and freshness to the discourse that effectually secures the attention, and prevents any feeling of tediousness. It sends back the mind of the hearer or reader to the times of old, and brings before him once more the memorable scenes which have been witnessed in the world's history, and causes him to live over again with pleasure his school-boy days. It places him perhaps at the table of the suburban villa of Horace, or makes him one of the guests in the banqueting-hall of the princely Sallust, or his heart

is thrilled again with the sound of the martial strains which swell from the hosts of Cyrus or Alexander, as they go forth to battle against the world; or his soul is subdued and melted by the same high and solemn chorus which enchained the "fierce democratie" of Athens.

When such as these are the effects produced by the use of quotations, no one can object to them. On the contrary, they become a high embellishment of style, adding not only elegance and interest, but real and permanent value to the writings which they adorn. But no such reasons as these can be alledged in defense of the practice of making quotations upon subjects and occasions which make their appeal not to the classic mind, but to the comparatively uneducated alone. In the latter case, instead of rendering the topic treated of more plain and intelligible, writers too often but make "confusion worse confounded." Like the common cuttle-fish, they make use of their ink only to darken and obscure what was before clear and transparent.

With the two above specified, we dismiss the faults of the book before us, and take pleasure in coming to a part of the subject where we can speak in terms of the highest praise.

The great characteristic of Mrs. Stowe, in a literary point of view, is her descriptive power. Though we doubt not that her pen would be extremely felicitous in other departments of authorship, yet we deem this peculiarly her proper field. She has, in the present volume, confined herself more particularly to the delineation of New England character, manners and scenery. In this our author stands without a superior, and with no equal, if we except perhaps Washington Irving. In the description of scenes in "Yankee land," Mrs. Stowe seems to be emphatically "at home," and treads the soil of her native hills with a step as free as that with which Sir Wal-

ter Scott brushed the dew-drops from the heather of his own dear Scotland. In her delineations of character, there is nothing so commonplace and universal, that it may be with equal truth and propriety applied to the dark warrior-brave of the Yellowstone and the planter of Georgia, to the foggy self-complacency of the citizen of London as well as to the turbaned gravity of the Persian nobleman. There are minute and peculiar touches, which at once and infallibly distinguish the subject in hand from each and every other. In wandering through our author's gallery of pictures, we find large and small ones, landscapes and portraits; but we recognize in all alike the hand of a master. We remember to have seen a large picture by Sir Thomas Lawrence, in which, through a window shown at one extremity of the canvass, was seen something resembling a globe in form, and apparently made up of all the various colors of the pallet thrown together in an indiscriminate mass. In our general examination of the piece at first, we did not observe this, and it was not until we gave the whole a more minute scrutiny, that our attention was arrested by what seemed to us a thing having no relation to the subject or the artistic effect of the picture. Nor could we divine the object for which this globe of color was introduced into a portrait. In answer to our queries upon the point, however, we were told by a professor of the brush, that it was designed to produce a proper effect. The perusal of the various sketches which go to make up the volume under our notice at the present time, has reminded us of this picture by the great English artist, and we see scattered along in each, little, and to many readers, perhaps, unnoticed thoughts and sentences, which, like so many of Sir Thomas Lawrence's globes of color, though they may not arrest the attention of the casual

reader, are yet what produce the grand effect alike upon every mind, and to the connoisseur are indisputable evidence of a master's hand.

That we may not seem to be speaking here "without book," we shall proceed to give our readers a little specimen of the author's power of description. And although the extracts must be brief, we can not but think that they will fully support what we have said. We commence by giving a portion of the sketch entitled "Uncle Tim," which we are inclined to regard as the best tale in the volume. The scene purports to be laid in a certain town bearing the by no means uncommon or classical name "Newbury." This town and one of the chief personages of the story are thus introduced.

"Did you ever see the little village of Newbury, in New England? I dare say you never did: for it was just one of those out-of-the-way places where nobody ever came unless they came on purpose: a green little hollow, wedged like a bird's nest between half a dozen high hills that kept off the wind and kept out foreigners: so that the little place was as straitly 'sui generis' as if there were not another in the world. The inhabitants were all of that respectable old standfast family who make it a point to be born, bred, married, die, and be buried, all in the self-same spot. There were just so many houses, and just so many people lived in them, and nobody ever seemed to be sick, or to die either—at least while I was there. The natives grew old till they could not grow any older, and then they stood still, and lasted from generation to generation. There was, too, an unchangeability about all the externals of Newbury. Here was a red house, and there was a brown house, and across the way was a yellow house; and there was a straggling rail-fence or a tribe of mullen-stalks between. The parson lived here, and Squire Moses lived there, and Deacon Hart lived under the hill, and Messrs. Nadab and Abihu Peters lived by the cross-road, and the old "widder" Smith lived by the meeting-house, and Ebenezer Camp kept a shoemaker's shop on one side, and Patience Mosely kept a milliner's shop in front: and there was old Comfort Scran, who kept store for the whole town, and sold axe-heads, brass thimbles, liquorice-ball, fancy handkerchiefs, and every thing else you can think of. Here, too, was the general post-office, where you might see letters

marvelously folded, directed wrong side upwards, stamped with a thimble, and superscribed to some of the Dollys, or Pollys, or Peters, or Moseses, as forenamed or not named.

"For the rest, as to manners, morals, arts, and sciences, the people of Newbury always went to their parties at three o'clock in the afternoon, and came home before dark; always stopped all work the minute the sun was down on Saturday night; always went to meeting on Sunday; had a school-house with all the ordinary inconveniences; were in neighborly charity with each other; read their bibles, feared their God, and were content with such things as they had—the best philosophy after all. Such was the place into which Master James Benton made an intrusion in the year eighteen hundred and no matter what."

This James Benton is the hero of the tale, and we give the following portion of our author's description of him, premising that the aforesaid James is at this time eighteen years old.

"He figured as schoolmaster all the week, and as chorister on Sundays, and taught singing and reading in the evenings, besides studying Latin and Greek with the minister, nobody knew when; thus fitting for college, while he seemed to be doing every thing else in the world besides."

The sagacity with which our hero proceeded to get, as it is termed, "on the right side" of those around him, and for which the sons of New England have ever been proverbial, is thus happily hit off.

"James understood every art and craft of popularity, and made himself mightily at home in all the chimney-corners of the region round about; knew the geography of every body's cider-barrel and apple-bin, helping himself and every body else therefrom with all bountifulness; rejoicing in the good things of this life, devouring the old ladies' doughnuts and pumpkin pies with most flattering appetite, and appearing equally to relish every body and every thing that came in his way."

The Yankee's capability of "turning his hand" to any and every thing, is no less happily exhibited in the following.

"The degree and versatility of his acquirements was truly wonderful. He knew all about arithmetic and history, and all about catching squirrels and plant-

ing corn; made poetry and hoe-handles with equal celerity; wound yarn and took out grease-spots for old ladies, and made nosegays and knickknacks for young ones; caught trout Saturday afternoons and discussed doctrines on Sundays, with equal adroitness and effect. In short, Mr. James moved on through the place

"Victorious
Happy and glorious,"

welcomed and privileged by every body in every place; and when he had told his last ghost-story, and fairly flourished himself out of doors at the close of a long winter's evening, you might see the hard face of the good man of the house still phosphorescent with his departing radiance, and hear him exclaim, in a paroxysm of admiration, that "James's talk re'ely did beat all—that he was sartinly most a miraculous cre'tur?"

Uncle Tim, who is a no less important personage in this drama than 'James' himself, is brought to view through the medium of the following description of his dwelling, p. 173.

"Do you see yonder brown house, with its broad roof sloping almost to the ground on one side, and a great, unsupported, sun-bonnet of a piazza shooting out over the front door? You must often have noticed it: you have seen its tall well-sweep, relieved against the clear evening sky, or observed the feather beds and bolsters lounging out of its chamber-windows on a still summer morning: you recollect its gate, that swung with a chain and a great stone; its pantry-window, latticed with little brown slabs, and looking out upon a forest of bean-poles. You remember the zephyrs that used to play among its pea-brush, and shake the long tassels of its corn-patch, and how vainly any zephyr might essay to perform similar flirtations with the considerate cabbages that were solemnly vegetating near by. Then there was the whole neighborhood of purple-leaved beets and feathery parsnips; there were the billows of gooseberry bushes rolled up by the fence, interspersed with rows of quince-trees; and far off in one corner was one little patch penuriously devoted to ornament, which flamed with marigolds, poppies, snappers, and four o'clocks. Then there was a little box by itself with one rose geranium in it, which seemed to look around the garden as much like a stranger as a French dancing-master in a Yankee meeting-house. That is the dwelling of Uncle Timothy Griswold."

Here is the hand of a master. Never did Reynolds himself better conceal his art; never was he more

true to life. Never did the most perfect master of the pencil or the brush, mirror in his canvass the face of nature, as exhibited in some lovely landscape, with more exactness and perfection, than our author has done in this, brief sketch of the domicil of Uncle Tim. There stands the old brown house, and did we dabble in the coloring art, we could give each weather-beaten clapboard its proper hue. There too is the long well-sweep, ready at all times to swing upon the crotched stump which supports it. And there are the "considerate cabbages," the bread and meat of our neighbors, whom Diedrich Knickerbocker has taken into his special care and custody. There too is the pantry window, barred across with old pickets, presenting a formidable obstacle to all milk-loving grimalkins. And—but what can we add to the original picture. So graphic, so complete is it, that when we had finished reading it for the first time, we could not, on looking back to the commencement and finding it but a page distant, bring ourselves to believe that we had found so much in a single page.

We hardly know where or when to stop making extracts from this little book. We could wish to take our readers through the first tale in the volume, which is entitled "*Love vs. Law*," and which divides the palm of merit with "*Uncle Tim*." Then there is a beautiful exhibition of the value of unexpected kindness, in the piece headed "*The Tea Rose*." Then come "*Trials of a Housekeeper*," which every one about "to set up housekeeping," as the phrase goes, ought to read and reflect upon. There too is, "*Let every man mind his own business*," which shows that minding a man's own business, consists partly in minding the business of others. Then follows "*Cousin William*," "*Aunt Mary*," "*The Sabbath*," "*The Canal Boat*,"

"*Feeling*," "*The Sempstress*," and "*Old Father Morris*," the venerable village pastor. From all these, we could, were there sufficient space in these columns, select passages which would be instructive and interesting in a very high degree; a praise which could hardly be extended to any book of this kind that we have ever met. We can not resist however the temptation to clip a portion from "*The Sabbath*," because it is at the same time a beautiful picture of the Puritan Sabbath, and exhibits—in the different conduct of the old people and children on this holy day—in the gravity and awful solemnity of the one, and the suppressed yet often out-breaking frolicsomeness of the other—that contrast of the solemn and the ludicrous which is to be found, by the accurate observer, in almost every scene of life.

"*The Sabbath of the Puritan Christian* was the golden day, and all its associations, and all its thoughts, words, and deeds, were so entirely distinct from the ordinary material of life, that it was to him a sort of weekly translation—a quitting of this world to sojourn a day in a better; and year after year, as each Sabbath set its seal on the completed labors of the week, the pilgrim felt that one more stage of his earthly journey was completed, and that he was one week nearer to his eternal rest. And as years, with their changes, came on, and the strong man grew old, and missed, one after another, familiar forms that had risen around his earlier years, the face of the Sabbath became like that of an old and tried friend, carrying him back to the scenes of his youth, and connecting him with scenes long gone by, restoring to him the dew and freshness of brighter and more buoyant days. Viewed simply as an institution for a Christian and mature mind, nothing could be more perfect than the Puritan Sabbath; if it had any failing, it was in the want of adaptation to children, and to those not interested in its peculiar duties. If you had been in the dwelling of my uncle of a Sabbath morning, you must have found the unbroken stillness delightful; the calm and quiet must have soothed and disposed you for contemplation, and the evident appearance of single-hearted devotion to the duties of the day in the elder part of the family; must have been a stri-

king addition to the picture. But, then, if your eye had watched attentively the motions of us juveniles, you might have seen that what was so very invigorating to the disciplined Christian, was a weariness to young flesh and bones. Then there was not, as now, the intellectual relaxation afforded by the Sunday school, with its various forms of religious exercise, its thousand modes of interesting and useful information. Our whole stock in this line was the Bible and Primer, and these were our main dependence for whiling away the tedious hours between our early breakfast and the signal for meeting. How often was our invention stretched to find wherewithal to keep up our stock of excitement in a line with the duties of the day. For the first half hour, perhaps, a story in the Bible answered our purpose very well; but, having despatched the history of Joseph, or the story of the ten plagues, we then took to the Primer: and then there was, first, the looking over the system of theological and ethical truth, commencing, "In Adam's fall we sinned all," and extending through three or four pages of pictorial and poetic embellishment. Next was the death of John Rogers, who was burned at Smithfield; and for a while we could entertain ourselves with counting all his "nine children and one at the breast," as in the picture they stand in a regular row, like a pair of stairs. These being done, came miscellaneous exercises of our own invention, such as counting all the psalms in the psalm-book, backward and forward, to and from the doxology, or numbering the books in the Bible, or some other such device as we deemed within the pale of religious employments. When all these failed, and it still wanted an hour of meeting-time, we looked up at the ceiling, and down at the floor, and all around into every corner, to see what we could do next; and happy was he who could spy a pin gleaming in some distant crack, and forthwith muster an occasion for getting down to pick it up. Then there was the infallible recollection that we wanted a drink of water, as an excuse to get out to the well; or else we heard some strange noise among the chickens, and insisted that it was essential that we should see what was the matter; or else pussy would jump on to the table, when all of us would spring to drive her down; while there was a most assiduous watching of the clock to see when the first bell would ring. Happy was it for us, in the interim, if we did not begin to look at each other and make up faces, or slyly slip off and on our shoes, or some other incipient attempts at roguery, which would gradually so undermine our gravity, that there

would be some sudden explosion of merriment, whereat Uncle Phineas would look up and say, "*tut, tut,*" and Aunt Kezzy would make a speech about wicked children breaking the Sabbath-day. I remember once how my cousin Bill got into deep disgrace one Sunday by a roguish trick. He was just about to close his Bible with all sobriety, when snap came a grasshopper through an open window and alighted in the middle of the page. Bill instantly kidnapped the intruder, for so important an auxiliary in the way of employment was not to be despised. Presently we children looked towards Bill, and there he sat, very demurely reading his Bible, with the grasshopper hanging by one leg from the corner of his mouth, kicking and sprawling, without in the least disturbing Master William's gravity. We all burst into an uproarious laugh. But it came to be rather a serious affair for Bill, as his good father was in the practice of enforcing truth and duty by certain modes of moral suasion much recommended by Solomon, though fallen into disrepute at the present day.

"But, it may be asked, what was the result of all this strictness? Did it not disgust you with the Sabbath and with religion? No, it did not. It did not, because it was the result of *no unkindly feeling*, but of *consistent principle*; and consistency of principle is what even children learn to appreciate and revere. The law of obedience and of reverence for the Sabbath was constraining so equally on the young and the old, that its claims came to be regarded like those immutable laws of nature, which no one thinks of being out of patience with, though they sometimes bear hard on personal convenience. The effect of the system was to ingrain into our character a veneration for the Sabbath, which no friction of after life would ever efface. I have lived to wander in many climates and foreign lands, where the Sabbath is an unknown name, or where it is only recognized by noisy mirth; but never has the day returned without bringing with it a breathing of religious awe, and even a yearning for the unbroken stillness, the placid repose, and the simple devotion of the Puritan Sabbath."

With the tribute to New England, which constitutes the exordium of "*Uncle Tim,*" and which is worthy of the story, the author, and of the New England character, and we have done.

"And so I am to write a story—but of what and where? Shall it be radiant with the sky of Italy, or eloquent with

the beau ideal of Greece? Shall it breathe odor and languor from the orient, or chivalry from the occident? or gayety from France, or vigor from England? No, no; these are too old—too romance-like—too obviously picturesque for me. No: let me turn to my own land—my own New England; the land of bright fires and strong hearts; the land of *deeds* and not of words; the land of fruits and not of flowers; the land often spoken against, yet always respected; the 'latchet of whose shoes the nations of the earth are not worthy to unloose.' "

Another excellence of Mrs. Stowe's volume, is to be seen in its dramatic power.

To be able to bring before the sight of the mind, as existing realities, or moving, breathing persons, the things or beings in the description of which we are engaged, manifests to the critical eye an order of mental power, which deservedly commands respect and admiration. The youthful and uncritical reader too, is always more interested and pleased by such writing than by mere dry narration, although he may be unable to distinguish the particular point wherein the excellence lies. The distinction between narrative and dramatic composition, we believe is too generally overlooked—in thought, that is—for in the effect upon the reader, the two can never be confounded together. He who would by his productions as an author, endeavor to leave a lasting impression upon those for whom he writes, must aim to bring before their minds living forms, not painted pictures, or the paste-board figures of the toy-shop. And he who would so read as to make his soul a perennial fountain of feeling and thought, let him peruse authors who have been able to place themselves amid the scenes which they have depicted, and to inhabit the very flesh and bones of those whose characters they have portrayed. We would not however have the writer worship the drama only as seen clad in the sock and buskin, and pacing the stage with

the tragic look of death. Nor would we induce readers to seek their intellectual food or recreation in such exhibitions. There are other kinds of dramatic writing, besides that which the "legitimate drama" affords. There are other things to interest and instruct us, besides the immediate exhibition of the passions of mankind. There may be a combination of the dramatic with the narrative, a combination too rarely found, too unfrequently sought. It is this combination of the two which we would have both the writer and the reader seek. It is, we believe, attributable to the want of the dramatic element in our histories, biographies, and moral or literary disquisitions, that these are forsaken for the romance; that the volumes of Bulwer and Ainsworth are dog-eared and thumb-worn, while the worthier works of worthier men; stand on the shelves of the bookseller or the public library—like the conscience of a certain man, as good as new, and for the same reason, namely, that they have never been used. We will here advert to a writer of the dramatic sort, and as an instance only, without wishing to give any opinion as to the value of his works in other respects, for this would be aside from our present purpose. Such a writer, pre-eminently, was Sir Walter Scott, the watchful guardian of Dryburgh and Melrose, the historian of Flodden and the crusades, the biographer of James, of Cromwell and the Puritans, the landscape painter of old Scotia's lofty mountains, placid lochs, ruined abbeys, and heather-covered hills. Beneath the touches of his magic pen, the gentle maiden, the high-souled girl of Jewish blood, the rough, yet noble-hearted daughter of the dark clan-leaders of the north, the swine herd, the stately queen of England's realms, the cowl-clad monk, the long-robed priest, the mailed warrior, the turbaned Saracen, or

the mummy-like collector of old books, and chips, and stones, stand full before us, and move and speak and act, as they did of yore, in their own proper time, their own proper circumstances. Who, that ever read one of the numerous volumes of the "great novelist," can not recall each person of the drama, see the very shape and color of their clothes, and hear the very words that are uttered by them? We should like, had we time, to compare at length with these works of Sir Walter Scott, one of a living English writer, which was so highly praised in our own and other lands. We praised it, according to our usual custom, because some reviewers on the other side of the Atlantic did. Written for political effect, just before the late election in England which changed the ministry of the Queen, the work of a popular author, and pushed by political friends, it was eagerly swallowed by the distensible gullet of the public. But where was the life of it? We were told that Mr. Clear was very lucid in his efforts at the bar, that Mr. Subtle was sly and cunning, Mr. Gammon shrewd and over-reaching, and so on, throughout the list of 'dramatis personæ.' But the author's declaration, with our own too ready fancy, were the only evidence of Mr. Crystal's clearness, or Mr. Snap's ferocity. Nothing that any of the personages either did or said, could fairly entitle them to the characters which were attributed to them. Like the various pills patented and vended by some modern druggist, they were all made of the self-same bread, aloes, gamboge, and liquorice, only sent forth to the world differently labelled, one sort bearing numerous certificates from worn-out clergymen, gouty old gentlemen, and ancient women, testifying to its curative power in cases of bronchitis, inflammations, and nervous derangement; and another displaying equally satisfactory tes-

timonials of its sanative effect upon consumptions, dropsy, and bilious fever.

"Ten Thousand a Year," has met its death already; and we should be surprised, after only the brief period which has elapsed since its publication, to find any one who could give even a tolerable account of its plot and incidents.

Far different from this and kindred works, as our extracts we trust have abundantly shown, is the volume by Mrs. Stowe. Here we are again, in a living, breathing world. Nothing is to be believed, because, forsooth, Mrs. Stowe says so. Deacon Enos and his brother, Deacon Abrams, Susan Jones and her sister Silence, Uncle Jaw and Joe Adams, James Benton, Grace Griswold and Uncle Tim, Uncle Phineas and Aunt Kezzy—all these, and others who bear them company in our little volume, are alive, the living pictures of the thousands of good deacons and uncles, kind-hearted aunts, and free pure-hearted damsels, who bless our New England firesides.

But these sketches derive not their value from their lifelike reality alone. There is a deep fund of thought underlaying all this painting of manners, as there will be in every picture which faithfully copies nature. There are lessons in this unpretending little book, lessons of earnest truth, which might nourish minds of every class; lessons which will be the more readily received by many, from the very fact that they come in this unpretending way, in this free and flowing dress. There is more of deep wisdom, more food for thought in it, than in all that Bulwer ever wrote.

There is also running throughout its pages, a high and healthy moral tone. A descendant from the old Puritan stock, a removal from her Puritan home has not eradicated from our author's heart, the religious faith of her ancestors. Nor does she convey moral sentiments

in a cold and forbidding manner, or deem it necessary to tell her story first, and then hang out in staring letters the word '*moral*,' as a sign; for that word, as a little boy once said, "is a great convenience, it tells us what to skip." Nor yet does our author make a baby-house matter of religion, or deem it a bitter pill, which must be gilded over before the squeamish delicacy of a sick world will swallow it. On the other hand, the great principles of

right and duty, of love to God and love to man, are constantly starting into view throughout the progress of the narrative; and while they are not formally obtruded upon our notice, they are nevertheless revealed with a clearness not to be mistaken—like the productions of the loom, whose beautiful figures and designs arrest the attention and please the sight, but do not conceal the fabric upon which they are woven.

NOAH WEBSTER.

NOAH WEBSTER was born in West Hartford, Connecticut, on the 16th of October, 1758, and died in New Haven, on the 28th of May, 1843, in the 85th year of his age. He was a descendant of John Webster, one of the first governors of Connecticut; and on his mother's side, of William Bradford, the second governor of the Plymouth colony. Until the fifteenth year of his age, he was occupied in the usual employments of farmers' sons; in 1772 he commenced the study of the classics under the instruction of the Rev. Nathan Perkins, D. D., and in 1774 was admitted a member of the Freshman class in Yale College. In his Junior year he joined the revolutionary army as a volunteer, under the command of his father, who was captain in the *alarm list*, a body of militia composed of men above forty-five years of age, who were called into the field only on emergencies. All the male members of the family, four in number, were in the army at this time. Notwithstanding this interruption of his studies, he graduated with reputation in 1778. He then engaged in the instruction of a school in Hartford; and in connection with this means of subsistence, pursued the study of the law, and was admitted to the bar in 1781. During the sum-

mer of 1779 he resided in the family of Oliver Ellsworth, afterwards Chief Justice of the United States, and father of Governor Ellsworth, the son-in-law of Dr. Webster. It was here that the friendship of the two families commenced. Not having encouragement, in the impoverished state of the country, to enter immediately on the practice of his profession, he took charge of a grammar school at Goshen, in the state of New York. Here he compiled his spelling book, which he published on his return to Hartford in 1783, and soon after an English grammar and a compilation for reading. All these works, particularly the spelling book, have had a wide circulation, and contributed more than any other cause to uniformity of language and pronunciation in this country. It was at this time in 1783, that Mr. Webster commenced his career as a political writer. He published a series of papers in the Connecticut Courant, under the signature of *Honorius*, in vindication of a grant made by Congress to the army, of half pay for life, which was afterwards commuted for a grant of full pay for five years beyond their term of service. This measure was so unpopular, that public meetings were held throughout the state, and finally a

convention at Middletown, to prevent its being carried into effect. But so great was the influence of the articles referred to, that in April, 1784, a majority of the members elected to the legislature were supporters of the act of Congress. So highly were his services appreciated, on this occasion, that he received the thanks of Governor Trumbull in person. In the winter of 1784-5, Mr. Webster published a pamphlet entitled "Sketches of American Policy," which is said to contain the first distinct proposal through the medium of the press for a new constitution of the United States, in place of the Articles of Confederation. Mr. Webster made a journey to the South in 1785, one object of which was to petition the state legislatures for the enactment of copy-right laws, and to him the country is mainly indebted for the protection which has subsequently been extended by Congress to the labors of artists and literary men. The summer of 1785 Mr. Webster spent in Baltimore, where he prepared a course of lectures on the English language, which he delivered in the principal Atlantic cities in 1786, and published in 1789. While teaching an academy in Philadelphia, in 1787, after the close of the convention which framed the constitution of the United States, he wrote a pamphlet recommending the new system of government to the people. In 1788 he made an unsuccessful attempt to establish a periodical in New York, called the *American Magazine*. It was published only one year. In 1789, Mr. Webster was married to a daughter of William Greenleaf, Esq. of Boston, and for four years engaged successfully in the practice of law at Hartford. In 1793 he established a daily paper in New York, devoted to the support of General Washington's administration—a paper which is still published under the title of the *Commercial Advertiser*. While editor, he wrote and publish-

ed his celebrated pamphlet on the Revolution in France, which will ever remain a monument of the author's remarkable wisdom and foresight. In 1795 he published a series of papers under the signature of CURTIUS, in support of Jay's Treaty with Great Britain. He published also, in 1799, a work of two volumes octavo, on pestilential diseases, which has had a high reputation as a repository of facts and valuable inferences. In 1802 he published a treatise on the rights of neutral nations in time of war, which is justly considered the most able of all his pamphlets. The same year appeared also his *Historical Notices of the origin and state of Banking Institutions and Insurance offices*, a part of which was incorporated into the Philadelphia edition of Rees' *Cyclopædia*. In the spring of 1798, Mr. Webster left New York to reside at New Haven, Connecticut, where he remained until 1812, when he removed to Amherst, Massachusetts, and after a residence of ten years in that beautiful town, he returned again to New Haven. It was owing to his influence, while living at Amherst, that a flourishing academy was established there, and soon after a college, which now stands, in the number of students, among the first in our country. On his return to New Haven, he received, in 1823, the degree of LL. D. from Yale College. In 1807-8, he entered on the great work of his life, the compilation of the *American Dictionary of the English language*. This work, which he was twenty years in completing, contains twelve thousand words, and between thirty and forty thousand definitions, which are not contained in any preceding work. It is superior to all other English dictionaries, in the beauty and accuracy of the definitions, and in the department of etymology. He devoted a number of years to an inquiry into the origin of our language, and its connection with those of other countries. The

results of these labors are embodied in an unpublished work, about half the size of his dictionary, entitled "A Synopsis of Words in Twenty Languages." In June, 1824, Dr. Webster went to Europe, spent two months in Paris, examining authors in the royal library, to which he could not gain access in this country. He then spent several months at the university of Cambridge, England, where he had free access to the public libraries, and there he finished his dictionary in 1825. Besides the works already mentioned, Dr. Webster has done an invaluable service to the youth of this country, by his History of the United States, and his Manual of Useful Studies. Just before his death he put to press "A Collection of Papers on Political, Literary and Moral Subjects," comprising many of the essays mentioned in this sketch, and several not before published. He also published a revised edition of the English Bible, "in which some phraseology of the common version which is offensive to delicacy is altered, and some antiquated terms and forms of expression are changed, in accordance with present usage." This work has merits and faults, the chief fault being a change of Saxon for Latin words and idioms.

We are happy to be able to close this brief outline of Dr. Webster's labors, with an account from his own pen, of his "mode of life," extracted from a letter written by him in 1836, to Dr. Thomas Miner. A copy of this letter was furnished by Dr. Miner to Joseph Barratt, M. D. from whom we received it.

New Haven, Nov. 21, 1836.

DEAR SIR,—You inquire respecting my mode of life. It is shortly this. I am a farmer's son, and labored on land till about fifteen years of age. Probably labor gave me some additional strength of constitution. As I lived where there was no market, our family subsisted chiefly

on salted meats, but I rarely or never ate any. I have so strong an antipathy to the fat part of animal food, especially to pork, that I have never eaten any, and I know not whether I could swallow a piece of salted pork if I would. The consequence was, that before I left my father's house, my food consisted almost wholly of milk, vegetable and farinaceous substances. After I left home, I had usually fresh meat before me, and I have eaten a small piece of the lean part, about the size of three fingers, at dinner, rarely more than that quantity, once a day. I eat any thing set before me, except fat meat, and my stomach refuses nothing. I speak of articles of our plain American cookery; for as for oil and other French dressings, I can not endure them.

I have never been a hard student, unless a few years may be excepted; but I have been a steady, persevering student. I have rarely used lamp or candle light, except once, when reading law, and then I paid dear for my imprudence, for I injured my eyes. My practice has usually been to rise about half an hour before the sun, and make use of all the light of that luminary. But I have never, or rarely, been in a hurry. When I first undertook the business of supporting General Washington's administration, I labored too hard in writing or translating from the French papers for my paper, or in composing pamphlets. In two instances I was so exhausted that I expected to die, for I could not perceive any pulsation in the radial artery; but I recovered. While engaged in composing my dictionary, I was often so much excited by the discoveries I made, that my pulse, whose ordinary action is scarcely 60 beats to the minute, was accelerated to 80 or 85.

My exercise has not been violent nor regular. While I was in Amherst, I cultivated a little land, and used to work at making hay,

and formerly I worked in my garden, which I can not now do. Until within a few years, I used to make my fires in the morning, but I never or rarely walked before breakfast. My exercise is now limited to walking about the city to purchase supplies for my family. For a part of my life, the last forty years, I have had a horse of my own, but I never rode merely for health; and a part of the time, more than half, I have not been able to keep a horse. My eyes have from a child been subject to a slight inflammation, but the sight has been good. I began to use spectacles when fifty years of age, or a little more, and that was the time when I began to study and prepare materials for my dictionary. I had had the subject in contemplation some years before, and had made memorandums on the margin of Johnson's dictionary, but I did not set myself to the work till I wore spectacles.

When I finished my copy, I was

sitting at my table in Cambridge, England, January, 1825. When I arrived at the last word, I was seized with a tremor, that made it difficult to proceed. I however summoned up strength to finish the work, and then walking about the room, I soon recovered.

Since my voyage to Europe, my health has been better than it was from twenty to twenty five years of age, the functions of my stomach being better performed.

My eyes have been weaker the last two or three years than they had been before.

In 1798 I had the yellow fever, after visiting New York, and after my recovery, I had, from imprudence, two or three relapses into the ague and fever. I have had no other sickness except a slight attack of intermittent fever after my return from Niagara in 1830.

Accept the respects of

Your sincere friend,

N. WEBSTER.

CONGREGATIONALISM IN NEW ENGLAND.

NEW ENGLAND is the home of Congregationalism. It is true, there are Congregational churches elsewhere. They are numerous in England, Wales, and Scotland, as well as in many of the states of our own Union, and most of these do honor to the name which they bear, and are living witnesses to the excellence of the polity after which they are ordered. There is no place however which Congregationalism calls her own, with such manifest propriety, as New England. Few are the communities in New England in which a church does not exist, founded on this platform—few, in which such a church does not stand foremost, in its spiritual beauty and fruitfulness—in the energy of its moral influence—in its

place in the respect of the community—in its hold on the intelligence, the cultivation, and the wealth of the population. These churches are the true *genii loci*. In their separate and confederate strength, they are felt to be the glory of New England at home. They have made her to be a fountain of health to our land—and this land itself through her, to be the light and hope of the nations.

Not only is Congregationalism most at home in New England, but this is the place of her nativity. Her soil was possessed in the name of a free spiritual church; a church which should be free that it might be spiritual, and which was to be spiritual, that it might continue free. Her colonists reared upon

her shores, no gorgeous standards emblazoned with emblems of earthly state, amid the pomp of military pageantry and the din of martial music. It was with bended knees, and with cheerful, though trembling song, that they consecrated this earth and these heavens to the honor of the Son of God, as it might be seen in churches ordered by his will. In forming them, their pattern was no ill-assorted patchwork of the gaudy but soiled remnants of apostate Rome—nor was it the fantastic product of the brain of some wild enthusiast. It was by the open Bible that they laid the foundations of our polity. It was after the pattern showed them in the mount, that they measured and wrought each one of its separate stones.

The issue corresponded to their faith. The Head of the church smiled upon churches freed from the lust of power and framed in primitive simplicity. As the population increased, new churches were planted. Soon the fame of these churches for intelligence and order; for peace and spiritual fruitfulness; was borne across the Atlantic, and New England churches were founded in the mother land.

We are not aware that the Congregational churches of New England were ever more truly prosperous, than they are at the present moment. We doubt whether there was ever a time, when they were more sound in the faith, more faithful in discipline, or more abundant in good works. Never were they so richly blessed of God in the power and frequency of the visitations of the Divine Spirit.

Their position at present however is somewhat peculiar. Their duties to themselves and to others, as arising from these circumstances, seem to us also to be peculiar—and to require a faithful consideration. To this position, as indicating what

these duties are, we would invite the attention of our readers.

The great questions of the times are these: "Where is the church?" "What ought the church to be?" Church polity is a leading study of the times. One would think that the perfection of the church in this respect, was essential to its health and salvation. Every theorist of course has notions of his own—and is as ready to defend them, as the Abbe Sieyes was in his day to furnish a constitution to order, or our own unfledged politicians have ever been to tinker the currency.

We are not surprised to notice in a certain class of men, a disposition to speak of the defects of our own system, and to remark freely upon these evils and the results to which they are tending. Some do this, who prefer Congregationalism to every other polity, and for this very reason, would correct its few deficiencies, and give it all the completeness of which it is capable. Others there are, who seem not to be at home in its simple structure, and long for a more splendid establishment.

This sensitiveness to the defects of our own ecclesiastical system, and this readiness freely to talk of them, we believe to be peculiar to ourselves. We glory in it as the evidence of a love of truth stronger than our love of sect. The Presbyterian, especially, if he is of the more rigid sort, is so accustomed to appeal to The Book, that he is insensibly led by his habitual deference to its prescriptions, to regard it as the end of all wisdom. The Methodist regards no system as worthy to be thought of, compared with that Discipline, in which John Wesley so shrewdly reconciled the most absolute clerical despotism, with the intensest popular activity. The Episcopalian considers no excellence so surpassing as his excellent liturgy and government—that petrified specimen of the English

mind in its transition from Rome to to Christ. The Congregationalist, alone, is not insensible to the defects of his own system, both actual and possible—and what is more worthy of notice, is free to confess them.

But what are these defects to which some among us are somewhat morbidly sensitive? Why—we have no creed as a standard of orthodoxy—we have no usages established by authority, as a pledge to decency and order. Our system is loose and disjointed. It involves the radical principle, that a company of Christians may choose and ordain their own officers, and yet be a church of Christ. It makes each church to be a separate and individual existence, and thus tramples on that unity for which the Redeemer prayed and his apostles labored.

These complaints are no new thing under the sun. They are as old as the very beginnings of the Congregational system. The great and good men who were amazed by the audacity of its novel principles, saw in them only the elements of weakness and disorder, and predicted for the churches based upon them, a speedy and contemptible dissolution. So has it been from then till now, and yet for more than two centuries has this system held its vigorous and healthful existence, and been a fountain of life in the universal churches.

To all these objections there is one triumphant answer. The system has been tested by time. The defects complained of, are defects in its theory—not its practical workings. These evils against which there is outcry, are *anticipated* evils, not actual and present defects. They are such as possibly may arise, and against which we have no provision, in a nicely balanced paper-system—no checks and balances to make the machine go right of itself.

But where is the system which works better than this? Where the polity which better answers the ends which church polity has a right to accomplish? Where in the wide world, is the faith of the gospel more pure, or the piety of the gospel more fruitful, than in these churches? Where are the clergy held in higher honor, and their office in greater respect? Where is the unity of the spirit more faithfully kept in the bonds of peace? Where does the individual Christian more truly feel that he is a member of the universal church, and that the member of a sister church is in fact united in the same fellowship with himself? Where—as he goes here and there through the community of churches, does he feel, that in every church he shall find a home, and be received by its members with the warm welcome of a brother? The practical workings of any system, upon a fair trial, we can not but consider a sufficient test of its excellence. In vain do we search the world over to find more perfectly realized, the ideal of what churches ought to be, than in these New England churches—as they have been and now are. When then we are told that our churches are without order—we plainly reply, it is false, so false, that in point of fact, there is no where such real order as with us. When it is said our system is loose and disjointed, we answer, it proves not so. No churches, no ministers, are held more tightly together; move more in concert, or bring into the field of action a phalanx more precise in its movements, or more effective in its aggressions.

But to these defects more particularly. "We have no creed, or confession of faith, which we receive as a standard." And what if we have no such creed? Do we need one? Is it not known, what we preach, and what we believe? Is it not also known, that in the

main, our churches and ministers believe and preach the same thing? Is the gospel so indefinite and obscure a thing, that living men can not read what it is in the English Bible, and so give or withhold their fellowship, as this gospel is professed or denied? "But heresy will by and by creep in." As if the next generation were to have neither intellects nor souls of their own, which, enlightened by the spirit of God, could be trusted to be vigilant for themselves. As if the present generation were to assume the care of orthodoxy for all coming time. Heresy will creep in, if you trust the defense of the faith to a dead statement of Christian truth, rather than to the zeal and vigilance of living teachers. Such statements, without this vigilance, guard from no evil, while they tempt the heretic to a perjured conscience, and the true to a false reliance, in their efficacy to guard against error. As summaries of Christian truth, they are not to be despised, but as defenses of the faith they are not to be relied upon.

"But we have no established usages." It is true, we have no Directory for public worship and no order of Common Prayer from which we may not deviate. Nor have we a rigid form, prescribed by authority for the organization of a church, or the ordination of a minister of Christ. We have usages however, consecrated by time, and commending themselves to all, by their appropriate and significant simplicity.

"But they are not printed in a book, and enforced by authority." What if they are not—they can not be thus enforced, and yet be consistent with our distinctive principles. In this however, there is nothing peculiar or alarming. There is nothing peculiar. The customs of the common law—the forms of legal procedure, the rules of admission to the legal and medi-

cal professions—are regulated not so much by statute as by actual practice. The law of evidence, by which life, and property, and person, are protected or forfeited to law, is an unwritten thing. There is nothing alarming. We need not fear that those who follow us will lose their memory, or their common sense. It is not certain, that they will forget what has been the usage of the churches—or, in a paroxysm of folly, will rush from its sober ways into some fanatical disorder. We know that there are those, who are strangely fond of a perfect system of truth and order, that shall be printed in a book, and who, because a system is thus printed, will receive it if it be not so very perfect. There is a charm to such minds in dead machinery. They delight to imagine it in easy and beauteous motion. If it does not so move in fact, it ought to, and they trust that by and by, it actually will. If there is friction in the wheels, and every wheel brings so much added friction, there is no friction in the idea of the perfect church. If to avoid friction the machinery is kept still, or but barely moves, they have only to imagine how well it is fitted to move, and it rejoices their hearts to think of their most excellent church. Others there are, who wish a system most exact and rigid, that by ecclesiastical rules they may accomplish purposes which they can not compass by logic or piety—and by the spell of adherence to rules, may supply that magic power to the wand which was once so potent in clerical hands. *Hinc illa lacryma.* If it be so, then we have good reason, instead of desiring regulations more minute and specific, to render thanks that we have none at all.

"But our system allows the validity of lay-ordination in cases of possible exigency." So does Richard Hooker—the often quoted de-

fender of the Elizabethan or English church—and so does every other man, who is not ready to swallow any absurd conclusion from the divine right of the ministry.

“But it holds the doctrine, that it is the church which constitutes a man its pastor by its electing voice.” And what republican is there who should object to this doctrine? Nay, what American is there who owes to this doctrine first asserted for the church, all the blessings which it gives his country, now that it is adopted in the state, should not blush for his ignorance and ingratitude? Well is it, that it holds these principles. They are its glory, because they are just—and if they had been earlier asserted, they might have proved health and salvation to the dying church. To hold the opposite, is to make the priesthood to be the church, and to give to the body of the faithful, when the church has become corrupt, no hope of deliverance, except from the source whence hope has forever fled. It is to fasten upon the diseased body, which, if left to itself, might gather the struggling energies of returning life, a carcass of death, and thus to poison and stifle its remaining vitality. He however who, from this admitted principle, infers that, as a matter of fact, our churches do not consult and respect their ministry, and give them all reasonable influence and control, argues from the theory of our system, but not from its actual workings. He argues just as all monarchical Europe does, from what they *suppose* must be the case in respect to democratic America. To convict him of a false conclusion, the very rocks of New England are ready to cry out.

“But we destroy the unity of the church, by giving a separate and independent life to the local body.” Nay, we uphold that unity by this very thing—but it is a moral and spiritual unity, not an ecclesias-

tical and political commonwealth. By this very principle do we secure the church, as far as it may be in this world of ours, against the divisions and strifes that are incident to all societies of imperfect men.

“But it is a matter of complaint among laymen, that we have no ecclesiastical system; and there are some, who, because we have no book of standards, do not attach themselves to our societies, but unite with the church of the prayer-book.” This may be so—but we doubt whether this is the true reason, for there are many other reasons than this why a man in New England may prefer the church of Queen Bess to that of John Robinson. We can see however, that this may be possible with men, whose dissatisfaction on this ground, is fostered by the influence and example of their spiritual guides. But we can not easily see how a New England man, taught by a truly New England minister, would hold such a sentiment. He would know better, or if he did not, he might easily be taught, that such securities for faith and order are of little worth, and that the evil which they occasion, is too certain to be incurred for the doubtful advantage which they bring. It would seem that the simplicity of our system, its freedom from forms, its easiness of working, and its demand on the living energies of each individual member of the church, might be made, not merely its sufficient apology, but its triumphant vindication. It is easy to see on the other hand, how it may and must happen, that when the minister is continually complaining of the looseness of his church, and is calling for a book of standards, and is manifestly deficient in sympathy with its great and peculiar principles, the members of the church may conclude, that they are in a rickety and falling establishment, and may look about

for the protection of one that is more firmly built.

We complain then of much of this distrust of our system, as without just occasion, as untrue to the first principles of our polity, and forgetful of all the lessons which history inculcates. We complain of it, as most injurious in its consequences—as certain to be the cause of the dissatisfaction which is said to exist. It can not but happen, that what the teacher distrusts, the disciple will disown and deny. The strength of our system is a moral strength. It consists in the confidence of living men in each other, and in the system under which they live. The good sense of thinking men, the experience of the past, the voice of all history, testify in its favor. Where are the men who neglect these advantages, and fail to rally around the remembrances of the past, and the usefulness of the present, the best sympathies of their hearers? Why do they not breathe into their hearers the true New England spirit? Why do not they show the evils that lurk in every other church, and war against its spiritual simplicity and life? We speak thus freely and strongly of this distrust, because we regard it as without just cause—as ungrateful for the best system of church government with which the world has ever been blest, as unmindful of the corruption with which power has ever cursed the church, as untrue to the high trust which God has placed in our hands for the generation which is to come after us, and as suicidal to our present life and hope.

While we are so earnest upon this point, we do not contend, that there are no deficiencies in our churches. We have more than intimated already, that there is a call for improvement, and that such improvement may be attained. It is natural first of all to notice such as concern the ministry. The office

of a religious teacher is recognized in the New Testament as essential to the perfection and prosperity of the church, and his qualifications are described with admirable fidelity and truth. He is a man well instructed in the truths which he is to teach, with skill to adapt them to the common mind, and with the earnest desire to accomplish this end. He is also a gentleman, intelligent, courteous and open-hearted, who scorns duplicity and self-seeking, both in handling the word of God and in his intercourse with his fellow-men. But he is not a priest. He is in no sense a mediator between God and man. He consecrates not the baptismal water, which introduces the infant to the church. He makes not the bread of the eucharist, to be the food of the soul, through the virtue that passes from his consecrating hands. He is not studious of the rights which belong to his order in the church. He strains not himself to keep his order or himself in his place, by a forced antagonism against the fancied inroads of his flock.

Whatever improvements are proposed by or for the ministry, should be based upon the apostolic model. They should be made in the direction of the Bible and of common sense, and not in that of the church, after the traditions of men. Now it has happened of late, that an epidemic of high church feeling has invaded various regions of Protestant Christendom. As was to be expected, its attacks have been most violent where the predisposing causes were the strongest; but it has not been entirely unfelt even in the healthful atmosphere of New England. Our Episcopal brethren are greatly amazed or encouraged, we hardly know which, at the appearance of some symptoms of church feeling in so unexpected a quarter.

The ministry, it is argued, must

strengthen their position in these democratic days. They must take to themselves more distinctly the sanction of a right divine. They must maintain a sense of this sanction by a distant and imposing air, perhaps by a clerical habit—at all events, by attaching to their decisions a more solemn importance, as pronounced by the organs through whom God declares his will to man. Their presence in a meeting of laymen, is to be a matter of high consideration; and they are never to forget—certainly they are never to suffer their people to forget—their dignity as a distinct and holy order in the house of God. By thus asserting to themselves their appropriate place, they will not only secure their lawful influence, but will throw around their office and themselves, a mysterious charm, and awful fascination. To feel thus towards a religious teacher, it is argued, is necessary and agreeable to man.

This we think to be a mistake. Clerical pretension does not of itself strike men agreeably. It may be admitted by the ignorant. It may be enforced by the compulsion of law. But it asserts its surest and most potent charm, when it bribes the conscience by a false peace, or indulges sinful desire with an easy atonement. The New England people are not so ignorant, as to be imposed on by clerical grimace. They do not endure a priesthood by law. We desire not, and certainly should not dare to bribe them by softening the truth of God, or indulging their desires after a lax religion. In the Romish church, the priest is a very great man, and the people love to have him so, and for a very good reason. So long as he will give absolution for a few pence, and for the same sum, whisper in the ear of the dying, Depart, Christian soul—so long it is not only very easy, but very delightful, to believe that he can open

and shut the doors of heaven. The homage to the priest is but a transformed idolatry of the man's own lusts—his attachment to the church, a love of a church that gives a religious license to sin. Let the priest preach a clean heart and justification by faith alone, and his reverence and occupation would both be gone. Or if the conscience owned the truth of the gospel, it would disown the lie of the priest. The readiness with which the Episcopalian gains the ear of some people, and makes such excellent churchmen of the gay and thoughtless, is easily and truly explained, when the argument is known to be, not a musty and learned discourse of the Fathers, but the pithy maxim, that "Episcopacy is the only religion fit for a gentleman." This traces its origin to Charles II. It is not remembered that he uttered any other religious saying, except this, that "God would not damn a man for a little pleasure." But for a Congregational minister to set up high church pretensions, is certain to raise the cry of priestcraft. It will not go down, unless he takes off the edge of his pretensions by a little extra gentility, or an easy way in the application of his sermon.

That tendencies exist towards disorder and disorganization, we do not deny. We admit that in some portions of New England, the pastoral office does not receive its just consideration. We also admit, that often there is an unreasonable demand for ministerial labor, and an excessive fondness for excitement. The minister is sometimes blamed for want of success, where the fault is not with himself. We know also, that moral and political agitations, have here and there engendered a fanaticism which is somewhat hard to be reasoned with. All this we admit. But the question is not, what are the facts, but what is to be done with them? We an-

swer, the people can be made to see that these are evils, and great evils. They can by logic, patience, and love, be made to see, that the pastor must receive a certain deference and respect, in order to the highest success, and perhaps as a condition of any success in his ministry—that excitement is not religion, while yet religion can not but enkindle zeal—that narrow and divisive tests in the church, are at war with the fundamental principle of a Christian society, which must tolerate and forbear with minor differences of feeling and of judgment. This must be done in love, not in wrath, in patient meekness, not with irritated contempt, by one in earnest sympathy with the popular mind, not by a man who loftily despises the people and their works. The work may be difficult, but it can be done. If it can not be done for the sake of one's office, it may be done for Christ and his church. A man must go to it, with the same sturdy and determined enthusiasm, with which Richard Baxter went into Cromwell's army and argued with the fanatic soldiers, and plainly, but patiently, talked them down. In such a course, a minister may expect to do much good, and as a consequence, strengthen himself and his order. If he pursue the opposite course, he may indeed enwrap himself with the dignity of an imposing state, and make his people stare at his mysterious pretensions, and he may enjoy the *ideal* comfort of contending for a principle; but he will cut himself off from the substantial comfort of enjoying their warmest yet respectful sympathy, and of turning that sympathy to the highest and holiest uses. Perhaps he may gather about his ears, a very hail-storm of domestic wrath, and have nothing left but the privilege of sighing for the good old times.

We desire therefore that the ministry of New England, should have

faith in the people, and instead of complaining, that the people can not govern themselves, should more confidently rejoice in the many advantages which the popular system ensures. Let none of them sigh after the efficiency of a session or a presbytery, that they may execute sooner, their own wise measures. Nor let them indulge a pusillanimous longing for the grateful quiet which is said to be diffused from the Episcopal throne; but let them set themselves with the utmost diligence, to make the fullest proof of the superior excellence of our own primitive and apostolic way.

This leads us to remark, that, although our system is the most popular in its principles, it has often failed in a measure, of developing all its capabilities in this respect, and has not entrenched itself as it might, within the popular sympathies. The temptations to be careless in respect to this result, are not inconsiderable. Ours are the original churches of New England, and seem to hold the soil by right of prior occupation. We hold the sympathies of the most intelligent and wealthy of the people. Our system was transmitted to us by men of whom the world was not worthy. It is not surprising that we put excessive confidence in these advantages. We may trust too much to the impulse which has been given us in the past, and think it will of itself carry us forward, in spite of the open assaults of avowed enemies, and of the insinuating arts of proselyting *dissenters*.

Our ministers, too, are scholars and students. They are metaphysicians of course. Such men are sometimes satisfied, if they see the truth themselves, without sufficiently inquiring whether they lead others to see it. They are as familiar with the abstractions of systematic theology as with household words, and may suppose that to others such abstractions are as full of interest and

of meaning as to them. They delight in the smooth and easy calmness of philosophical disquisition, and forget that their hearers require the energy of popular argumentation. They are pleased and convinced by a clear and lucid essay, and do not remember that the hearts of their hearers are waiting to bound at the stirring notes of earnest and warm appeal.

Our system of doctrine has its peculiar truths. Rightly preached, they are eminently "the power of God unto salvation." They may be so preached, that those who hear, both the learned and the unlettered, if they understand them as presented, can not but pervert them to their own destruction. They may be presented as if the object were not to commend the gospel to the conscience, but to offend the conscience by dogmas abhorrent to its primal instincts.

There are weak and ignorant and excitable men in all our churches. Parties sometimes arise, and wax fierce and violent. It is not uncommon for the stronger faction to sacrifice to its obstinate self-will, the interest of the church, by driving off an excited minority, whom a little forbearance and concession might have saved. In such a strife, the church and society acquires an inheritance of odium, which a generation can not outlive. These things have been done at the instance of a minister, who knew the right so well, that he would drive it into his people.

There are portions of New England in which the clergy are enterprising, harmonious, and devoted to their work. As pastors and preachers, they labor with considerate energy and a just appreciation of the wants of their people. They are true Congregationalists, and rejoice in all the popular features of their system. Thus, while they sympathize with the people, they can reprove them with plainness and ef-

fect. They are in the midst of difficulties and excitements and proselyting efforts; but their churches prosper, and acquire a more preponderating influence. If there are parts of New England where this is not true of the Congregational interest, it is but fair to ask, whether the ministry are enterprising,—laboring with discretion and heart and hope, and bringing out, truly and fairly, the power of the gospel and of our popular system.

If there is any one duty to which the New England clergy are summoned by the exigency of the times, that duty is, to study to be of the people. We contend not that they should flatter the easy vanity of the multitude, or excite their sectarian or malignant feelings, but we do contend that they should aim to secure for their preaching, themselves, and their own system of church order, the honest and hearty sympathy of the public. They should know no arts but manly arts. Yet they may and should make their ministry to be a ministration of the gospel to the wants of living men as they find them, and cause it to speak to their consciences, their social sympathies, and their republican feelings. The gospel should be presented just as it lies in the pages of the Bible, not as a system of lifeless abstractions, nor as a bristling phalanx of metaphysical dogmas, but as real and living truth. The aim of the preacher should be, so to present the gospel, that it shall be understood,—so to present it, that it can not but be understood. He should press it on the intellect with the force of resistless demonstration. He should make it to flash through the soul, as lightning illuminates an evening cloud. His intense and earnest desire should be, so to speak as to affect his hearers, and he should not be satisfied in any way until this object is secured. His pastoral ministrations should not be doled out with a reluctant hand; still less should they

be robbed of their freshness and their zest, by peevish complaints of the excessive demands of his flock ; but they should come warm from the heart of a sympathizing monitor and friend. To be a preacher and a pastor, should put in requisition all that he is as a scholar and a man.

He should also be much of a man among his fellow-men. He should interest himself in all the questions, political, moral and social, which are now uppermost. In all that concerns the true interests of society, he should be himself a wakeful and thinking man, whose opinions smell not of the damp and stifling air of the cloister, but have been matured in the cheerful sunlight of the open atmosphere.

Thus will he realize the true idea of a religious teacher, and a minister of Christ. Before such a man there can not stand up the modern pretender to an exclusive priesthood by virtue of the apostolic succession. Let the pretender reason and dogmatize as he will, he can not persuade the people that such a pastor as we have described is not a lawful minister of Christ, or that he has no right to preach the gospel. Into the daylight that radiates from such a pastor, it will be hopeless to bring out the mysteries of Puseyitish charlatanry, or the quakeries of regeneration by the Episcopal water, and of sanctification by the Episcopal eucharist. Nor will the insinuating arts of the busiest sectarian, nor the disorganizing doctrines of the roving infidel in disguise, succeed beneath the eye of his wise vigilance.

We venture to suggest, whether there is not required in our congregations a more considerate attention to the order and details of public worship. Is not our public worship capable of being raised to a higher degree of interest and solemnity ? It has been charged against us, that, in our assemblies, the sermon is made of too much account, in proportion to the other parts of the pub-

lic service. Those who make this charge, forget that preaching is the great ordinance of Christianity, and that it hath pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe. Yet it may well be inquired, whether the demand which is made on our ministers for able and well-wrought discourses, and the manifest reasonableness of this demand, has not led them to give less attention than is due to the other parts of their office in the sanctuary. We have been truly taught—and the lesson is worth more than the most venerable liturgy can be,—that the form and manner of worship are of little consequence compared with the spirit of the worshiper. But we may be in danger of forgetting that the full and fit expression of devotional thoughts and feelings, especially in public worship, is necessary not only to the highest decorum, but also to the proper excitement and culture of the spirit of devotion. The expression of any feeling reacts upon the feeling expressed. It deserves to be considered, whether improvements are not required in this respect, and whether the attention of the clergy may not be directed to this subject with manifest advantage. The considerations of propriety, of good taste, and of pious feeling, all demand it, as well as the interests of our churches as a body.

We do not admire a liturgy. Least of all do we like the liturgy of the Episcopal church, for the practical uses of a Christian assembly. To us it is picturesque rather than devotional,—suited rather to impress the imagination than to express the worship of the spirit. This effect would be heightened, to our minds, if it were still in the original Latin, and yet more if it were performed in some structure of the middle ages, and with the music of the Sistine chapel. We do not ask for such a liturgy, or for any other. But we would propose to the ministry, as an object of study and of

effort, the improvement of the manner and forms of public worship. While spiritual worship should be the great thing thought of, it should take its most graceful and appropriate external forms, and wear them with ease and dignity. To this end, we do not require any change in our system, but only more richness, comprehensiveness and variety in public prayers, and the training of our congregations to the observance of any proprieties which they may have slighted. Much depends upon the manner of the pastor in conducting the services of the house of God. Religious affectation we abhor. But there is demeanor in the pulpit which not only accords with, but is demanded by the sacredness of the place. To be so much at ease in it as to be above its solemnities, or to affect an air of nonchalance, deserves banishment from its enclosure by an outraged community.

To add to the interest of our devotional services, some have proposed the reading of the Scriptures in alternate verses by the pastor and the congregation. We dislike the proposal. We greatly prefer the spirited reading of appropriate selections by the pastor. It seems far better suited to the object for which the Scriptures are publicly read, and is better adapted to secure the attention of the people.

It has also been proposed, and the attempt has been made, to introduce into our churches a kind of chanting, not borrowed, we believe, from Popish or Episcopal churches, but simpler and more suited to the nature and character of evangelical worship. To this we make no objection. Indeed this is the way in which the Psalms, as given by Divine inspiration, were originally sung in the temple. The Psalms in the Hebrew, as David and Asaph composed them, are not metrical; and it has seemed to us that those Divine songs are more appropriate to be sung in an exact translation accord-

ing to the original structure of the parallelisms, than they can be in any metrical version. Let Christian hymns be added, and metrical versions of the Psalms, to any required extent; but let us also retain these ancient songs in the style and form in which they were first uttered from hearts inspired of God. But the antiphonal way of chanting or reciting from the choir and the pulpit, we would let alone. It is not appropriate with us. It has no meaning. It is a theatrical exhibition for mere impression, and not a natural expression of the devotions of the congregation. It was against all that sort of church music, that the reformers protested and contended. Every such incongruous practice may attract by its novelty for a time, but, as it is not in keeping with the general style of our service, had better be let alone.

It deserves also to be asked, whether, a stronger social feeling may not be cultivated in our societies, and an intenser warmth of kindly feeling called into life. Our New England manners are proverbially cold. Many of our religious societies, from being the oldest and in most cases the strongest, are far from being enterprising, especially when compared with those of the more recent sects. From their age also, they sometimes have an accumulated inheritance of old prejudices, that result from divisions of wealth and family, as well as from ecclesiastical and political strife. There is also sometimes a bigoted prejudice against every thing which is not in the good old way. From these circumstances, advantage is taken against us, to detach individuals and families, whom a little attention might have retained. But this need not be so. We can do to retain such persons, what others do to detach them from us, as far as it is right or desirable that we should; and thus we may not only increase the strength of our com-

munion, but these efforts may be the means of increased religious life. There is no way in which the pastor or his church can provide more effectually for kindly and saving impressions, than by laying hold of the sympathies of all. In no way can the young be kept back from folly and sin, so effectually as by a cheerful air, and pleasant words, and manifest interest on the part of the religious community. If the members of our churches would lay themselves out *thus* to do good, many prejudices against religion would be avoided, their own piety would be kept from an austere and denunciatory spirit, and numberless avenues of good might be opened by a gentle hand. We desire not that their admonitions should be less frequent, or the steady assertion of the necessity of repentance and faith less pressing; but we do desire that the irreligious and even the erring portion of the community, should not be repelled and held off at a studied distance. This human nature of ours was given by God, that through its sympathies and affections, the soul might be saved. Would that we all knew it better. Direct and frequent efforts may be made to excite and strengthen these bonds of interest. The pastor may see his people often in social gatherings, or meet them in circles at each other's houses, in which all classes shall freely meet and be welcome. Above all, may our private religious meetings be more truly social. A freer atmosphere may pervade them. The subjects introduced may be more various. All the services may have more freedom and freshness, less constraint and less formalism. In this, as in every good work, the pastor

must take the lead—and an enterprising pastor will accomplish much.

We deem it of great importance to the prosperity of our churches in every point of view, that the particular church be not displaced from its true foundation, and from the legitimate ground of the union among its members, by any attempt to bring its influence to bear directly and formally upon public opinion, and the decision of matters in discussion among Christians. In this way, narrow and divisive tests are introduced, the appropriate work of the ministry and the church is thrust aside, and the good sense of the community is offended, by seeing the church forget its high vocation. Let Christians do what seems to them wise and good in voluntary societies, and at the ballot box, to remove all social evils, but let them welcome to their communion, all whom Christ would receive. Let it be forever settled, that Christ receives all who are sound in the faith and prayerful in heart, and unspotted by offenses against the recognized laws of morality. Within the sacred enclosures of the church, we meet as fellow Christians. Here let every difference be forgotten—differences of opinion in respect even to what are appropriate Christian duties. Let us forbear with each other, and pray for each other, and remember, that a Christian and kindly tolerance of one whom we think greatly in the wrong, is among the last attainments of a soul that is ripening for heaven. Any other course than this, is sure to excite well-grounded prejudice in the community, and to repel from our enclosures those who have sense enough to know what the church was designed to be.

CLASSICAL STUDIES.*

THIS book, if all its parts are taken together, may be said to give an account of the new age of classical study. In this, as in all departments of knowledge, there has not been a uniform progress. Its changes and fluctuations may perhaps be best understood by assigning to it four periods since the revival of letters. The first of these periods we may terminate with the middle of the sixteenth century. In this age the ancient classics served as guides and masters, to awaken taste and the spirit of philosophical inquiry, and through the imperfection of modern books were the principal sources of knowledge. The age, like a man to whom the stores of knowledge are just opened, was one of ardent curiosity. Manuscripts were hunted after to fill the libraries of the great; the Greek classics were turned into Latin; Plato being now first known, a school of ardent Platonists arose at Florence, and Aristotle began to be to many an abomination; antiquarian researches were pushed to a considerable extent, especially those which related to the Roman republic. The pioneers in this age were Italians and Greek exiles. The greater number of books were printed at Venice and other Italian towns. The editions, though now valuable to the editor, as giving readings from manuscripts which may have disappeared; and though eagerly sought for by bibliomanists, on account of their scarcity,[†] dis-

play little critical skill, and are deformed, not only by mistakes of the press, but also in some cases by unfortunate conjectural emendations. Nor was it the practice of the editors to give an account of the sources of their text. During this age, by degrees, classical learning passed from Italy to the more northern countries of Europe; and at its close, Roman Catholic orthodoxy was frowning upon the language of the New Testament in Italy; while the thirst for knowledge, spread by the Reformation, and the investigations consequent upon that event, had awakened a zeal for ancient letters among the Protestants. Towards the end of this age, Basel became a literary center, where learned men were congregated, and from which the more important editions were scattered abroad.

The second period may include the next hundred years, down to 1650. This was an age of thorough and universal scholarship—the manhood, or at least the vigorous youth, of classical studies. In it every kind of knowledge relating to this department received a new start. Now first the want of a thorough revision of the text of ancient authors began to be felt, and now first arose men whom all succeeding scholars have looked to as occupying the first rank. It is remarkable that the most eminent of these scholars were Frenchmen of the Protestant faith, who spent the best part of their lives in

* *Classical Studies*, by Prof. Sears, Edwards, and Felton. Boston, 1843.

† A principal reason for the scarcity of many of the first editions is, that books were read to pieces, and worn out in the uses of the lecture-room. This is particularly the case with the *Rhetores Græci* of Aldus, in 2 vols., Venice, 1508-9, a book much used in teaching the rules of style. Prof. Walz, of Tübingen, who for the second time edited these writers and

others of the same kind from the manuscripts a few years since, mentions in his preface that he knew of but two entire copies of the Aldine edition in Germany, seven in the Italian libraries, and two at Paris, besides one for sale at Florence, for which the bookseller asked \$50. When the mode of teaching rhetoric changed, the book ceased to be called for, and no new edition was published for three centuries.

foreign countries. Joseph Scaliger, Casaubon, and perhaps Salmasius, deserve to be put at the head of the literati of their time. Scaliger excelled by the force of his genius, and among other services to the cause of letters, first brought chronology out of its chaotic state. Casaubon, on account of his vast learning and sound judgment, may claim the first place among classical scholars, particularly in Greek. Salmasius, far inferior in acuteness to many who have had a less name, explored the nooks and crannies of ancient literature, as an antiquarian, and exhibited in his works rather vast reading than sound judgment.

From the middle of the seventeenth until the latter part of the eighteenth century, which forms our third period, the attention to classical literature rather declined than advanced. Whether this was owing to the wars which in the middle of the seventeenth century absorbed the interest of England, France and Germany, and in a measure barbarized the latter country, or to the increased attention now paid to native and modern literature, or to the advancing study of the sciences—whatever may have been the cause, the fact was as we have represented it. Any one may satisfy himself of the fact, by running over the leaves of a bibliographical manual, and examining the dates of the editions. He will find the years from 1550 to 1650 fertile in reprints of the classics, while those from 1650 to 1750 were comparatively barren. In England, the singly truly eminent scholar of this period is Bentley; and his controversy with Boyle shows the low state of classical learning at Oxford, where the most eminent scholars lent their aid to Boyle, but could not stand up against a blow from the little finger of the Cambridge giant. The only other country where these studies were pursued with much ability and zeal, was Hol-

Holland indeed had produced from age to age since the Reformation, crops of plodding and accurate scholars, and had been an asylum for foreign literati, whose Protestant opinions drove them out from their native lands. Since the University of Leyden was founded, a succession of eminent men had taught, such as no other seat of learning in Europe can boast of. In no other place perhaps in the world can an exhibition be made, like that which is presented in the unpretending hall where the portraits of the professors of Leyden are collected.

In the volume before us appears an account of the Dutch school of philosophy in the last century, prepared by Prof. Edwards, of Andover. It begins with Hemsterhuys, who was contemporary with Bentley at the beginning of the century, and ends with Wyttenbach, who died in 1820. It will be read with great interest by the classical scholar, as a learned and careful account of several men who have done service to the cause of letters. The materials for the lives of the principal Dutch scholars are ample. Ruhnken has set forth the merits of his master, Hemsterhuys, in a eulogy almost unrivaled for its Latinity. Wyttenbach has written the biography of Ruhnken, and in turn has been commemorated by one of his pupils. Perhaps this careful regard for the memory of these three men, and the entertaining mode in which that memory has been preserved, have exalted them unduly above two of their friends and compeers, Wesseling and Valckenaer, who would not fall below them as useful guides to subsequent scholars. If we look at the characteristics of the Dutch school as it is called, we may be led to doubt whether it deserves the name of a school, and whether there was any decided mark by which we can distinguish the successors of Hemsterhuys from those who went before him. They all had the same

way of writing annotations, the same habit of loading their common-place books with parallel passages collected from every quarter, the same often unnecessary display of learning. It must be confessed, however, that Hemsterhuys mingled something of French genius and directness with Dutch scholarship; that he surpassed his immediate predecessors in the knowledge of Greek literature, and that he took a very broad view of what was required to form a finished scholar. But if compared with Bentley, he must be pronounced to fall far below him, both in acuteness and invention. We will say nothing of the highly finished scholarship of Ruhnken, the evidences of which for posterity are ample, but lie within a small compass; nor of his successor, Wyttenbach, who revived the study of Greek philosophy. But of the literature of Holland during the last age, in general it may be said, that, while they made no brilliant discoveries or improvements in their branch, they deserve to be remembered for setting examples of a scholarship more complete and elegant than had before been seen. They were guilty, however, of the fault of putting too much value upon scholarship in itself considered, and did not come to the ancient writers with those serious purposes reaching beyond the text, which characterize many of the earlier scholars.

Towards the close of the last century arose in England a school properly deserving the name, and differing in some respects, from any that had preceded it. Dr. Sears speaks of English scholarship as follows:

"England in the days of Stanley pursued the favorite method of polyhistory, as it was termed, which was introduced by the French and carried to an extreme by the Dutch. At a later period it [England or what?] separated history and geography from philology and criticism, and under Bentley, Taylor, Markland, Tyrwhitt and others, English philology rose to such an eminence as to become the admiration of the learned of all countries.

Through Porson and his followers it became so exquisite and so limited to the mere language and meter of the Greek tragedians, to the neglect of the orators, historians and philosophers, as to lose its strong hold on the character of the nation.

This is just, and the cause of the defect was owing, it would seem, partly to the practice in the English schools of composing Greek verses, as the scholar's most serious task, and partly to the national trait of being content to follow in the steps of a leader, without having the enterprise or independence of seeking to go beyond him. Had Porson lived to old age, and been a man of good habits and high principles, there is every reason to believe that he would have opened many other paths for his successors; although in that case he would probably have gone into the church, and received preferment, unless his politics had stood in the way. He was a man of incomparable acuteness, of vast reading in Greek literature and wonderful memory, and if not gifted with a philosophical mind, was qualified in some respects to go beyond any scholar of the last century. Being such as he was, he did but little. He opened one path, new though narrow, and was of essential service in calling the Germans to the study of ancient meters, and to nicer observations of style, than had been known before. His followers in his own country did little besides correcting and extending his researches in one direction. The consequence of this limited range of study was, that when the English scholars, after the peace of Europe, became familiar with the labors of their continental brethren, their native school lost much of its respect in their eyes, and now the best of them are more nourished by the fruits of German scholarship than of their own.

A considerable portion of the work before us is taken up with a sketch of the German school, with specimens of its literary correspondence,

and with biographical accounts in the shape of notes of the more eminent German scholars. This part is executed by Dr. Sears, of the Baptist Theological Seminary at Newton; and no scholar in our country, exclusively devoted to teaching the classics, could have shown more familiarity with this subject, or given better proof that he understood the progress of classical study in Germany and the respective merits of the German scholars. We must acknowledge ourselves his debtors for much useful information, and can vouch for the great accuracy and judgment of those parts which are not new to us.

Dr. Sears dates the improvement of German scholarship from Winkelmann and Heyne, the former of whom, first of the moderns, understood and appreciated ancient art; and the latter, forsaking the dull plodding manner of earlier German lecturers, first felt the soul of ancient poetry. To Winkelmann certainly great praise is due, and yet the discovery of Pompeii and Herculaneum, and the rise of the new school of sculpture, ought not to be overlooked, as causes which turned the mind of Europe to the characteristics of ancient art, and awakened a general sense of the beautiful. With regard to Heyne we are disposed to be more in doubt. He may have been as a one-eyed man among the blind, and in a certain sense have been the first name on the list of the age; but he was not a very great scholar. His Latin style, it is known, is but indifferent. His critical powers are not of a very high order, and if he is alive to the beauties of poetry, we are not aware that his remarks show any profound sense of the laws of taste.

The true causes of the excellence of the German scholars must be found in the history of the times, and the rise of a new literature and a new philosophy. The times, by their changeful and wonderful events,

acted with mighty power on the minds of those who thought at all; and in Germany, where action is fettered, much of this excitement spent itself in speculation and in historical inquiry. A new literature, too, was rising in Germany; the language began to be regarded as fit for something else than to talk to horses in; the chords of the national mind were moved by lyric and dramatic poets. Lastly, philosophy appeared under a new form; a revolution in opinion took place, and aroused multitudes of minds to vigorous action, calling forth talent in every department of thinking, just as a revolution in government, involving strife and war, calls out military talent.

One of the first characteristics of the modern German scholar, which developed itself was literary skepticism. Emancipated by the spirit of the times from the restraints of authority, he trampled it in the dust, and took delight in setting it at naught. There are not many ancient authors the integrity of whose works was not now attacked. Wolf, a man of powerful mind, led the way, and soon a person needed courage to avow his belief that Homer knew how to write, or had any thing to write with, or wrote if he knew how, or that there was any personal Homer. It is needless to go into particulars: such an epidemic fever of skepticism is not deep seated in the human mind, and can not last long. It passed away therefore like a mist, and left clear sky behind. Good was done by it. The close examinations of style and siftings of evidence to which it called, showed some passages to be interpolations and some works to be spurious, but showed likewise that tradition was right in the main, as to the genuineness of ancient works. And it is not likely that, for several generations to come, there will be another ebullition of this skeptical spirit. The danger now lies rather in the other direction.

The German scholars have directed their attention with great ability to the study of history and antiquities. In these respects the school of Bœckh, at Berlin, takes the lead. He and his pupils have thrown the clearest light upon the economical and judicial system of Athens, upon the history of the tribes and states of Greece, upon that of literature and of art. In this school the taste and imagination and the love of historical research are exercised, rather than the logical power. Its fault is one which is eminently German, and which renders writers of this class not always the safest guides,—the tendency to establish a conclusion by means of brilliant combinations of particulars not always in themselves certain. This conclusion is perhaps a favorite hypothesis, which seemed probable and beautiful, before the writer looked around for arguments to support it.

The school of Hermann, at Leipzig, was of earlier date, and chiefly given to inquiries terminating not on the facts communicated by language, but on language itself. The great improvements in grammar and meter, and the revisions of texts made by this school, are familiar to every one who has paid any attention to the subject. This school displays great niceness and subtlety in observing and reasoning. Its tendency of course must be to confine the mind to the exercise of the critical and logical powers. Hence its permanence can not be expected: it is merely preparatory, and having accomplished great good, and laid a foundation, must pass away. The fault of this school is, that it subjects the ancient remains, too narrowly, to the laws prescribed by the individual understanding. A grammatical rule must be so, because to Hermann's mind nothing else is logical, and even texts are altered on the same principle. Hermann's acuteness drew the rules of meter from the classics; but, not content

with this humble work, he must have, at the beginning of his metrical elements, a logical foundation dependent on the philosophy of Kant. The result is, as might be expected. No one reads, or if he reads, receives the philosophical part, while the part resting on observation is valuable and rich in acute remarks. In these censures we have no intention to condemn the application of a truly philosophical spirit to any branch of human inquiry: all we mean to say is, that a simply logical mind can not interpret poetry, art or life, in a philosophical way.

Probably no age has been so active as the present in every branch pertaining to ancient learning. In none have there been such extensive and thorough collations of manuscripts, and we therefore possess texts freer from corruptions, and even from unnecessary emendations, than the best of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In none have the studies relating to words made such progress. The true knowledge of ancient meter can hardly be said to have had existence before the labors of Hermann and Bœckh were given to the world; and comparative grammar, a study peculiar to the age, is now modifying and correcting the grammatical systems of the past. What has been done in lexicography may be estimated from the demand for two enlarged editions of the huge *Thesaurus* of Stephens,—which had not been reprinted since the original one in 1572,—and by a number of new and excellent dictionaries, both Greek and Latin. No age has been so fertile in reprints of the classics. There is scarcely a writer, of whom but a few fragments remain, whose relics have not been gathered from scholiasts and grammarians, by some German worshiper of antiquity, and deposited by themselves,—entombed, an ill-natured person might say,—in a new book, where copious legends of the

life and works of the saint are not wanting. In the history whether of nations, of literature and art, or of opinions, the contributions have been equally rich. Nor has the age fallen behind any preceding one in efforts to find meaning and system in ancient mythology. Two schools divide the learned between a mystical and symbolical interpretation of the religious fables akin to that of the Neoplatonists, and another of a more rational kind, which, while it does not deny the use of symbols, ascribes the system of mythology in a good degree to the imagination of a highly poetical age. In philosophy, the zeal excited by the jarring systems of the Germans has led to the study of those of the ancients; and a multitude of treatises, devoted to every school, from the time of Thales, until the driveling Neoplatonists expired by feeding on the shadows of nothings, have left no corner of philosophy, no obscure sect, unexplored. In archæology, if the formidable tomes of Salmasius and Meursius have not been rivaled, a spirit of cautious and critical investigation has avoided the faults of the older antiquaries, who too often presented pictures which were composed of shreds of several ages, and put together on the stand as of equal trustworthiness, the best and the worst writers. It would take long to enumerate the departments of antiquities, in which the present race of scholars have gone beyond their predecessors. Let it suffice to say, that those departments which are concerned with politics and civil institutions, with dramatic exhibitions and the remains of art, have received the largest share of attention.

We have noticed thus far two portions of the "Classical Studies." A third is occupied with translations from the German, on subjects relating to ancient literature and art. The most important of these are three: "on the wealth of the Greeks in works of plastic art," "on the

superiority of the Greek language, in the use of its dialects," and "on the education of the moral sentiment among the ancient Greeks," translated from the works of Frederick Jacobs, by Prof. Felton, of Cambridge. These essays, being of a popular character, dwell on topics not confined in their interest to the professed scholar. Any man of liberal education may read them with interest and profit. The leading thought in them all is the free development among the Greeks of a sense of beauty and of fitness, which influenced them when they wrote, in their choice between the dialects of their language, which appears remarkably in the finished productions of their art, and which affected their whole life and manners. While reading these essays, we have been led to wish that Mr. Felton had written original ones, instead of them, on the same subjects. His well-known elegant taste and just appreciation of what has come down to us from antiquity, would have enabled him to present similar views to those of Jacobs, in a way better suited to the wants of his countrymen; while he would have avoided some of the errors into which Jacobs, when speaking of Greek morals, has fallen, and which are becomingly noticed at the end of the work.

The tendency of the essay on the "education of the moral sentiment among the Greeks," is unduly to exalt that part of the Greek character. It is rather strange that so learned a man as Jacobs, who knows from Aristophanes what the Athenians must have been in the days of Pericles, can speak so complacently of the nation in this respect. The cause is to be found to a degree in partiality for the authors to whose explanation he has devoted his life. It must be confessed, too, that the simplicity of manners among the Greeks before the Macedonian period, their delicate sense of propriety and exquisite taste to which Jacobs

calls attention, were invaluable national traits, and, if they had been united to a religious system, which supplied true morals and the motives to practice them together, would have produced a more beautiful national character than has been elsewhere seen. But besides this, a cause of too great leniency in judging of ancient morals may be,—and we hope that we shall not be thought harsh or unjust in making the observation,—that the minds of many German students of antiquity are heathenized by their studies. The subject which they pursue has become so vast as to demand all their time, and they have little leisure for other studies which might neutralize some of its dangerous influences. Add to this the want of faith in revelation, and the irreligious spirit of the past age, in which it is natural that many of them should share. Would that they read their Greek testaments more, and compared with the spirit there found, the moral

tone of heathenism. In this important respect the scholars of this age appear to be behind those of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, who, though they too often reviled one another in Latin worthy of the Suburra, yet could use their learning in the cause of Christianity. May we not hope that the next age, while it avoids the coarseness and quarrelsome spirit of the older scholars, will avoid also the want of moral feeling but too prevalent among the more modern.

We had intended, before closing, to make some remarks on ancient art, its relations to morals, and the part it ought to have in the education of a scholar. But this is a subject no less copious than important; and having already exceeded the bounds which we had marked out, we are afraid to enter upon it. We will close, therefore, with expressing our gratification with this work, and our conviction that it will prove a valuable guide to classical scholars.

THE ORDINATION OF MR. ARTHUR CAREY.*

MR. ARTHUR CAREY has suddenly, and at a very early age, become a historical personage. He is a graduate of Columbia College, New York, and he received there, four years ago, the highest honor among his classmates. Having de-

voted himself to the clerical profession in the Protestant Episcopal church, he pursued his studies in the General Theological Seminary of that church in the city of New York; and in June, 1842, he received the testimonial usually given by the trustees at the completion of the course of study. Not being then of the canonical age for admission to the order of deacons, (which we understand to be twenty one years,) he remained at the seminary another year, devoting himself to the studies connected with his profession. He appears to have been not only diligent and successful in study, but eminently amiable and blameless in his deportment—the pride of his teachers and the joy of his friends. Even those who

* The true issue for the true churchman. A statement of facts in relation to the recent ordination in St. Stephen's Church, New York, by Drs. Smith and Anthon. Harper & Brothers. 8vo. pp. 46.

A Letter to a parishioner, relative to the recent ordination of Mr. Arthur Carey, by Benjamin I. Haight, A. M., Rector of All Saints' Church, New York. James A. Sparks. pp. 22.

A full and true statement of the examination and ordination of Mr. Arthur Carey. Taken from the Churchman of July 8, 15, 22, 29, and August 5, and 12: with an appendix. James A. Sparks. pp. 116.

have been constrained to protest against his admission to the ministry, and who knew him well while connected with the seminary, tell us how strong was their "conviction of the purity and excellence of his Christian character, and of his quiet and studious habits, and of his love for truth."

Mr. Carey, as connected with the parish of St. Peter's, was under the pastoral care of the Rev. Dr. Hugh Smith, in whose Sunday school he was also a teacher. In May last, as the time at which he expected to receive ordination drew near, he applied to his pastor for the necessary certificate, which must needs be signed by the rector and vestry, testifying, among other things, that "he had never written, taught, or held, any thing contrary to the doctrine or discipline of the Protestant Episcopal church." On that occasion Dr. Smith referred to the fact, well understood between them, that Mr. Carey had "embraced the doctrines of the Oxford school;" he informed the young man that those opinions of his would have given serious uneasiness to his pastor, but for the high estimate he had formed of the candidate's moral and spiritual character; and he promised to procure for him the required certificate. Before the paper was called for by Mr. Carey, Dr. Smith was informed of some expressions used by Mr. C., which seemed to make it questionable whether the testimonial could honestly be given to him. Accordingly, Dr. S., at the next interview, which was on the 21st of June, stated to Mr. C. the expressions which had been ascribed to him, and asked for an explanation. This was the commencement of a protracted conversation, in the progress of which Mr. Carey made a frank and full avowal of views which filled his pastor with "astonishment and grief." Dr. Smith declined giving him the certificate at that time, and requested him to call

again the next day. In the mean time, Dr. Smith, for the sake of greater accuracy, wrote down some of the most important views which he had understood Mr. C. to express. The document thus prepared was read to Mr. C. the next day, that if any thing had been misunderstood it might be corrected, and that if, in the freedom and warmth of conversation, any thing had been said inadvertently, it might be withdrawn. The document was accordingly corrected, not by Mr. Carey's hand, but in his presence, and in conformity with his suggestions. As the story depends very much upon this document, we put it upon record, not in the double form in which Dr. Smith has published it, but only as corrected.

"St. Peter's Rectory, June 21, 1843.
Evening.

"In my conversation with Mr. Carey this afternoon, I understood him substantially to admit to me a conversation reputed to have been held, as leading to the general impression that, if union with the ministry of the Protestant Episcopal church of this country were not open to him, he might possibly have recourse to the ministry of Rome—not without pain or difficulty, but still that he did not see any thing to prevent or forbid such an alternative, although he thought it much more likely that he would remain in the communion of our church; and that he could receive all the decrees of Trent, the damnable clauses only excepted.

"2. That he did not deem the differences between us and Rome to be such as embraced any *points of faith*.

"3. That he was not prepared to pronounce the doctrine of transubstantiation an absurd or impossible doctrine; and that he regarded it, as taught within the last hundred years, as possibly meaning no more than what we mean by the real presence, which we most assuredly hold.

"4. That he does not object to the Romish doctrine of purgatory as defined by the Council of Trent, and that he believed that the state into which the soul passed after death was one in which it grows in grace, and can be benefited by the prayers of the faithful and the sacrifice of the altar.

"5. That he was not prepared to consider the church of Rome as no longer an integral or pure branch of the church of Christ; and that he was not prepared to say whether she or the Anglican church

were the more pure: that in some respects *she* had the advantage, in others *we*.

"6. That he regarded the denial of the cup to the laity as a mere matter of discipline, which might occasion grief to him if within her communion, but not as entirely invalidating the administration of the sacrament.

"7. That he admits to have said, or thinks it likely he has said, inasmuch as he so believes, that the Reformation from Rome was an unjustifiable act, and followed by many grievous and lamentable results; he, however, having no question but that a reformation was then necessary, and being far, also, from denying that many good results have followed from it, both to us and Rome.

"8. That while generally subscribing to the sixth article," so that he would not rely for proofs to himself or others, upon passages from books other than canonical, yet he is not disposed to fault the church of Rome in annexing others to these, and in pronouncing them all, in a loose sense, sacred Scripture; nor was he prepared to say that the Holy Spirit did not speak by the books apocryphal. Mr. Carey alleged himself here to have added that this was the doctrine of the homily.

"9. Mr. Carey considered the promise of conformity to the doctrine, discipline, and worship of the Protestant Episcopal church as not embracing the thirty nine articles in any close and rigid construction of them, but regards them only as affording a sort of general basis of concord—as those which none subscribed except with certain mental reservations and private exceptions, and that this was what he regarded as Bishop White's view."—True Issue, pp. 9—11.

After the most deliberate consideration, Dr. Smith arrived at the conclusion, that he could not conscientiously sign the required testimonial. Having communicated this decision first to his friend, Dr. Anthon, by whose approbation it was confirmed, and then to Mr. Carey, his next step was to inform the Bishop. This was done four days afterwards, (June 26,) by presenting to that functionary a brief note, stating that Mr. C.'s testimonial had been refused "on the ground of his *having 'held,'* and now *holding* opinions which are in my [Dr. Smith's] judgment, 'contrary to the

doctrine and discipline of the Protestant Episcopal church.'" But to Dr. Smith's surprise, the Bishop was already informed of the fact, and informed of the document which embodied the grounds of the refusal. Mr. C. or his advisers, had been beforehand with the Dr., and had been in conference with the Bishop. It appeared too, that Mr. Carey was taking effectual measures to obtain from the rector and vestry of Trinity church, the testimonial which he could not obtain from the rector and vestry of his own parish.

On the same day, a few hours afterwards, the trustees of the seminary were in session—a board, of which Drs. Smith and Anthon are members. At that session these gentlemen offered a resolution, that the attention of the examining committee, in the examinations then about to commence, be directed especially "to the points at issue between us and the church of Rome." This was objected to on the ground, that the business of the committee was not to examine, but to attend upon the examination as conducted by the professors, and to report the result. The motion was, by a vote, laid upon the table. Another, to nearly the same effect, met with the same reception. The discussion of these resolutions appears to have been not without some excitement. Dr. Smith is reported (Full and True Statement, p. 102) to have expressed his conviction, that there was in the seminary "an under current of Romanism," and to have 'pledged himself to sustain his assertion, before the church, if necessary, by documentary proof.' Drs. Smith and Anthon were added to the committee, after their motions had been laid on the table, that they might have the opportunity of obtaining satisfaction; and it was suggested to them, that a request to the professors to examine any particular student or

* Art. 6.—Of the Sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for Salvation.

students, with special distinctness on any particular topics, would undoubtedly accomplish their object. This course we are informed was taken; but nothing appears to have been elicited either to prove or to disprove the suspicions which had been excited. Drs. S. and A. were not satisfied with the manner in which the resolutions moved by them had been disposed of. Still less were they satisfied the next day, when a third resolution, requesting that the sermons which the members of the senior class had handed to the professor for inspection, might be laid before the committee—shared the fate of its predecessors, and was laid to sleep with them, like anti-slavery memorials on the tables of Congress.

By this time, all parties, and particularly Drs. S. and A., seem to have felt that matters were verging towards a crisis. "The two Doctors," as the Churchman calls them, were plainly in a minority; the ruling influences were against them. Mr. Carey, having passed through all the canonical formalities, had presented his regular testimonials to the bishop, notwithstanding the refusal which he had met from his own immediate pastor. The Bishop, either because he desired a farther investigation for the satisfaction of his own conscience, or because he felt that some deference was due to the gentlemen in opposition, determined to hold a special examination of Mr. Carey, with the aid of a council of his presbyters. Friday evening, June 30th, the council was assembled. There were in attendance on the Bishop, as his counselors, Drs. Smith, Anthon, Berrian, M'Vickar, and Seabury, and the Rev. Messrs. Haight, Higbee, and Price. Into the details of that examination, we do not propose to enter. "The two Doctors" began with stating, in words which they had written down beforehand, that they had resolved to propose

to the examined, certain written questions, and to request that the answers to the same might also be in writing. Instantly, the suspicion seems to have filled the minds of the council, that written questions and written answers were designed to be the materials of an appeal to the public; and this mode of examination was strenuously opposed. The decision of the Bishop was, that the written questions might be proposed; and that though the candidate should not be required to answer in writing, the questioners might write down his answers, and read their record to the candidate in order to ensure its correctness. Thus conducted, the examination seems to have been attended with considerable excitement among the the presbyters, on both sides, with frequent interruptions, especially by Dr. Seabury, and with some confusion. It seems to have been the object of Drs. Smith and Anthon, to draw from the candidate either an explicit avowal, or a recantation, of the opinions which he had expressed in conversation, and which had been recorded in the "document" which we have transferred to our columns. In this they were not unsuccessful. The difference between the record of the young man's answers as written down by Drs. Smith and Anthon, and the representation of his answers and explanations as given by Drs. Seabury and M'Vickar, and Messrs. Haight and Higbee, does not seem to us to be very material.

The examination having been completed in such fashion as was practicable under the conditions which have been described, the presbyters of the council were severally called on for their opinions as to the fitness of the candidate. Drs. Smith and Anthon objected to his ordination, and intimated the probability of their making written communications on the subject to the Bishop; the others unanimously,

and some of them strenuously, advised that the candidate be ordained. The Bishop declined pronouncing a decision at that time; and after some words of mutual explanation and concession among the presbyters, and some unsuccessful efforts to obtain from the two who were dissatisfied, a pledge not to publish their notes of the examination, the company separated; the "two Doctors" having agreed with the Bishop, that if they had any communication to make, it should be made in writing by one o'clock the next day.

Accordingly, on the next day, Saturday, July 1st, each of those gentlemen addressed a communication to the Bishop, *protesting* against the ordination of Mr. Carey, and desiring to be informed of the Bishop's decision as early as might be, or at all events, early enough to enable them, "if needful"—in Dr. Smith's language—"to take the last and most painful step pointed out by the church."

Sunday morning came, the morning of the day on which the candidates from the Theological Seminary were to be ordained at St. Stephen's church; but no reply had come from the Bishop to tell the protesters whether Mr. Carey was to be ordained with the rest. At an early hour, therefore, notes were addressed to the Bishop, asking once more for information on that point. The reply was in the same words to each:—"It pains me to be obliged to say that the attitude of threatening which you thought proper to assume at the close of your letter of yesterday, precludes the propriety of my replying to it. Yours very truly." A written disclaimer of the construction which the Bishop had put upon their suggestion of a reason for asking information, was hastily dispatched from each of the protesters; and then, as the hour of public worship was already drawing near, they proceeded together to

St. Stephen's, for the purpose of obtaining an interview with the Bishop and renewing the disavowal in person. Thus, at the last moment, they obtained the information that Mr. Carey was to be ordained. In the Sunday school room, where the information so earnestly and humbly sought had been at last vouchsafed to them, they took leave of the Bishop. Thence they went into the church, habited in their official robes, and seated themselves among the people. Morning prayer was read in the usual form, the protesting Doctors uttering the responses duly with the responding people, as set down in the book. The sermon was pronounced; and to that they gave a becoming attention. Next came, according to the arrangements of the day, the ordination service. That we may see precisely what was said and done, let us open the Prayer-book at "the form and manner of making deacons." The Bishop is "sitting in his chair near to the holy table." The candidates, "each of them being decently habited," are presented to him by a priest, "saying these words," from the book,

"Reverend Father in God, I present unto you these persons present, to be admitted deacons."

The Bishop "sitting in his chair," as aforesaid, reads from his Prayer-book, in reply,

"Take heed that the persons whom ye present unto us, be apt and meet for their learning and godly conversation, to exercise their ministry duly to the honor of God, and the edifying of his church."

The priest from his book responds.

"I have so enquired concerning them, and also examined them, and think them so to be."

Then the Bishop, still reading from the book, said "unto the people," who till this precise moment had not been consulted in the premises at all,

"Brethren, if there be any of you who knoweth any impediment, or notable crime, in any of these persons presented to be ordered deacons, for the which he ought not to be admitted to that office, let him come forth in the name of God, and show what the crime or impediment is."

Up to this point in the proceedings, every thing was regular and rubrical. But immediately after these last words had been uttered by the Bishop, there was a response, of which nothing appears in the Prayer-book. Drs. Smith and Anthon arose "in one of the pews in the middle aisle," and read each a separate "protest" from a written paper. Dr. Smith's protest was in these words, (True Issue, p. 35.)

"Upon this solemn call of the church, made by you, reverend father in God, as one of its chief pastors, I, Hugh Smith, Doctor in Divinity, a presbyter of the Protestant Episcopal church in the diocese of New York, and rector of St. Peter's church, come forth, in the name of God, to declare, before Him and this congregation, my solemn conviction and belief, that there is a most serious and weighty impediment to the ordination of Mr. Arthur Carey, who has now been presented to you to be admitted a deacon, founded upon his holding sentiments not conformable to the doctrines of the Protestant Episcopal church in these United States of America, and in too close conformity with those of the church of Rome, as more fully set forth in a protest from me, placed in your hands yesterday. Now, therefore, under a sacred sense of duty to the church, and to its Divine head, who purchased it with his blood, I do again, before God and this congregation, thus solemnly and publicly protest against his ordination to the diaconate.

Dated this 2d day of July, 1843.

HUGH SMITH."

Dr. Anthon's paper, though not in precisely the same form, was to the same effect, beginning, "Reverend Father in God, I, Henry Anthon, Doctor in Divinity, a presbyter," &c.

The ordinary course of proceedings on such occasions having been thus interrupted—not unexpectedly, we may presume—the Bishop rose in his place and replied as follows,

"The accusation now brought against one of the persons presented to be ordered deacons, has recently been fully investigated by me, with the knowledge and in the presence of his accusers, and with the advantage of the valuable aid and counsel of six of the worthiest, wisest, and most learned of the presbyters of this diocese, including the three who are assisting in the present solemnities. The result was, that there was no just ground for rejecting the candidate's application for holy orders. There is consequently no reason for any change in the solemn service of the day, and therefore all these persons, being found meet to be ordered, are commended to the prayers of the congregation."—Full and True Statement, pp. 5, 6.

Immediately upon the utterance of the last word, Bishop Ives of North Carolina, who was assisting the diocesan of New York in the solemnities of that day, commenced the reading of the litany; and at the same moment the protesting presbyters "took their hats," as we are informed by a writer "whose opinion," the Churchman says, "is entitled to the highest consideration"—and then, as we are told by Dr. Seabury himself, "turned their backs on the altar, [*O tempora!*] and the bishops, [*Omnes!*] and walked out of the church." Yet it was done "respectfully," according to their account of the matter, and under the conviction, that the just effect and force of their protest would be impaired by their remaining in the house, and that their "withdrawing would be a protest in acts not less than in words."

It happened most unpropitiously for the loved repose and reserve of the Episcopal church, that just at the time of these occurrences, the editors of the newspapers in the city of New York, were looking about them with more than ordinary solicitude for some new thing. No election, national, state or municipal, was near enough to be a subject of daily and engrossing interest. No debates in Congress, with occasional interludes of fisticuffs and challenges among members from

the more chivalrous regions, filled the public capacity of excitement. No new paroxysm of commercial distress, no murder uncommonly mysterious or horrible, no astounding series of forgeries, no great criminal trial with endless disquisitions on insanity, was aiding the daily sale of newspapers. The Bunker Hill celebration had just had its day; and Mr. Dickens' new work had proved so flat a thing that no body was inquiring what would be in the next number. Consequently, such an occurrence as the ordination of Mr. Carey with the protest of two eminent clergymen against him, on the ground of his being in effect a Roman Catholic, became the town's talk, and filled the newspapers, not only in the city of New York, but every where else. Nor did the arrivals from Europe just about those days help to divert the public attention from these matters. The astounding progress of O'Connell's movement for giving to Popery its natural ascendancy in Ireland—the admired secession of one half of the established church in Scotland—the universal agitation in England about Tractarianism, together with the University censure of Dr. Pusey, himself, at Oxford—gave to an ecclesiastico-religious question of this kind a new and surprising power of interesting the whole people.

Thus the Bishop and his advising and consenting presbyters were suddenly put upon their defense. A matter adjudicated and disposed of by the authorities of the diocese, had somehow got itself appealed as it were to a general council; and unless the Bishop and his counselors should appear and plead, their cause would go by default. Disapprobation of what they had done was beginning to be uttered *semper, ubique, ab omnibus*; and unless they could do something to turn the tide of opinion, they were likely to be overwhelmed. We give them credit for

the boldness, skill, and manfulness with which they have conducted their defense. The Churchman of the week following the ordination contained a communication signed N. E. O., (*Novi-Eboracensis Orderdonk?*) which as it speaks with authority, and is certified by the editor to have proceeded "from a source entitled to the *highest* respect," may be properly regarded as the Bishop's own statement. In the same sheet, the editor, Dr. Seabury, gave his account of the protest at St. Stephen's, which he entitled, a "Disturbance of public worship." In both these articles the protesters are severely handled; though the editor having as yet much less personal feeling than N. E. O., tries to treat them respectfully. Nothing was said respecting the merits of the charge against Mr. Carey; but the attention of readers was adroitly directed towards another question, namely, whether Drs. Smith and Anthon had a right to interrupt the ordination service, at the call of the Bishop, with their protests.

It was now time for the protesters to be heard. They immediately published a note in the daily papers, saying that though they had intended to be silent, "the attacks made on them in the Churchman, left them no alternative between a silence which might be misinterpreted and a full disclosure,"—and that, therefore, "they would lay before the public in a few days a full statement of the case." Their "full statement" was accordingly published, entitled, "The True Issue for the True Churchman." As for the publications which followed in the Churchman, both editorial and from correspondents far and near, we have no room to trace their succession. Suffice it to say here, that as collected in the "Full and True Statement," they make a bulky, but by no means stupid pamphlet. Out of these two pamphlets, together with Mr. Haight's "Letter to a Pa-

rishioner," we have collected with some labor the foregoing narrative, which we are sure is impartial, and which we think is fair.

We now propose to express in the briefest manner possible, some inquiries and impressions of our own, touching the subject matter of this history. This we do in the hope of subserving in our humble way the great interests of "evangelical truth and apostolic order."

The first impression which this controversy makes upon our minds, is, that it is a sudden manifestation of divisions which have heretofore been studiously veiled from the public eye. Such controversies as this—so serious, so impassioned, so involved in great principles—however suddenly they may break out, do not break out among those who up to that moment are entirely agreed. Undoubtedly, Drs. Smith and Anthon are both Churchmen—high Churchmen, if they please to be called by that name. Undoubtedly they both believe in baptismal regeneration, and in the exclusive validity of Episcopal ordination, and of ordinances administered by Episcopalian clergymen. We dare say they have had little sympathy with the thoroughly evangelical party—small enough this side of Philadelphia—of which the late Dr. Bedell, may be taken as a representative. At the same time, nothing can be plainer to the reader of these pamphlets, than that for some time past Drs. Smith and Anthon have been anticipating the arrival of a crisis in the affairs of the communion with which they are connected. They talk about "the Church as she was," and "a growing indifference to those great principles, for which, at the era of the Reformation, martyrs died." They ask, "shall a stand at last be made, and will Churchmen finally rally in defense of their own principles and standards?" They say, "a great issue has been joined through circumstances apparently at

once casual and trivial." This is not the language of men who have been surprised into a controversy with those whom they have all along regarded as of the same opinion in all things with themselves. So, on the other hand, the manner of the writers in the Churchman towards these gentlemen, is very much like the venting of an ancient and long festering dislike. Dr. Seabury, in his first editorial was evidently restraining himself and laboring to be courteous. But as the controversy proceeds, he gradually forgets his reserve. He almost calls Dr. Smith a fool. He pronounces him "incompetent to apprehend, and much more to express the operations of a mind so vastly superior to his own as Mr. Carey's." He tells of "the weakness and vanity, and fidgetiness, and gossiping propensities of Dr. Hugh Smith." To Dr. Anthon he imputes some personal prejudice, pronouncing him "the very last man whom Mr. C. would have chosen for his judge." The key to this enigma we find in the very last sentence of the pamphlet, where a correspondent of the Churchman tells us that Mr. C. "entered Columbia College in the Sophomore class, in which at the time, a young man of great talent and worth, the son of the Rev. Dr. Anthon, held the highest rank, and Mr. Carey carried off the palm at the conclusion of the course." We quote this, not to pronounce upon the meanness that uses such weapons in such a controversy, but only to say that the dislike which vents itself in this way is of no sudden or accidental growth.

Much has been said within a few years past, to set forth the harmony and "repose" of the Episcopal church. Other great Christian communions have been agitated with questions and strifes. But "*our* church," it has been said, enjoys peace in all her borders; such is the efficacy of an episcopal government and a venerable liturgy. Here and

there a verdant youth has been wrought upon by these representations, and has actually gone over to the Episcopal church as a haven of rest where no din of controversy was ever to disturb him. Few, however, have been thus imposed upon. The speculative have known that there must be—and the observing have seen that there were—diversities of opinion among Episcopalians, on questions of doctrine and questions of policy, diversities not unattended with various degrees of alienation and mutual dislike, and which in due time, must needs take wind and blaze forth into controversy. The present controversy may be got under; and the thin veil may again be spread over the elements of division, but those elements will be there still, ready to blaze out again when some free wind shall blow upon them.

Our next observation is, that Drs. Smith and Anthon, considered as ministers of the gospel, were clearly right in opposing the introduction of Mr. Carey to the office and work of a religious teacher. We do not charge Mr. C. or his friends with Romanism. So far as we recollect, every doctrine which they hold, offensive to the protesters, is as much a doctrine of the Greek church as of the Latin. We doubt not that they sincerely reject what they recognize as the errors and abuses of Rome,—and first and chiefly, the claims of the Pope to be recognized as Christ's vicar, the center of unity to the universal church, and the infallible arbiter of controversies. Mr. C.'s saying that if he were refused admission to the ministry of the Protestant Episcopal church, he "*might possibly*" become a Papist, is far from making him a Papist now. It is little more than saying that he could not tell what course his mind would take, in circumstances of unexpected and peculiar trial. But we are clear in the opinion that the man who has

been so ill taught as to say that he could receive the decrees of the Council of Trent, the damnatory clauses excepted—the man who has studied to so little purpose that he is not prepared either to deny or positively to affirm the "grave doctrines" in which the standards of the church of England differ from the solemn decisions and established formularies of the church of Rome—the man whose four years of theological study have left him in doubt whether the story of Bel and the Dragon, or that of Tobit and the fish, may not be a veritable piece of inspired Scripture—the man who, after all his studies believes that the souls of the faithful departed are to be prayed for by the faithful on earth, and may be benefited by the "sacrifice of the altar," and who at the same time would not deny, that departed saints may also be prayed to, as intercessors before God, with the petition, "pray for us,"—that man, though he were more learned than Baronius, more profound than Thomas Aquinas, more eloquent than Peter the hermit, and more saintly than Simeon Stylites, is not fit to be entrusted with the function of preaching the gospel of the grace of God.

Another point equally clear, if we rightly understand the constitution, history and position of the church of England, and of the Anglican church in the United States, is, that as ministers of that church, Drs. Smith and Anthon have been greatly in the wrong.

(1.) The theory of that church is, that the entire power of ordaining men to the work of the ministry, is with the bishops. In practice, the exercise of that power is limited by constitutions and canons, each diocesan church having a constitution and canons of its own, additional to those of the national church or co-association of dioceses. It appears that, by the canons, Bishop Onderdonk was forbidden to ordain Mr.

Carey, without a certificate, in a certain form, subscribed by the rector and vestry of his own or of some other parish. When Dr. Smith had arrived at the conclusion that Mr. Carey was holding opinions contrary to the doctrine of the Protestant Episcopal church, it was right for him to refuse the certificate, which no canon required him to subscribe contrary to his own conviction in regard to the facts. When he had refused the certificate, it seems to have been proper to communicate the fact of his refusal and the reasons of it to the Bishop. But there his responsibility appears to have ended. When Dr. Smith applied to his friend Dr. Anthon for advice, it was right for Dr. A. to give advice according to his best judgment, and there his responsibility ended. When the Bishop determined to hold a special examination in the case of Mr. Carey, and invited those two presbyters to be of the council that was to advise him on that occasion, then a new responsibility was imposed on them by the act of the Bishop. In that examination, it was right for them to do their utmost towards bringing out palpably before the Bishop those opinions of Mr. Carey's which they deemed contrary to the doctrine of the church; and then it was right for them, as members of the council, to give their opinion and advice when called for. But when this had been done, and the council (which was created only to give its advice to the Bishop) had ceased to exist, their responsibility ceased. What more had they to do in the matter? Was it their duty to oversee the Bishop, and make him do right? Should he do wrong, would they be answerable for that wrong, either to the church or to God? They seem to have supposed that they were members of a presbytery, or at least to have supposed that some portion of the ordaining power was directly or indirectly in their hands.

As to that call in the form of ordination, to which these two gentlemen responded with their protests, we have only to say, that most palpably it is a call for information. Certainly it is not a call for protests founded on alleged facts which the Bishop has already investigated to his own satisfaction, and on which he has formed a definitive judgment. The bishop is the ordaining power, and from his decision in a case of ordination there is no appeal. A protest, therefore, against his proceeding to carry into effect his own decision in a case which he had deliberately and formally investigated, was a mere impertinence. The minister of the Gospel who consents to exercise his ministry under the regulations of the Episcopal church, does so with his eyes open. He goes into that connection for the very reason that there the Bishop of the diocese is the sole ordainer of inferior ministers. He goes thither for the very reason that there he, as an inferior minister, is to have no potential voice and no responsibility in determining who shall take part with him in that ministry. His protest then, in a case which happens to be determined contrary to his judgment, is only a blotting of paper which a more considerate man would have saved for some better use.

If the Bishop, in the exercise of his ordaining power, violates the constitution and canons of the church, he is of course responsible for that violation. He may be regularly prosecuted; he may be brought to trial before a council of neighboring Bishops; he may be judicially censured, or even deposed, according to the extent of his delinquency. Such is the course which these gentlemen ought to have taken with their Bishop, if they considered him guilty of a violation of the compact between him and his diocese. Their protest, their publication, their statement of "the true issue for the true churchman,"—we can make nothing of all

that, but an appeal against their Bishop to the people. As if the people had any thing to do or to say in a question of ordination.

(2.) There is another view which is to our minds equally conclusive. The reformation of the Anglican church, as completed and established under Queen Elizabeth, was distinctly designed not to expel or exclude from the ministry of the church such men as Mr. Carey. A strong infusion of sound evangelical or Protestant doctrine was put into the articles and the homilies, and evangelical preaching was tolerated, provided the preacher would closely conform to the canons and the rubrics. On the other hand, the liturgy, and to some extent the homilies, and even the articles, were—we do not say Popish or Romish, but—“Catholic;” and no pains were spared to conciliate and retain in the church every man who was willing to renounce the Pope’s supremacy, to subscribe the articles, to obey the canons, and to perform the worship of the liturgy as purified and translated. Thus the reformation of the English church was essentially a compromise, or an attempted compromise, between opposite opinions. It was designed to include on the one hand the most extreme Protestantism short of that which rejected the hierarchy, the vestments and the ceremonies, and on the other hand the most extreme Catholicity short of Romanism. And from the age of the Reformation to the present day, nothing in the history of the Anglican church is more striking than its great toleration, to say the least, towards such opinions as Mr. Carey’s. Queen Elizabeth herself was so much of a Catholic, that she had a crucifix to aid her devotions, and would never consent to legalize the marriage of the clergy. In the following age, the Calvinistic Arch-

bishop Abbott was succeeded by the Catholic Archbishop Laud; and the moderate and evangelical Archbishop Usher was contemporary with both. After the restoration, Archbishop Leighton was contemporary with ever so many Bishops and Archbishops of the Laudean school. How is it with the church of England now? Does the avowal of such opinions as Mr. Carey’s operate either to deprive a clergyman of his preferments, or to prevent the ordination of a candidate? To come nearer home, how is it—how has it always been with the Anglican American church? Was not Bishop Seabury its first bishop? And was not the church constituted and organized as one church by a compromise between opinions as variant as those of Bishop Seabury and those of Bishop White? Is not the most catholic Bishop Doane contemporary with the evangelical Bishop McIlvaine; and in the house of Bishops, has not one of these prelates as many rights as the other? Nay, what opinion has Mr. Carey been proved to hold, which can not be found plainly asserted in that standard work, edited by Bishop Whittingham, Palmer on the Church?

We say then, in conclusion, that Drs. Smith and Anthon, in protesting against the ordination of Mr. Carey, and in appealing to the public against the action of their Bishop, have forgotten their position, and have acted more like free ministers of the gospel of Christ, than like Episcopalian presbyters. The result will therefore be, that they will find the Bishop and the church too strong for them. The protests and appeal will react against their authors. Mr. Carey, instead of being put down, as a Papist obtruding himself among Protestants, will be honored and esteemed as almost a confessor, and, if he lives long enough, will be a Bishop.

LITERARY NOTICES.

Discourse before the Alumni of Yale College, August 16, 1843. By HORACE BUSHNELL, D. D., Pastor of the North Congregational Church, Hartford, Conn. New Haven, published by A. H. Maltby; pp. 39, 8vo.

THE professed subject of this splendid effusion of genius, is "the moral Tendencies and Results of Human History." A more appropriate title, perhaps, would be—the Natural History of Morality, considered both as an ideal principle, and as a practical law. The author's first position is, that "the order of nature is, what is physical first, what is moral afterwards." This he illustrates with his usual felicity, in the progress of the new-born infant, the natural world, language, religion, and civil government. His next and main position is, "that it is the great problem of human history to enthrone the moral element—that is, the element of virtue." After a passing remark on the great aim and object of the institution, whose Alumni he was addressing, he proceeds to illustrate his main position, by showing how the moral element of our being may be strengthened and made predominant.

"Virtue," he says, "is twofold. It includes an inward principle, and an outward conduct or manifestation." As an inward principle, it is "an *idea* of the mind—a simple, eternal, immutable idea, viz. *right*." All virtue, and all religion, consist in obedience to the law of this one idea. As an outward conduct or manifestation, virtue is a *mere form of action*, representing and exhibiting the eternal and immutable *idea* which is the *substance* of virtue; just as the mathematician's diagrams are forms and representations of his ideal right lines, circles, &c. But

on account of the endless complexity of the forms and relations of human actions, it is often difficult to distinguish what forms are "useful, equal, true, beautiful," in a word, what forms best express the *idea of right*. And hence the rules for virtuous action are indefinite, obscure, mere approximations to a perfect code, and liable to change according to the state of society in which men are placed.

According to the twofold nature of virtue, "there are two ways in which it may possibly advance its power, and only two;" viz. by invigorating the *conscience*, or the dominion of the *idea* which is the *internal principle* of virtue; and by quickening and disciplining the power of discriminating those *forms of action* which best display the beautiful characteristics of virtue. We will, therefore, *first*, show, in a general way, that the moral element in man is actually subject to these two laws of advancement; and then describe three distinct *forces*—the Greek, the Roman, and the Christian, entering most vigorously into this progress.

In the infancy of the race, as in that of an individual, the reflective habit is deficient; and virtue is impulsive, or the result of feeling, rather than the result of deliberation. But as the mind becomes reflective in its habit, it perceives distinctly the imperative law of right, and "discovers remorse coiled up as a wounded snake and hissing under the throne of the mind." The cultivation of mathematics and of the exact sciences, likewise, "gives greater verity to *ideas* and to laws of mental necessity, and so to the law of the conscience." "Next, *public law* becomes a rigid science," establishing rules of right and wrong, and weighing merit and demerit in

her balance. And if a condition of liberty be achieved, the tone of moral obligation is the more strengthened. Such are some of the stages of advance in "the moral tone of the conscience."

But the *outward code* of virtue must also be perfected, or virtue can not enjoy vigorous health. Of course, this code is continually revised, refined, and enlarged. For, as an outward code, "it is no fixed immutable thing, as many suppose. Custom is its interpreter, and it grows up in the same way as the common or civil law, or the law merchant, by a constant process of additions and refinements." Not that virtue itself is a mutable thing. But as it is a mere *idea* of the mind, commanding the *right* and forbidding the *wrong*, it lies not in the outward actions themselves, any more than time in the clock that measures it, but only in the *form* of actions as manifesting its eternal and immutable laws. The statutes of the revealed law of God are of two kinds, *positive* and *permissive*. The former are eternal and immutable in their obligation; but the latter change with the advancement of society. "Angelic law is possible only to angelic advancement." God must train man gradually, and wait long for his advancement to such perfection, that his moral taste shall "approximate to a coincidence with the perfect moral taste of God himself." If we look at the faults of Noah, Abraham, Jacob, &c., "it was not so much sin as barbarism, that marred their history." And the harsh features of the Jewish moral code gradually became more mild, till at length Christianity infused into it "benevolence and forbearance," and "the Jew is lost in the man, and the man becomes a brother of his race."

What we see in sacred history, is equally visible in the general history of man. "The moral code of a savage people has always something

to distinguish it as a savage people's code. So with that of a civilized. The very changes and inventions of society necessitate an amplification and often a revision of the moral code. Every new state, office, art, and thing, must have its law." "If bills of exchange are invented, if money is coined, if banks are established, and offices of insurance, if great corporate investments are introduced into the machinery of business, it will not be long before a body of moral opinions will be generated, and take the form of law over these new creations. Fire arms, also, printing, theaters, distilled spirits, cards, dice, medicine—all new products and inventions must come under moral maxims, and create to themselves a new moral jurisprudence. The introduction of popular liberty makes the subject a new man, lays upon him new duties, which require to be set forth in new maxims of morality." New arts and inventions often so change the relations of old things and practices, as to require a revision of their laws. The Jew may rightfully take his interest money now; for he lives in a new world, and sustains new relations. And we are now "revising the moral code in reference to three very important subjects—wine, slavery, and war." Look also at the international code, the law of nations. It originated with Hugo Grotius, about two centuries ago, and how has it changed the whole intercourse of nations! Commercial and municipal law, too, have made equal advances. "The world has become another world. Anarchy and absolute will are put aside, to suffer the dominion of scientific justice. The nations are become to a great extent, one empire. The citizen of one country may travel and trade in almost every other. Wars are mitigated in ferocity, and military preparations begin to wear the semblance of antiquated usages."

Such progress is seen in the history of the past. "What now is to come? By what future events and changes shall the work go on to its completion?" Of the forces that have been at work some were temporary in their effects, as the Gothic irruptions, the crusades, the feudal system, the free cities, and their commerce: but there are three other forces which still continue to act, and will ever act; namely, the Greek æsthetic discipline, the Roman law, and the Christian faith. "These must always work on together, as they have done up to this time, to assist the triumph of the moral element."

The Greek character lacked a moral tone. The best of her philosophers "were charmed with virtue, rather as the fair than as the right." "At the same time, their sense of beauty in forms, their faculty of outward criticism is perfect." Hence, every thing they do or write, "is subtle, ethereal, beautiful, and cold;" they were "blind to the real nature and power of the moral element. And yet this people have done a work in their way, which is essential to the triumph of virtue. Their sense of beauty, their nice discriminations of art and poetic genius, are contributions made to the outward life and law of virtue." For, "to mature the code of action, and finish its perfect adaptation to the expression of virtue, and render it the ornament of life, requires a power of form, or of outward criticism in full development. Considered in this view it is impossible to overrate the value of the Greek art."

"As the ideal of the Greeks was beauty, so that of the Romans was law and scientific justice." "It was a distinction of the Roman people, that they had a strong sense of moral principle. They would feel the authority of what some call an abstraction, and suffer its rigid away. Their conscience had the tone of a

trumpet in their bosoms." This may be owing, in part, to their strict military discipline, which requires implicit obedience, and subjects every action to rigid law: in part, also, to their religion which acknowledged "gods that kept their integrity," and "erected temples to the mere ideals of virtue, Faith, Concord, Modesty, Peace." The sobriety, frugality, and all the rigid virtues of rural agricultural life, in the intervals of war, conducted to the same end. Witness Cato, the Censor. "Roman virtue, therefore, became a proverb, to denote that strength of principle which can bend to no outward obstacle or seduction." "In her civil code she has erected the mightiest monument of reason and of moral power that has ever yet been raised by human genius."

"Such is the moral value of the Greek art and literature, such of the Roman law—one as a contribution to the outward form of virtue, the other to the authority and power of the moral sentiment itself." "It remains to speak of a third power, descending from above, to bring the Divine life into history and hasten that moral age, towards which its lines are ever converging." "In religion, in Christianity, we view God himself as coming into mental contemplation, as objective to the intellect and heart, and operating thus as a moral cause. Here he shows, above us an external government of laws and retributions connected with the internal law of the conscience; opens worlds of glory and pain beyond this life; presents himself as an object of contemplation, fear, love, and desire; reveals his own infinite excellence and beauty, and withal, his tenderness and persuasive goodness; and so pours the Divine life into the dark and soured bosom of sin." But Grecian æsthetic criticism and Roman ennoblement of law were necessary, to render the great excellence and beauty of Christianity intelligible. And hence

Jesus Christ did not make his appearance, "till the Greek letters and the Roman sovereignty were extended through the world."

"I will not trace the historical action of Christianity, or show how it has subordinated and wrought in all other causes, such as I have named." Every one knows that it has pervaded and moulded every department of society, and, after reigning for eighteen hundred years, "has made us what we are in art, literature, commerce, law, and liberty." "I will only point you to a single symptom of the times: all the old rules of morality which hung upon the colder principle of justice, are suffering a revision, to execute the principle of love, and every thing in public law and private duty is coming to the one test of *beneficence*."

"Here I will rest my argument. I undertook to show you that human history ascends from the physical to the moral, and must ultimately issue in a moral age. What stupendous events and overturnings are, hereafter, to come pouring their floods into the currents of human history, we can not know or conjecture:" but the "three great moral forces already described—the Greek, the Roman, and the Christian, being indestructible, must roll on down the whole future of man, and work their effects in his history." "I anticipate no perfect state, such as fills the overheated fancy of certain dreamers. The perfectibility of man is forever excluded, here, by the tenure of his existence." "But a day will come when the dominion of ignorance and physical force, when distinctions of blood and the accidents of fortune will cease to rule the world. Beauty, reason, science, personal worth and religion will come into their rightful supremacy, and moral forces will preside over physical, as mind over the body." Then liberty and equality will be greatly advanced. Policy will give place to equity and reason. Wars

will be discontinued. Temperance and better habits will much improve the physical man, and the comforts of life will be multiplied. And the era of genius will begin. "The old leaden atmosphere of a physical age will be displaced by an intellectual atmosphere." "But what is the greatest pre-eminence, it shall come to pass, that, as the ideal of the Greeks was beauty, and that of the Romans law; so this new age shall embrace an ideal more comprehensive, as it is higher than all, namely, Love: a love embracing all that is beneficent, pure, true, beautiful—God, man, eternity, time."

The discourse concludes with an address to the Alumni, exhorting them to have faith in the future, to look away from the past, to foster all attempts to improve our race; and, as scholars, to strive "to be lawgivers, bringing forth to men the determinations of reason, and assisting them to construct the science of goodness."

This brief summary of the leading positions in the discourse, can give but an imperfect view of its many new and original thoughts, which, whatever may be thought of the correctness of a portion of them, must be acknowledged to be expressed with all the fascinations of style for which the ingenious author is distinguished.

Pictorial History of the United States, from the discovery of the Northmen in the Tenth Century, to the present time. By JOHN FROST, A. M., Professor of Belles Letters in the High School of Philadelphia. Embellished with three hundred engravings, from original drawings, by W. Croome. Published by E. H. Butler, Philadelphia.

THE typographical execution of this work is very neat, and the pictorial embellishments as far as we have examined them, are well de-

signed. The only part of the history, which we have read, is that in which an account is given of the first settlement of the colony of New Haven. It is contained in the two following paragraphs:

"Settlements were constantly forming; and new emigrants arriving from England. In the summer of 1637, John Davenport, a celebrated London minister, arrived at Boston, accompanied by several merchants and other persons of respectability. But they did not find in Massachusetts sufficient room for the many emigrants they expected to follow them, and therefore requested of their friends in Connecticut to purchase for them, from the natives of the soil, all the land lying between the Connecticut and the Hudson rivers. This purchase was in part effected, and in the autumn a journey was made to Connecticut by some of the company, who erected a hut at Quinnipiack, where several men passed the winter. The rest of the company sailed from Boston in the spring following, and soon reached the desired port. They kept their first Sabbath under a large spreading oak, April 18th. In November, the colonists received the land from Momanguin, sachem of the country, in consideration of being protected by the English from hostile Indians. Davenport promised to protect him and his tribe, and obtained a sufficient quantity of land to plant, on the east side of the harbor. The next month, the colonists purchased another tract to the north of the former; and soon after laid out a town in squares, on the plan of a spacious city, to which they gave the name of New Haven.

"The colonists at New Haven at first acknowledged the authority of Massachusetts: but as they were evidently without the limits of that colony's patent, they convened an Assembly early the next year, (1639,) and established a constitution of independent powers. The same year, the colony at Hartford formed a constitution similar to that of New Haven: and the two colonies remained distinct until 1661, when they were united under the new charter. The union thus effected rendered the colonies formidable to the Dutch, and the Indians, and also secured greater harmony and peace among themselves." Vol. I, pp. 202, 203.

This short narrative is somewhat remarkable for the number of errors which it contains; some of which we will notice. It is said, that "the colonists of New Haven at first acknowledged the authority of Massa-

chusetts." This is a mistake. It was the object of these colonists, when they left Massachusetts, to establish themselves without the jurisdiction of any previous English settlement; and neither they nor the people of Massachusetts, ever supposed that Quinnipiack was within "the limits of that colony's patent." So far were the colonists at New Haven from acknowledging the authority of Massachusetts, that they maintained an entirely independent government from the first planting of their colony till a tardy acknowledgment of Charles II, after his restoration. We are told, that "the colonists received the land from Momanguin, sachem of the country, in consideration of being protected by the English from hostile Indians." This consideration is, indeed, mentioned in the deed conveying the territory of Quinnipiack to the colonists; but what the Indians probably considered as a substantial part of the compensation, consisted of articles of clothing, and various utensils to be used for domestic purposes, or in agriculture. The name of the sachem was not Momanguin, but Momauguin, or Momaugin.

The historian says, that "Davenport promised to protect him [the sachem] and his tribe, and obtained a sufficient quantity of land to plant, on the east side of the harbor." The fact is, that the colonists covenanted, that "if at any time hereafter, they [the Indians] be affrighted in their dwellings assigned by the English unto them as before, they may repair to the English plantation for shelter; and that the English will there, *in a just cause*, endeavor to defend them from wrong. But in any quarrel or wars which they shall undertake, or have with other Indians upon any occasion whatever, they will manage their affairs by themselves, without expecting any aid from the English." This was all the protection promised. It was the Indians, not the English, who

were to have land to plant "on the east side of the harbor." The land acquired by the English was west of the river Quinnipiack. We are told, that the colonists "kept their first Sabbath under a large spreading oak, April 18th." April 18th, 1638, was Wednesday. There is in Trumbull, in the account of this fact, a typographical error. It should be April 15th.

It is further stated, that "the two colonies [Connecticut and New Haven] remained distinct until 1661, when they were united under the new charter." The charter was not granted till April, 1662, and the union took place in 1665. Judging from this specimen of the history, we should infer, that in the composition of it, the proper authorities had been but rarely and very imperfectly consulted.

A Sermon delivered before the Pastoral Association of Massachusetts, in Park street Church, Boston, May 30th, 1843. By MARK HOPKINS, D. D., President of Williams College. Published by request of the Association. Boston, Tappan & Dennet, 1843.

THE terms of high commendation in which this discourse was spoken of by those who heard it, and by the press, was not an extravagant tribute to the taste, wisdom, and piety which beam out on every page. After explaining with much simplicity and truthfulness the meaning of his text—God is a Spirit; and they that worship him, must worship him in spirit and in truth—Dr. Hopkins proceeds to exhibit the characteristics of acceptable worship, and the best means of promoting it. To worship God acceptably, we must worship him in *spirit*, and in *truth*. To worship him in spirit, we must worship him *as a Spirit*—we must worship him as a *holy God*—and we must worship him *with* the spirit. To worship him in truth, we must

worship him with *sincerity*. Acceptable worship not only includes these distinguishing views and affections, but excludes "every species of superstition," as that "of place, of forms, of priestly intervention, and of the substitution of offerings, and bodily sufferings for moral qualities." "The simple words of the text, received by the church, would sweep away at once every form and vestige of superstition, and all hypocrisy. *Superstition* and *hypocrisy*—these have always been the great sources of corruption to the church." Such being the characteristics of spiritual worship, how may it be best promoted? "The answer to this question," says Dr. Hopkins, "must be drawn either from the Bible, or from the constitution of man. But these conspire in teaching us that the worship of God in spirit and in truth, can be promoted only by presenting to the mind the character of God, as a spiritual and holy being, as a Father, a Redeemer, and Sanctifier, in such affecting lights as to call forth suitable emotions, and a right course of moral action toward him. All truly religious emotion must be called forth in view of some manifestation of the character of God, and it is only as that is presented either directly or indirectly, that any thing can be done to improve the religious character, or to promote acceptable worship." "But here the question arises, are we required by the Bible, or by the nature of man, to address these faculties alone? May not other faculties and principles of our nature be cultivated in connection with them, not merely incidentally, as many of them must be, but systematically?" May not religion be promoted "by addressing the senses and the imagination by means of forms and ceremonies; or secondly, by an appeal to the imagination, and to taste, through the fine arts; or thirdly, by an appeal to the principle of association; or fourthly, to

the social principle and the affections?" How Dr. Hopkins treats these inquiries may be seen from the following specimen: "We next inquire whether we may not take advantage of the principle of association to aid devotion, and especially of that well-known fact, that our ideas of things invisible, become more vivid and affecting, when they are associated with sensible objects. Has not our Savior himself, taken advantage of this principle in instituting the sacraments? and may we not follow his example and carry out the same principle in other things? Will not a cross, erected or represented in the church, remind us of our Savior's sufferings? Will not consecrated water at the door, remind us of our need of purification? Will not incense ascending, give us an affecting sense of the efficacy of prayer? Will not a relic of some ancient saint, remind us of his virtues, and lead us to imitate them? May we not usefully set apart, as they did under the old dispensation, a particular form of vestment in which the ministers of religion shall officiate, and which shall be associated in the minds of the people only with the solemn services of religion? May we not in these and many more ways, employ this principle to aid true devotion? It is not surprising that this should have been attempted. Probably it has been done in most instances from good motives, but the result has shown that 'the foolishness of God is wiser than men.' It might have seemed to the wisdom of man that to have the body of their great prophet buried among them, and a monument erected over it, would remind the ancient Israelites of their deliverance from Egypt, and of the law he gave. But God buried him where no man knoweth of his sepulchre till this day. He left no relic or vestige of him to be a source of superstition in other days. This shows his estimate of the principle,

and the results where this has been attempted, are such as to make us feel, that though it may be sometimes innocent, it is always dangerous, and to lead us to observe only those forms which the Savior instituted as necessary to the visibility of his church. When we see at this day, a whole city moved because a bone of a good man who died some 1400 years ago, is, or is supposed to be found; and when we see the dignitaries of a church performing over it ceremonies, and carrying it in pompous procession; and when we see the same people burning Bibles, and persecuting those who would enlighten the people, we feel that we can not be too careful how we take the first step towards a degeneracy, and a perversion of the gospel so awful. The question is, not whether the principle of association shall operate in connection with religion. It will, and must do so in connection with the visibility of the church in any form, and around that church associations the most tender, and hallowed, and enduring, will cluster. But it is, whether we are to adopt the principle and act upon it as a system. No doubt it gives the church a strong hold upon the people. It enables her to fix a stamp early and firmly on the minds of the young; but that stamp is the mark of the beast, and not the seal of the spirit. It is one great instrument by which the systems of heathen superstition are sustained and riveted. It always has led to superstition, and it always will." This discourse can not have too wide a circulation—it ought to have the widest. It is emphatically a "word in season"—an able and well-timed argument in favor of spiritual Christianity.

Travels in Egypt, Arabia Petraea, and the Holy Land. By REV. STEPHEN OLIN, D. D., President of the Wesleyan University.—With twelve illustrations on steel.

In two volumes. Published by Harper & Brothers, 82 Cliff st., New York, 1843.

DR. OLIN, traveled for his health. Leaving home in the spring of 1837, he spent his first year abroad in Paris, then six or eight months in London, then after a journey through Belgium and France, three months in Rome. The decease of his wife soon after at Naples, determined him to visit the East, "chiefly with the hope of finding in the vicissitudes of travel, and in communing with scenes consecrated by great events, some relief from this overwhelming calamity." He embarked at Trieste, for Athens, in November, 1839, visited Syra, then Alexandria, Cairo, Thebes, Memphis, and other ancient cities of Egypt. From Cairo he proceeded to Petra, by the way of Suez, Sinai, Akabah, at the head of the gulf of the same name, and thence to the Holy Land. After visiting almost every locality, made interesting by the events of sacred history, he embarked at Beyroot for home, taking Smyrna, Constantinople, and Vienna, in his way, and proceeding through France and England to this country. Dr. Olin seemed to be fully conscious of the difficulty of contributing any thing new to the general stock of information respecting the East, which is to be found in the writings of a long succession of travelers. He therefore wrote not for the benefit of oriental scholars, but as he informs us in his preface, for "a sphere of usefulness in a circulation more strictly popular." He modestly remarks, that "peculiarities of manner, or in his relations to society, will sometimes enable a writer, otherwise of no high pretensions, to cross the circumference of the fashionable literary circle, and address a new audience." This is certainly a sufficient apology if any was required in his case, for giving to the public a new work of travels in

these countries. Such are "his relations to society" that his book will find thousands of readers, who will derive their first knowledge of many of the antiquities and customs of the East from this source; and by creating a taste for reading enlarge the "literary circle." But no such apology was needed. The book contains things new and valuable, enough to entitle it to a respectable place among the contributions to oriental literature. Although a journal of travels along well-known routes, must necessarily consist chiefly of familiar descriptions, yet to these Dr. Olin has added his own observations, characterized in general by strong sense and discrimination, and embodying every thing of much interest to intelligent readers.

Congregational Order. The Ancient Platforms of the Congregational Churches of New England; with a Digest of Rules and Usages in Connecticut, and an Appendix, containing Notices of Congregational Bodies in other States. Published by Edwin Hunt, Hartford.

THIS work comes from the General Association of Congregational Ministers in Connecticut. It embraces the Cambridge and Saybrook Platforms, with a Digest of Rules and Usages in Connecticut, and the Constitutions, Rules, and By-Laws of the principal Congregational bodies in other States of the Union. The new parts of the work were written by a committee appointed for the purpose by the General Association—the Digest of Rules and Usages, by Leonard Bacon, D. D.—the Historical account of the origin and progress of the ecclesiastical system of the Congregationalists of Connecticut, by D. D. Field, D. D.—and the account of the degree in which their ecclesiastical order is now conformed to the principles of the Saybrook Platform, by the Rev.

T. P. Gillett. The work thus presents a very full and distinct view of what Congregationalism has been and now is in New England. A general circulation among ministers and church-members is much to be desired.

ments which have been made in these branches of biblical learning. We notice among the distinguished scholars who assist Mr. Kitto, by furnishing articles for the work, the names of Neander, Nicholson, and Tholuck.

Our Country and our Work: A Discourse delivered at the Tabernacle, June 18, 1843. By SAMUEL M. WORCESTER, A. M., Pastor of the Tabernacle church, Salem, Mass. Published by request.

THIS Discourse is devoted to the cause of Home Missions; and exhibits in a forcible manner the paramount claims of this enterprise, on American Christians. The excellent author justly regards these claims as more pressing, and the interests involved as more momentous than those which belong to any other field of Christian effort. It is pleasing to meet with such indications of intelligent interest in this cause; and especially to witness such well directed means of extending the interest among the members of our churches. It will occasion no small disappointment to men of discernment and foresight among us if the income of the A. H. M. S. should fail to be doubled or trebled in 1844.

Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature.

By JOHN KITTO, Editor of the Pictorial Bible, &c., &c. Assisted by various able scholars and divines.

MR. MARK H. NEWMAN, of New York, is rendering a valuable service to the Christian public, particularly to ministers of the gospel, by republishing in numbers this excellent work. We have no other single work which embraces the subjects of biblical criticism and interpretation, history, geography, archæology, and physical science, with all the modern discoveries and improve-

The Anabasis of Xenophon: chiefly according to the text of L. Dindorf; with notes: for the use of Schools and Colleges. By JOHN J. OWEN, Principal of the Cornelius Institute, N. Y. Published by Leavitt & Trow, New York; Crocker & Brewster, Boston; A. H. Maltby, New Haven.

MR. OWEN deserves the gratitude of the public for giving to our youth a corrected text with good notes, of this entertaining history. A map of the route of the army is still a great desideratum. We hope it will be in the editor's power to furnish, in his next edition, this indispensable help to clear conceptions.

The Poets of Connecticut, with Biographical Sketches. Edited by the Rev. C. W. EVEREST. Published by Case, Tiffany & Burnham: Hartford, 1843.

MR. EVEREST, the editor of this volume, is an Episcopal clergyman in Hamden, Conn., a gentleman already favorably known to the public for his attainments in polite literature; and particularly as a poet. He has, for the most part, executed his task, in this instance, with good taste and judgment. A few passages have fallen under our notice which he will probably perceive the justice of excluding from future editions. The remark that the poetry of Percival "seems without art," is particularly unfortunate, since the publication of "The Dream of a Day, and other poems"—unfortunate indeed at any time. The plan of the work restricts the honor of being a poet of Connecticut to native citi-

zens. No better rule could have been adopted; yet the absence of the name of Timothy Dwight, a name almost identical with Connecticut literature, throws a shade of suspicion on the propriety of the title. In determining who are "entitled, on the score of merit, to a place in this volume," Mr. E. has thought fit to deny the distinction to few Connecticut versifiers. Almost all "attempts" have found their reward in this niche of fame; and crowds of other men and women might have earned an equal right to the honor, by a few contributions to the newspapers. The biographical sketches are all of them very brief; yet this is as much as the editor could do without diminishing the sale of his book nearly in the proportion in which it became larger and more expensive. We could not, however, avoid a feeling of disappointment in several instances, especially on finding only half a page devoted to E. P. Mason, whose talents and character, if fully portrayed, would add an inexpressible interest to the beautiful specimens which he has left of his poetic genius.

One Faith: or Bishop Doane vs. Bishop McIlvaine, on Oxford Theology; exhibited in extracts from their writings—together with some remarks on Apostolic Succession—the abuse of Luther and Calvin—and the Liturgy as a preservative of doctrinal purity. By a Presbyterian. Second edition.

THIS pamphlet is the most valuable which the Tractarian controversy in this country has called forth—presenting a bird's-eye view of the principal points of difference between evangelical Episcopalians, the Oxford party, and the church of Rome. A wide circulation awaits it among the crowds whom either duty or curiosity is inclining at the present time to look into the subject.

Looking-Glass for High Churchmen: reflecting the moral phases of High Churchism in Connecticut. By BISHOP. 1843.

A PART of this pamphlet consists of a series of able articles on High Churchism, first published in the *Congregational Observer*. It comprises also a review of "A Churchman's Reasons for not joining in sectarian worship," contained in a letter from the Rev. A. B. Chapin to a parishioner. In this letter Mr. Chapin employs the best arguments within his reach to persuade "churchmen" to shun all participation in the sacred ordinances and public worship of "sectarians." When we consider how much of the intelligence and intellectual vigor of this country is indebted to the pulpit—to the very pulpits against which this warning is issued—we are surprised at the sectarian bigotry which would deny the benefit to a portion of the people, and exclude them from communion with the first minds among us, and especially at the effrontery which presumes this bigotry will be respected by an independent laity.

Reminiscences of the late Rev. Samuel Hopkins, D. D., of Newport, R. I.; illustrative of his character and doctrines, with incidental subjects—from an intimacy with him of twenty-one years, while pastor of a sister church in said town. By WILLIAM PATTON, D. D. Published by Isaac H. Cady, Providence; Crocker & Brewster, Boston; and Saxton & Miles, New York, 1843.

THE author was a believer in the theological views, an ardent admirer of the character, and a confidential friend of Dr. Hopkins; and his "Reminiscences" make an interesting tribute to the Doctor's memory. The grand peculiarity of "Hopkinsianism," that *men must be willing to be*

damned in order to be saved, is glossed in a way to make it accordant with truth—the first principle in religion, that the salvation of man is conditioned on his exercising a supreme regard for the glory of God. “If,” says Dr. Tappan, “a man be willing to be saved for the glory of God, then, *if it is not for his glory, he does not will to be saved.*” This hypothesis having no foundation, the conclusion drawn from it falls also to the ground. It being universally for the glory of God to save men who submit to his government and methods of grace, it is this submission, and not a willingness to be damned, to which mankind are called, and which is a proper test of a supreme regard for the divine glory.

An Etymological Manual of the English and French Languages.
By WILLIAM SMEATON. New Haven, 1843.

THE object of this Manual is to supply those who have not enjoyed a classical education, “with the means of acquiring a knowledge of those foreign words which have entered so largely into the composition of the English and French languages;” and not of the words only,

but of their inflections, and of the laws which govern their forms in passing from one language to another. This mode of instruction has been long followed in Edinburgh with success, and it is to be hoped that the labors of Mr. Smeaton may introduce it into our schools.

History of the Westminster Assembly of Divines. By the Rev. W. M. HETHERINGTON, author of the “History of the Church of Scotland,” “Minister’s Family,” &c. Published by Mark H. Newman, 199 Broadway, New York, 1843.

EXPECTING to refer again to this history, we will now barely recommend it as an able work, the production of a strong, judicious and honest mind; subject, however, to the bias of partiality for the Scotch party, and of prejudice against Cromwell and the Independents.

The Laurel Wreath, or Affection’s Keepsake. Original Prose and Poetry. Second edition. T. P. Collins, New York, 1844.

THIS is a neat little volume, in matter and form, designed, we presume, for a new year’s present.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

SPAIN.

NOTHING has occurred of national interest since our last, except a revolution in Spain, by which the Regent Espartero has been displaced, and the Christino faction succeeded to power. This is the fifth revolution in Spain since the year 1820, and perhaps the most difficult to be explained. Common fame ascribes it to the intrigues of France; but

the honorable character of Louis Philippe compels us to place confidence in his late declaration made to the delegates of the London Peace Convention, that he is entirely innocent of the charge. That it would gratify his ambition to marry the Duc d’Aumale to the young queen, can not be doubted; and with this prospect he would naturally favor her claim to the throne against the pretensions of Don Carlos. And his

alleged hostility to Espartero is attributed to the opposition of that general to this arrangement. A rival to the Duc d'Aumale has arisen, it is said, in the person of the Prince of the Asturias, in whose favor his father, Don Carlos, is ready to abdicate the crown, on condition that the young queen will marry the prince, and concede to him the title of king of Spain. This arrangement would be most likely to extend peace to Spain, and it will be powerfully supported by Austria, Prussia and Russia, who favor the claims of Don Carlos. Unhappy Spain is, however, apparently destined still to suffer from domestic and foreign intrigue, and much blood may yet be shed.

IRELAND.

THE Repeal of the Union continues to be agitated in Ireland with unabated zeal. The weekly rent has risen from £300 to £3000, and it becomes daily more evident that the demands of the Irish must be granted in due course of law, or the kingdom will be torn, perhaps dismembered, by violence. The only peaceable means now left of retaining Ireland in the Union is the redress of grievances in respect to the church, the condition of the tenantry, and the right of suffrage. The Protestants of Ireland are about 700,000, the Catholics 8,000,000. The ecclesiastical revenues, about £500,000, are all appropriated to the established Protestant church. Great Britain can now redress this grievance, by establishing another national church,—a Catholic,—and adjusting the revenues to this new state of things. But a little delay may force on a repeal of the union, place the power in the hands of a Catholic parliament, and wholly divest the English church in Ireland of her endowments. It is thought

that in this event, other rights of the Protestants would be infringed, and the operation of Protestant missions and schools in the kingdom be seriously embarrassed. Every interest of religion seems to require a redress of this Irish grievance, not as is recommended, by creating a new established church, but by abolishing the present establishment, and leaving all sects to the support of the voluntary principle. We are not, however, without hopes that Catholic Ireland may act better than our fears, in the event of a repeal of the union. She may do herself the honor, and the cause of freedom the high service, of placing churches of all communions on an equal footing. The condition of the tenantry affords another ground of just complaint against the legislation of the English parliament. A law ought to be enacted, securing to the tenant a right of property in improvements. Without this security he can not obtain capital for outlay in improvements, nor have any suitable encouragement to increase the permanent value of the property. But still another grievance must be redressed, before confidence will be placed in any legislation of the imperial parliament. The right of suffrage must be extended, and Ireland must have a voice in that legislature that can not but be respected. This is the most difficult concession to be made to her—the most hazardous; for what may not be feared from a strong party—catholic, and in a sense foreign—exercising a powerful control over the whole legislation of the United Kingdom? The union had better be repealed than continued with rival interests, real or imaginary, to be the source of constant bitterness and agitation. Even our oil and water—not to say alkali and acid—ought to be put in separate vessels.



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